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A TEXT-BOOK
OF NORTH-SEMITIC
INSCRIPTIONS

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
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A TEXT-BOOK
OF
NORTH-SEMITIC
INSCRIPTIONS

Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic
Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish

BY THE

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Ἄλλ' ὅμως ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὴν τῶν πλανηθέντων σωτηρίαν ἠνέσχετο διὰ τούτων θεραπευθῆναι, δι' ὧν οἱ ἔξωθεν δαίμονας ἐθεράπευον, μικρὸν παραλλάξας αὐτά· ἵνα αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς συνηθείας ἀποσπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑψηλὴν ἀγάγῃ φιλοσοφίαν.

S. CHRYSOSTOM *in Matth. Hom. vi. 3.*

P B Hebrew 91



P R E F A C E

THE present work took shape some years ago as an attempt to provide a text-book for students who offer the subject of Semitic Epigraphy in the Honour School of Oriental Studies at Oxford. The difficulty of obtaining access to inscriptions published in foreign journals, the costliness of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and other works, made it desirable to prepare a collection which might bring the inscriptions conveniently within the reach of students; the texts set for the Schools were chosen to start with, and a good many more were added. The claims of other work, however, compelled me to lay aside my task for several years. Meanwhile, there appeared in 1898 Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, which for the first time has dealt with the whole subject in a systematic manner. I wish to acknowledge here, with emphasis and gratitude, my obligations to the *Handbuch*; the extent of them will appear in the following pages. Lidzbarski's work has done much to supply the want which first induced me to prepare this volume; it has not, however, led me to alter my original design. I have published the texts with translations and notes; Lidzbarski, along with much valuable introductory matter, gives the texts, a glossary, and an atlas of facsimiles. This last it has not been possible to attach to my collection; within the limits laid down by the

Delegates of the Press, I have only been able to give a set of representative facsimiles and tables of alphabets, which, while not attempting to meet all requirements, will at least be sufficient to familiarize the student with the characteristic features of the different scripts.

Though English scholars have not neglected the study of Semitic Epigraphy either in their academic teaching or in their published writings—the names of the late Professors William Wright and Robertson Smith will occur to the reader in this connexion, while to many students of the younger generation Dr. Driver's pages in *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* served as their first and stimulating introduction to the subject—yet the bulk of scientific work within recent years has been done by the scholars of France and Germany. The enterprise of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and the enlightened policy of the French Government, have secured the majority of the inscriptions for the Louvre ; hence it is that from Paris, in a manner possible nowhere else, the great Corpus is being issued, a work with which the eminent names of Renan, de Vogüé, Derenbourg, Halévy, Berger, Clermont-Ganneau, will always be associated. To Paris belongs the unique distinction of having recognized the study of oriental archaeology and epigraphy by the foundation of a professorship in the Collège de France, now held by M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whose original and keen researches the present work is indebted from beginning to end. For years past French scholars have been excavating and classifying the remains of Punic antiquity in the French colonies of N. Africa ; in the Holy Land much excellent

work is being done by the Dominican convent of St. Étienne at Jerusalem, an 'école pratique d'études bibliques,' under the accomplished direction of Père Lagrange.

In Germany the efforts of scholars have been devoted rather to the critical and grammatical examination of the documents than to the discovery of fresh material. For the Phoenician language the treatises of Schröder and Stade, though somewhat out of date, contain much that is of permanent value; on the Nabataean, Palmyrene, and other Aramaic dialects Nöldeke has written with unimpeachable authority; on points of grammar and exegesis the names of G. Hoffmann, Landau, D. H. Müller, Sachau, the two Mordtmanns, Reckendorf, Winckler (always interesting, if seldom convincing) will be of frequent occurrence in the following pages. But German scholars have also been engaged in the discovery of new material, especially in N. Arabia and N. Syria. Thanks to the courage and skill of the veteran epigraphist Julius Euting, we now possess satisfactory copies of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Hejaz and the Sinaitic peninsula; the Orient-Comité of Berlin has unearthed the Old Aramaic inscriptions of Zenjirli, the most important discovery since the finding of the Moabite Stone; quite recently Littmann has published the results of his exploration of the Şafâ inscriptions, NE. of Jebel ed-Drûz¹.

In the present work many of the inscriptions are, of necessity, the classical and familiar ones; many also are new; most of them now appear in English for the

¹ These inscriptions have also been investigated lately by Dussand and Maeler, and published in their volume *Voyage archéol. au Şafâ etc.*, 1901.

first time. I have tried to bring the collection up to date as far as possible, and in one way or another to print the most important inscriptions which have been discovered in the last five or ten years.

My aim throughout has been not to propose novel interpretations or reconstructions of my own, but rather to give, after careful study of the various authorities on the subject, what seemed to be the most probable verdict on the issues raised, and also to bring together the chief matters of importance bearing on the texts. The frequency with which the words 'probably' and 'possibly' appear may, perhaps, be somewhat of a disappointment to the reader, as indicating an attitude of caution rather than of courage; but it is well to be reminded how seldom we can speak with positiveness on questions of grammar and interpretation where the material is so limited and where there is no contemporary literature to shed light upon the monuments. At the same time our study ought to result in doing something to reduce the limits of the possible, and discover, as precisely as we can, the extent of the probable.

To those who have helped me in the production of my book I have some special acknowledgements to make. From the Delegates of the Press I have received most generous treatment in the matter of printing. To the courtesy of the Marquis de Vogüé, President of the Commission of the C. I. S., I owe permission to reproduce Plates i and iii from the Corpus, and Plate viii from his own *La Syrie Centrale*. I am indebted to Dr. Euting for Plates iv and vii, the latter from his *Nabatäische Inschriften*; to M. Heuzey

of the Louvre, for squeezes of the Nêrab inscriptions, Plates v and vi; to Dr. Budge of the British Museum, for facilities of access to the stones and seals under his charge; to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. for the use of the blocks from Madden's *Coins of the Jews*. Mr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum has taken much trouble to help me with the coins, and has procured for me, by the courtesy of M. Babelon, casts of specimens in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whose published writings my book owes so much, has more than once given me the benefit of his opinion and advice. My former colleague, Mr. P. V. M. Benecke, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, has verified and enriched several of my references to Greek and Latin authors. Above all, my grateful thanks are due to Dr. Driver for his constant encouragement. He is always ready to place his stores of knowledge at the service of his friends; and in this case he has made time, in the midst of his own work, to read my book in proof, and to offer criticisms and suggestions which have done much to improve it.

G. A. COOKE.

THE PARSONAGE, DALKEITH, N.B.,
Eastertide, 1903.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	xvii
LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS	xxiii
MOABITE	
INSCR. NO.	
1. The Moabite Stone	I
HEBREW	
2. Siloam	15
PHOENICIAN	
<i>Phoenicia</i>	
3. Byblus	18
Additional note i. The fem. sing. ending in Phoenician	25
Additional note ii. The forms of the de- monstr. pron.	26
4. Sidon : Tabnith	26
5. Sidon : Eshmun-‘azar	30
Additional note. The suffix of 3 plur. in Phoenician	39
6. Sidon	40
7. Sidon	42
8. Tyre	43
9. Umm-el-‘Awâmîd	44
10. Ma’sûb	48
<i>Cyprus</i>	
11. Ba‘al Lebanon	52
12-22. Kition	55
23-27. Idalion	73
28. Larnax Lapēthos	80
29. Larnax Lapēthos 2 or Narnaka	82
30. Tamassos	88
<i>Egypt</i>	
31. Abydos	90
<i>Attica</i>	
32-35. Athens, Piraeus	93

Phoenician - *Byblus* p. 18.
Siloam - *Link* Ep. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

PHOENICIAN: PUNIC

Malta

INSCR. NO.	PAGE
36, 37. Malta	102
38. Malta (Gaulus)	105

Sardinia

39. Caralis (Cagliari)	108
40. Pauli Gerrei (Santuiaci)	109
41. Nora (Pula)	110

Gaul

42. Marseilles	112
--------------------------	-----

North Africa

43-50. Carthage	123
51. Cirta (Constantine)	137
52. Thugga	138

PHOENICIAN: NEO-PUNIC

Tunis

53, 54. Tunis	141
-------------------------	-----

Algiers

55. Altiburus (Medéina)	144
56. Jol (Shershel 1)	147
57. Jol (Shershel 2)	148
58. Gelma	150
59. Maktar	150

Sardinia

60. Sulci	158
---------------------	-----

ARAMAIC

North Syria

61. Zenjirli: Hadad	159
62. Zenjirli: Panammu	171
63. Zenjirli: Bar-rekub	180
Additional note on the dialect of the Zenjirli inscriptions	184
64. Nêrab 1	186
65. Nêrab 2	189

Babylonia

66. Nineveh	192
-----------------------	-----

Contents

XV

INSCR. NO.		PAGE
<i>Asia Minor</i>		
67.	Abydos	193
68.	Cilicia	194
<i>Arabia</i>		
69, 70.	Têma	195
<i>Egypt</i>		
71, 72.	Memphis	200
73, 74.	Elephantina	202
75.	The Carpentras Stele	205
76.	Saqqara : Papyri Blacassiani	206
77.	Papyrus Luparensis	210
NABATAEAN		
<i>North Arabia</i>		
78.	El-'Ölä	214
79-93.	El-Hejra	217
94.	Petra I	241
95.	Petra 2. El-Mer	244
<i>Moab</i>		
96.	Medeba	247
<i>Damascus</i>		
97.	Dumêr	249
<i>Hauran</i>		
98.	Hebran	252
99.	Şalhad	252
100.	Bostra	253
101.	Imtân	254
<i>Italy</i>		
102.	Puteoli	256
NABATAEAN : SINAITIC		
103-109.	. . . . .	259
PALMYRENE		
110-132.	Honorary Inscriptions	265
133-140.	Votive Inscriptions	295
141-146.	Sepulchral Inscriptions	306
147.	Tariff	313

JEWISH		PAGE
INSCR. NO.		
148 A.	Benê Hezîr	341
B.	Kefr Bir'im	342
COINS		
149 A.	Aramaic	343
B.	Phoenician	347
C.	Jewish	352
SEALS AND GEMS		
150.	. . . . .	360
INDEX I :	North-Semitic	363
INDEX II :	Arabic	378
INDEX III :	Syriac	380
INDEX IV :	Greek	382
INDEX V :	Biblical References	385
INDEX VI :	General	392
APPENDIX I	. . . . .	401
„ II	. . . . .	404
ADDENDA	. . . . .	407

LIST OF PLATES

I	Phoenician ; no. 5	} <i>At end</i>
II	Phoenician ; no. 21	
III	Phoenician : Punic ; no. 43	
IV	Phoenician : Neo-Punic ; no. 56	
V	Aramaic ; no. 64	
VI	Aramaic ; no. 65	
VII	Nabataean ; no. 86	
VIII	Palmyrene ; no. 121	
IX	Cilician and Phoenician Coins ; no. 149 A, B	
X	Jewish Coins ; no. 149 C	
XI	Seals and Gems ; no. 150	
XII-XIV	Tables of Alphabets	

INTRODUCTION

THE inscriptions which make up the present collection are grouped under the common title of North-Semitic to distinguish them from the South-Semitic, or Sabaean and Himyaritic, on the one hand, and from the Babylonian and Assyrian on the other. Geographically the area of this North-Semitic group extends from N. Syria to N. Arabia; on the East it is bounded by the Syrian desert; on the West it reaches into Asia Minor, Egypt, N. Africa, and the chief cities on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. The languages in which the inscriptions are written belong to what may be called for convenience the Central, as distinguished from the Northern and Southern, division of the Semitic tongues¹. This Central division is sub-divided into two main classes: i the Canaanite, which includes the Moabite, Hebrew, and Phoenician inscriptions, 9th cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D. and later; ii the Aramaic, represented by (*a*) the Old Aramaic inscriptions from Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and N. Syria, 8th—4th cent. B.C., (*b*) the Egyptian Aramaic, 5th—3rd cent. B.C., (*c*) the Nabataean and Palmyrene Aramaic, 1st cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D., a section to which we may assign the inscriptions from Têma as the earliest specimens (5th cent. B.C.) and the Sinaitic as the latest (1st—5th cent. A.D.). Some of these dialects are marked by peculiarities which, owing to local conditions, indicate a certain amount of overlapping from one class or division into another: thus the Old Aramaic spoken in the N. Syrian kingdoms of Ya'di and

¹ The Semitic languages are grouped in various ways; thus Wright, *Comp. Gr.* 12 ff., divides them into Northern i.e. Assyrian, Central i.e. Aramaic, Western i.e. Canaanite, Southern i.e. Arabic and Ethiopic. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gr.* 4 f., proposes a broader scheme, East-Semitic, i.e. Babylonian, Assyrian, and West-Semitic, i.e. Aramaic, Canaanite, Arabic, Ethiopic. The latter is preferred by König, *Hebräisch u. Semitisch* 123 f., on historical grounds, as suggesting the advance and separation of the Semitic tribes from their original home in E. Babylonia. The divisions given above are clearer for the present purpose.

Sam'al betrays several points of affinity to the Canaanite class; the Nabataean dialect, again, used for purposes of writing and commerce by the inhabitants of N. Arabia who were Arabs by race and spoke Arabic, was naturally much influenced by the language used in common speech, as appears especially in the forms of proper names; to a less degree the dialect of Palmyra, where the population was largely Arab, came under the same influence.

The chief interest of these inscriptions lies, of course, in the fact that they have preserved specimens of the North-Semitic dialects which we should otherwise know only from scattered allusions or by a process of inference very imperfect at the best. With the exception of the Hebrew and Aramaic writings of the Old Testament, there is no contemporary literature written in any of these languages. No fragments of the mythologies and histories said to have been composed in Phoenician by native writers have come down to us in the original; a few third- or fourth-hand extracts are preserved in Greek; but for the most part these Phoenician authors are names and nothing more¹. The inscriptions, therefore, possess

¹ A cosmogony of Sidonian origin is preserved by Damascius *de Primis Principiis* 125, who borrowed it from the Greek of Eudemus, a pupil of Aristotle, and gave it a neo-Platonic interpretation. This was probably the work (τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγμα) which is ascribed by Strabo (p. 645 ed. Müll.) to a Sidonian philosopher Mochus, who lived πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων; his works, together with those of Theodotus and Hypsicrates, are said to have been translated into Greek by a certain Laetus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 437). Mochus, along with Hestaeus and the Egyptian Hieronymus, οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συνταξάμενοι, is mentioned by Jos. *Ant.* i 3 9. Another cosmogony is described by Philo of Byblus (temp. Hadrian), who claims to have derived his traditions from an ancient sage Sanchuniathon (see pp. 100. 104 *n.* 2 ref.). Philo probably drew his material from various sources, and dignified it with an ancient name; see Baudissin *Stud. z. semit. Religionsgesch.* i 1-46. Native histories written by Phoenicians are cited by Josephus: (a) the chronicles of Tyre transl. by Menander of Ephesus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 445 ff.) ὁ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνήν *Ant.* viii 5 3. ix 14 2, *c. Ap.* i 18; (b) a list of kings from Nebuchadnezzar to Cyrus, for which he quotes τὰς τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς *c. Ap.* i 21; (c) for the siege of Tyre by Nebuch. he gives as his authority Philostratos ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις *Ant.* x 11 1, *c. Ap.* i 20; (d) for the history of Hiram i he refers to the Phoen. narrative of Dios (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 397 ff.) ἐν ταῖς περὶ Φοινίκων ἱστορίαις *c. Ap.* i 17, *Ant.* viii 5 3. The sources (b) and (d) are doubtless dependent upon Menander; it is probable that Jos. derived all these extracts from the work of Alexander Polyhistor (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 206 ff.). See further Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3751 ff.

all the greater value; and when they are brought into relation with the languages of the Old Testament their interest is increased. Thus comparing Phoenician with Hebrew we notice at once that the resemblance is exceedingly close, both in grammatical forms and in vocabulary; in some respects Phoenician has preserved older features (e.g. the fem. in ת, the absence of vowel-letters), others are later (e.g. יתן = נתן, אל God), others again are peculiar to this dialect (e.g. the 3 mas. suff. in י, א, נם, the accus. sign אית, the rel. שא, the Hif. in י), many words poetic or rare in Hebrew are common in Phoenician (see p. 23); these phenomena point to the conclusion that Phoenician and Hebrew are independent offshoots of a common ancestor, which can be none other than the ancient Canaanite, of which a few words have survived in the Canaanite glosses (15th cent. B.C.) to the Tell-el-Amarna letters¹. It must be remembered, however, that the material is insufficient for a complete comparison²; and further, with the exception of 11, almost all the Phoenician inscriptions are subsequent to the 6th cent. B.C., the majority belong to the 4th cent. and later, by which time the language had probably undergone a certain amount of decay. The evidence of the Aramaic inscriptions is specially valuable because it proves the wide extent to which Aramaic was used in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires (cf. Is. 36 11), and because it exhibits the language at an earlier stage than the literary dialects. In the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions we find a dialect which is nearly related to the Western or Palestinian Aramaic of the Old Testament and of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan. The dates of the Old Testament Aramaic cannot in all cases be determined; parts of Ezra are probably as early as the 4th cent. B.C., Daniel was written in the 2nd cent. B.C.; the inscriptions prove that this particular type of Aramaic was used in the countries bordering upon Palestine down to the 3rd cent. A.D.³

¹ The words are given in the vocabulary of Winckler's edition; see also *KAT*³ 652 f.

² The fullest comparison is still that of Stade, *Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniciſchen u. Hebräiſchen bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades in Morg. Forsch.* (1875) 169-232.

³ Driver *Introduction*⁶ 502 ff.

All the inscriptions here collected are written in varieties of the same alphabet, commonly called the Phoenician, the archetype of Greek and ultimately of all Western writing¹. At the earliest stage known to us the characters are very much alike, both in the Canaanite and in the Aramaic groups; in the subsequent stages each followed a process of modification on diverging lines. Thus Phoenician, after leaving the mother-country, is seen to be acquiring a more cursive and flowing style on the stones from Cyprus and Attica; the tendency becomes more strongly marked at the Punic stage; until in Neo-Punic the writing, and the language too, reached their most degenerate form and went no further, as though the possibilities of both were exhausted. The modifications of the old Hebrew writing down to the 5th or 4th cents. B.C. cannot, for lack of material, be traced in much detail; so far as we know there seems to have been little change of any marked kind. The only Hebrew inscription of considerable length earlier than the Exile is the one found at Siloam (2); besides this, specimens of the old Hebrew writing are furnished only by the few words engraved upon seals (150 6-8) and stamped upon fragments of pottery². Generations after the old Hebrew writing had fallen out of use it was revived, for political reasons, in characters which closely resemble those of the Siloam inscription and the legends on seals and pottery, upon the Jewish coins (149 C). The ancient writing was retained by the Samaritans when the Jews in general had taken to the Aramaic letters, and in an elaborated form the Samaritans use it still. The process by which the archaic Hebrew arrived at the modern square character is to be

¹ The various speculations on the origin of the Phoen. alphabet are summarized by Thatcher, art. Phoenicia *DB* iii.

² The recent excavations at Tell Zakariyâ and Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi, SW. of Jerusalem, conducted by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, have produced some interesting jar-handles stamped with למלך שות, למלך שוכה, למלך חברן; between the words is the figure of a winged scarab. These were factory-marks; למלך *belonging to the king* probably signifies that the vessel came from the royal potteries, or perhaps that it came up to the official standard of capacity; חברן &c. that it was made at Hebron, Sokoh &c. The other potsherds are marked with what are probably private seals, e.g. לעזר דגני, מעץ . . צפניא; a seal is engraved לרפתי יהוכל; the names are all written in two lines. See *PEFQS* 1899 and 1900; *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* iv § 1; *Lidzb. Eph.* i 54 ff. 178 ff.

traced in the development, not of the Hebrew, but of the Aramaic alphabet; and the reason is that the latter was adopted by the Jews after the Exile along with the use of the Aramaic language. The stages in this development may be followed in the Tables of the Aramaic Alphabets, Plates xiii and xiv; the most significant will be found in the Egyptian Aramaic and the Palmyrene. From this last it is but a few steps further to the square characters which appear in the Jewish inscriptions (e. g. 148 A and B), and in which the MSS. of the Old Testament are written¹.

Besides their value as specimens of language and writing, the North-Semitic inscriptions possess considerable importance for the historian. With the exception of the Moabite Stone, the Zenzirli inscriptions, and two or three others, their importance is rather incidental than primary; a few of them are dedicated to or by historical personages, a great many are dated by the reigns of kings or the eras of cities, and thus enable us to piece history together. The inscriptions cover a long period, more than a thousand years, from the 9th cent. B.C. to the 3rd cent. A.D.; and in the course of it the history which they record is not, as a rule, the history of great events or of striking figures in the drama, but the history of every-day life, its business, its honours, its religion, its commemoration of the dead. These monuments of ancient civilization have a very human interest which gives to the study of them an unexpected and refreshing zest. But when we turn to them for information on such subjects as the institutions or organizations of public life we are apt to be disappointed. For example, the little that can be gathered from the inscriptions as to the constitution of Carthage is put together on pp. 115 f., but it adds practically nothing to what we learn from Greek and Latin writers. The North-Semitic races possessed none of that genius for civic order, or for administration on a large scale, which made the Athenians so careful to inscribe their public documents 'on a pillar of stone,' and the Romans to plant the memorials of their government in every part of the empire. It is only when these races

¹ For details see Index vi under Letters, Driver *Samuel* ix-xxix, Lidzbarski *Eph.* i 109 ff. and *Jewish Encycl.*, art. Alphabet.

come under the influence of Greek and Roman institutions that we are able to glean a little about their public life. The inscriptions reveal the fact that Palmyra was organized on the model of a Greek municipality; the great Tariff was dictated by Roman common-sense and love of order; to some extent Hellenic ideas of administration had penetrated into the Nabataean kingdom, for we hear of strategoi, eparchs, and chiliarchs; the Neo-Punic colonies in N. Africa had borrowed, as it seems, some institutions of municipal life from their Roman over-lords.

Lastly, the inscriptions have much to tell us about the religious customs and ideas of the people who wrote them. Some of these ideas are the common property of Semitic religion; a good many of them, especially those connected with the relation of the god to his worshippers, and with burial and the condition of the dead, illustrate in an interesting way the ideas of the Old Testament. But again it must not be forgotten that most of the monuments belong to a period not of religious freshness and simplicity but of religious decline. The less attractive features of North-Semitic religion may be gathered from Greek and Latin authors; the inscriptions tell us little of them; but a broad comparison between this and the religion of the Old Testament shows clearly enough the depths and heights which it was possible for different peoples to reach who were bound closely together by race, by neighbourhood, and by a considerable stock of common ideas. It is the difference which polytheism and monotheism work out in their results. Nevertheless in the later periods we can trace, however faintly, something like a reaction from the prevailing polytheism in the worship of Ba'al of Heaven among the Phoenicians, and of the unnamed god 'whose name is blessed for ever' among the Aramaeans of Palmyra (pp. 45, 296 ff.); and out of the common stock of religious ideas there were some which did not altogether lie outside of the scheme of Divine revelation, and were capable of being adopted into the higher faith.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Altor. Forsch.</i>	= Winckler <i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> .
BAram.	= Biblical Aramaic.
CIA	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> .
CIG	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> .
CIL	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
CIS	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .
Cl.-Gan. <i>Ét.</i>	= Clermont-Ganneau <i>Études d'archéologie orientale</i> .
Cl.-Gan. <i>Rec.</i>	= Clermont-Ganneau <i>Recueil d'archéologie orientale</i> .
<i>COT</i>	= Schrader <i>Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.</i>
Dalman <i>Gr.</i>	= Dalman <i>Gram. des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch</i> .
<i>DB</i>	= Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> .
Del. Assy'r. <i>HWB</i>	= Delitzsch <i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> .
<i>Ency. Bibl.</i>	= <i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i> .
Eut.	= Euting <i>Nabatäische Inschriften</i> .
Eut. <i>Carth.</i>	= Euting <i>Sammlung der carthagischen Inschriften</i> .
Eut. <i>Sin.</i>	= Euting <i>Sinaitische Inschriften</i> .
<i>Fr. Hist. Gr.</i>	= Müller <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> .
Gesenius, or Ges.-Kautzsch	} = Gesenius-Kautzsch <i>Hebrew Grammar</i> , transl. by A. E. Cowley.
<i>JA</i>	
<i>KAT</i> ³	= <i>Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament</i> ³ .
<i>KB</i>	= <i>Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek</i> .
König <i>Lehrgeb.</i>	= König <i>Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache</i> .
König <i>Syntax</i>	= König <i>Syntax der Hebr. Sprache</i> .
Lidzb.	= Lidzbarski <i>Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik</i> .
Lidzb. <i>Eph. i</i>	= Lidzbarski <i>Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik i.</i>
M. or Michel	= Michel <i>Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques</i> .
<i>Morg. Forsch.</i>	= <i>Morgenländische Forschungen</i> .
<i>NHWB</i>	= Levy <i>Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch</i> .
NPun.	= Neo-Punic.
<i>PA. or Pers. Ach.</i>	= Babelon <i>Les Perses Achéménides</i> .
<i>PEFQS</i>	= <i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i> .

<i>RB</i>	= <i>Revue Biblique.</i>
<i>Rép.</i>	= <i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique.</i>
<i>RS</i>	= <i>Babelon Rois de Syrie.</i>
<i>SBBA</i>	= <i>Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie.</i>
Schröder	= Schröder <i>Die Phönizische Sprache.</i>
<i>Spic. Syr.</i>	= Cureton <i>Spicilegium Syriacum.</i>
Vog.	= de Vogüé <i>La Syrie Centrale.</i>
Wadd.	= Waddington <i>Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie.</i>
<i>ZA</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</i>
<i>ZATW</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für die alt-test. Wissenschaft.</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</i>

On the analogy of the familiar abbreviations ' and 'וּג, the stroke ' is used to mark shortened forms; thus 'ה denotes a word beginning with ה; ה' a word ending in ה.

Jouon RES 1938

Friedrich Zur Einleitungsfornel der ältesten phön. Inschr.

Postel Das appositionell bestimmte Personum *Syria 1939*

Meuth Beitr. z. Deutung phön. Inschr. *Assyriol. Studien*

NORTH SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

MOABITE

1. The Moabite Stone. Circ. 850 B.C. Louvre.

- | | |
|---|----|
| אנך־משע־בן־כמשגד־מלך־מאב־הד | I |
| יבני \| אבי־מלך־על־מאב־שלשן־שת־ואנך־מלך | 2 |
| תי־אחר־אבי \| ואעש־הבמת־זאת־לכמש־בקרחח \| במצ[י] | 3 |
| שע־כי־השעני־מכל־השלכן־וכי־הראני־בכל־שנאי \| עמר | 4 |
| י־מלך־ישראל־ויענו־את־מאב־ימן־רבן־כי־יאנף־כמש־באר | 5 |
| צה \| ויחלפה־בנה־ו־יאמר־גם־הא־אענו־את־מאב \| בימי־אמר־כ \| | 6 |
| וארא־בה־ובבתה \| וישראל־אבד־אבד־עלם־וירש־עמרי־את־[אר] | 7 |
| ין־מהרבא \| וישב־בה־ימה־והצי־ימי־בנה־ארבען־שת־ויש | 8 |
| בה־כמש־בימי \| ואבן־את־בעלמען־ואעש־בה־האשוח־ואב[ן] | 9 |
| את־קריתן \| ואש־גד־ישב־בארץ־עטרת־מעלם־ויבן־לה־מלך־י | 10 |
| שראל־את־עטרת \| ואלתתם־בקר־ואחזה \| ואהרג־את־כל־העם־ו | 11 |
| הקר־רית־לכמש־ולמאב \| ואשב־משם־את־אראל־דודה־וא[ם] | 12 |
| חבה־לפני־כמש־בקרית \| ואשב־בה־את־אש־שרן־ואת־א[ש] | 13 |
| מחרת \| ויאמר־לי־כמש־לך־אחו־את־נבה־על־ישראל \| וא | 14 |
| הלך־בללה־ואלתתם־בה־מבקע־השחרת־עד־הצהרם \| ואח | 15 |
| זה־ואהרג־כל־שבעת־אלפ־ג[ב]רן־וגרן \| וגברת־וגר | 16 |
| ת־ורחמת \| כי־לעשתר־כמש־החרמתם \| ואקח־משם־אסב | 17 |
| לי־יהוה־ואסחב־הם־לפני־כמש \| ומלך־ישראל־בנה־את | 18 |
| יהץ־וישב־בה־בהלתחמה־בי \| ויגרשה־כמש־מפני [ו] | 19 |

- 20 אִקְחָ מִמֶּאֱבֹתַי אִשָּׁה כָּל־רִשָּׁה | וְאִשְׁאָה בִּיהִן וְאֶחָזָה
 21 לְסַפֹּת עַל־דִּיבִן | אֲנִי בִנְתִי קִרְחָה חֶמֶת הִיעֵרָן וְחֶמֶת
 22 הָעֶפֶל | וְאֲנִי בִנְתִי שַׁעְרִיָּה וְאֲנִי בִנְתִי מִגְדֹּלְתָהּ | וְאִ
 23 נִי בִנְתִי בֵּת מֶלֶךְ וְאֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי כָּל־אִשֵּׁי הָאֲשֹׁחַ [לִמ] יֵן בִּקְרָן [ב]
 24 הָקָר | וּבֵרֶ אֵן בִּקְרָב הָקָר בִּקְרָחָה וְאָמַר לְכָל־הָעָם עֲשׂוּ־לִי
 25 כֶּסֶם אִשֵּׁי בֵּר בְּבֵיתָהּ | וְאֲנִי כִרְתִּי הַמְכֹרֶתֶת לִקְרָחָה בְּאֶסֶר
 26 יִשְׂרָאֵל | אֲנִי בִנְתִי עֵרְעֵר וְאֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי הַמְסֹלֶת בְּאֶרְנָן
 27 אֲנִי בִנְתִי בֵּת בֶּמֶת כִּי־הָרֶם הָאֵל | אֲנִי בִנְתִי בִצֹר כִּי־עֵין
 28 שִׁיבִין חֲמִשָּׁן כִּי־כָל־דִּיבִן מִשְׁמַעַת | וְאֲנִי מֶלֶךְ
 29 תִּשְׁמָת . . . מֵאֵת בִּקְרָן אֲשֶׁר־יִסְפַּתִּי עַל־הָאָרֶץ | וְאֲנִי בִנְתִי
 30 יִשְׁמָת [מֵהֶד] בָּא וּבֵת דְּבִלְתָּן | וּבֵת בַּעַלְמַעֵן וְאִשָּׁה שֵׁם אֶת־נִי . .
 31 צֶאֱן הָאָרֶץ | וְחֹרֶנָן יֹשֵׁב בֵּה־בִּי וְקָנִי אִשָּׁה . .
 32 אָמַר לִי כִמְשִׁי רָד־הִלְתַּחֵם בְּחֹרֶנָן | וְאֶרְדֵּי . . .
 33 בֵּה־כִמְשִׁי בִימִי וְעַל־דֵּה־מִשְׁמִי עָשִׂיתִי . . .
 34 שִׁת־שָׂדֶק | וְאֲנִי . . .

I am Mesha², son of Kemosh- . . king of Moab, the Daibonite.

My father was king over Moab thirty years, and I became king³ after my father. And I made this high-place for Kemosh in QRHH, with . . . [sal]⁴vation, because he saved me from all the . . . and because he made me see my desire upon all them that hated me.

⁵Omri, king of Israel, he afflicted Moab many days, because Kemosh was angry with his land⁶. And his son succeeded him; and he too said, I will afflict Moab. In my days he said . . . ⁷ and I saw my desire upon him and upon his house, and Israel perished utterly for ever.

And ⁸Omri took possession of the [lan]⁸d of Mehēdeba; and he dwelt in it, his days and half his sons' days, forty years; but Kemosh restored it in my days⁹.

And I built Ba'al-me'on, and I made therein the reservoir (?);
and I buil[t]¹⁰ Qiryathān.

And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Aṭāroth from
of old; and the king of Israel built 'Aṭāroth for himself.¹¹
And I fought against the city and took it. And I slew
all the people. ¹²the city, a gazingstock unto Kemosh
and unto Moab. And I brought thence the altar-hearth
of Daudoh (?), and I dr[ag]¹³ged it before Kemosh in
Qeriyyoṭh. And I caused the men of ŠRN to dwell
therein, and the m[en]¹⁴ of MHRTH.

And Kemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. And
I ¹⁵went by night and fought against it from the break of
dawn till the noontide, and I ¹⁶took it and slew all . seven
thousand m[en] and . . and women and . .¹⁷. and damsels,
for I had devoted it to 'Ashtar-kemosh. And I took thence
the . .¹⁸. of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Kemosh.

And the king of Israel had built ¹⁹Yahaṣ, and dwelt therein
while he fought against me. But Kemosh drove him out
before me. ²⁰I took of Moab two hundred men, all the
chiefs thereof; and I led them against Yahaṣ, and took
it, ²¹to add it to Daibon.

I built QRḤH, the wall of Ye'arim, and the wall ²²of the
Mound; and I built the gates thereof, and I built the
towers thereof; and I ²³built the king's house; and I
made the sluices (?) of the reserv[oir (?)] for wa]ter in the
mid[st]²⁴ of the city. And there was no cistern in the
midst of the city, in QRḤH; and I said to all the people,
Make you ²⁵each a cistern in his house. And I cut the
cutting for QRḤH with the help of prisoners of Israel.²⁶

I built 'Aro'er, and I made the highway by the Arnon.
²⁷I built Beth-bamoth, for it was overthrown. I built
Beṣer, for it was in ruins²⁸ of Daibon were fifty, for
all Daibon was obedient. And I became king²⁹
a hundred, in the cities which I added to the land. And
I built ³⁰.. [Mehēde]ba and Beth-diblathān. And as

for (?) Beth-ba'al-me'on, I led there the ³¹
 sheep of the land.

And as for Hauronān, there dwelt therein . . . and ³²
 Kemosh said to me, Go down, fight against
 Hauronān; and I went down ³³
 Kemosh in my days, and ³⁴ from there
 and I . .

The stone was discovered at Dîbân (ll. 1 f. and O.T. רִיבֶן) in 1868. While the negotiations for its removal were going on, it was broken up by the Bedouin of the place, but not before a squeeze of the inscription had been secured while it was still intact. Two large fragments and eighteen small ones were recovered; the missing portions have been reconstructed from the original squeeze; so that the inscription can now be read in a tolerably complete text¹.

It commemorates the successful efforts made by Mesha', king of Moab, to throw off the yoke of Israel. The Moabites had been reduced to subjection by David (2 S. 8 2), but how long they remained in that state is not told. Probably in the time of Jeroboam i, or soon after, they began to revolt; for the inscription implies that some measure of independence had been gained when it states that 'Omri oppressed Moab many days' (l. 5), which no doubt means that he found it necessary to put down a rebellion. He succeeded in capturing Mēdeba and its vicinity (l. 7 f.); 'the king of Israel' also fortified 'Aṭāroth, the ancient dwelling-place of the families of Gad (l. 10 f.); Nebo and Yahaş became Israelite strongholds (ll. 14. 18 f.). It is interesting to find that there was a sanctuary of Yahweh at Nebo (l. 17 f.), where the Israelites must have established themselves in some numbers. 'Omri's powerful arm, however, did not reach so far as the Arnon, for the more southern cities, Dibon, 'Aro'er, Qeriyyoth, remained in the possession of Moab; but how effectually the land was subdued may be judged from the heavy tribute which 'Omri's successor, Ahab, exacted from king Mesha' (2 K. 3 4). Then, in the latter years of Ahab's reign, perhaps at the moment when he was engaged in the war against Syria (1 K. 22), Mesha' revolted. According to 2 K. 1 1. 3 5 the revolt occurred after the death of Ahab; but the inscription, with the authority of a contemporary document, corrects

¹ A recent attempt to trace the missing fragments is vividly described by Gautier, *Autour de la Mer Morte*, Genève (1901) 93-98. The text given above is based upon that of Lidzbarski *Nordsem. Epigr.* 415 f., corrected by his later investigations in *Ephemeris Sem. Epigr.* i (1900) 1-10.

this detail of the history. The king of Moab recovered the cities occupied by Israel, and strengthened various weak spots in his territory. The towns mentioned in the inscription were situated, with the exception of Hauronān, in the debatable land N. of the Arnon, which was nominally assigned to Reuben and Gad (Num. 32 34–38. Josh. 13 15–28); but Mesha's revolt seems to have produced a durable settlement, and for the future these towns belonged to the kingdom of Moab (Am. 2 2. Is. 15 2 ff. Jer. 48 1 ff. Eze. 25 9). The inscription appears to be silent about the invasion of the allied kings recorded in 2 K. 3, unless there is an allusion to it in l. 4. Taking the inscription to be a comprehensive summary of Mesha's reign, as it was probably intended, we must suppose that the king of Moab ignores his reverses (2 K. 3 24–27), just as the Hebrew history omits to mention the losses of Israel (Bennett *DB* iii 411, art. Moab).

The language of Moab, as the inscription proves, was only a dialect of Hebrew (cf. Dt. 2 11). Such characteristic idioms as the impf. with waw conv., the inf. abs. with the fin. verb (used similarly, however, in Arabic and Syriac) אבד אבד l. 7, the use of אשר for the relative, ראה ב', the words הושיע *save*, ירש *take in possession*, גרש *drive out*, הרג *slay*, החרים *ban*, ואעש (apoc. form), לפני, בקרב, show that Moabite was more closely akin to Hebrew than to any other Semitic tongue. The forms of the proper names point in the same direction. The following differences may be noted: הזאת (Hebr. *הזאת*), the fem. sing. ending ת and the dual and plural ending ן (sometimes in the O.T.), שח for שנה, the conj. הלתחם (Arab. conj. viii), אחז ^{= Ham.} city, קיר (Hebr. *לכר*) *take a city*, the use in prose of חלף *succeed* l. 6, בקע *break* of dawn l. 15, גברת and גברן l. 16 for נשים and אנשים, דאמסל *damsels* l. 17. These differences are merely dialectical; some of them are related to Phoenician or Canaanite on the one side, and to Arabic¹, the language of Moab's neighbours in Edom, on the other. The words אשוה l. 9, רית l. 12, מכרת l. 25, do not occur in the O.T. The inscription is the classical example of the archaic form of Hebr. writing (cf. 2). The scriptio defectiva is the rule, e.g. הא is used for the 3rd sing. mas. pronoun, though consonants are employed for final vowels, e.g. לפני, בי, בה, and in דיבני, ריבן; the suffix of the 3rd sing. mas. is ה' for ו'; the words are divided and separated by dots as in the ancient inscriptions 2. 61–63 (old Aram.), but also 13 and 16 (Phoen.). In general style the inscription is a real piece of literature, and indicates that Moab in the ninth cent. B.C. was not behind Israel

¹ See notes on אלחחם ll. 11. 19; מאתן l. 20; מהרבא l. 8 (?); קר, אחז, l. 11; חלף l. 6.

in civilization. Finally, we have here clear evidence that not merely the language, but also the ideas, of the two nations had much in common. The religion of Kemosh was evidently very like the popular religion of Yahweh; and the manner in which the national god of Moab was regarded and spoken of finds remarkable parallels in expressions used of Yahweh in the O.T.

Among recent commentaries on the Moabite Stone the following are the most important: Bennett, art. Moab, Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible* (1900); Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* i (1900); Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* (1900), see Lidzb. *Eph.* i 145; Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x (1901); Driver, art. Mesha, *Ency. Bibl.* (1902).

Line 1. אֲנִי Not pronounced אֲנִי as in Hebr., for elsewhere in the inscr. י is written where the final vowel was sounded. In Phoen. the 1st pers. pron. is אֲנִי 3 1 n., in Canaanite *anuki* (Tell-el-Am. 180 66. 69), in Assy. *anāku*, in old Aram. אֲנִי 61 1 and אֲנִי 62 19. In later Aram., Arab., Eth. the form is אֲנִי, 'ana. מִשַׁע i.e. *deliverance*, from יִשַׁע, in 2 K. 3 4 מִיִּשַׁע, LXX Μωσά; the latter form implies a derivative from the Hif. stem like הוֹשַׁע, מוֹשָׁעוֹת, Ps. 68 21. The pronunciation, therefore, may have been either *Mesha'* or *Mosha'*. There is room for only two letters after 'מש', so כִּמְשַׁמֶּלֶךְ is not correct. Clermont-Ganneau reads כִּמְשַׁגֶּר; Lidzbarski, after a fresh examination of the stone, suggests כִּמְשַׁבֵּן, cf. יִכְנִיָּהוּ, כְּנִיָּהוּ, *Eph.* i 3 f. See l. 3 n. הִדְבַּנִּי The name דִּבְוֹן ll. 21. 28 was probably pronounced *Daibon* rather than *Dibon* (O.T. דִּבְוֹן, LXX Δαιβών), for the latter would not be written with the vowel letter; cf. חֹרֶנֶן l. 31 f. prob. *Hauronān*, דֹּדָה l. 12 prob. *Daudoh*. Nöldeke, however, thinks that the vowel was *é*, *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1870) 33; cf. בִּיתָה l. 25, which, as בָּתָה l. 7 shows, could not have sounded *baitho*. But in דִּבְוֹן the י is invariably written, and this is rather in favour of the former view. *Dibon*, Is. 15 2. Jer. 48 18. 22 &c., now *Dibān* (ديبان)¹, lay a little to the N. of the Arnon; Buhl *Geogr. alt. Paläst.* 268.

L. 2. שֶׁלְשֵׁן שְׁנָה Hebr. שלשים שנה; שֶׁלְשֵׁן is therefore sing., see 6 1 n., and cf. l. 8. The plur. ending ן in the O.T. (twenty-five or twenty-six times, fifteen times in Job) is mostly dialectical or late; in Aram. it is normal, e.g. 63 9. מִלְכֵּן רִבְרֵבֶן 13.

L. 3. הַבְּמַת זֹאת Cf. Phoen. הַאֲדָם 3 15. 4 6 &c., and see add. note ii p. 26. The fem. sing. ends in *ath*, as in Phoen. and occasionally in the O.T.; see add. note i p. 25. With the expression הַבְּמַת וְאֶעֱשֶׂה

¹ Modern forms from Kampffmeyer *ZDPV* xv-xvi (1892-3).

cf. 2 Ch. 21 11 עשה במוֹת; a sanctuary or altar is prob. intended, rather than a literal 'high-place.' Illustrate from 1 K. 11 7. Is. 15 2. 16 12. Jer. 48 35. לַכְּמוֹשׁ Kemosh was the national god of the Moabites (Num. 21 29. 1 K. 11 7. 33. Jer. 48 46 &c.), occupying among them much the same position as Yahweh among the Israelites. The name is found in compounds, e. g. l. 1 [. .] כְּמוֹשׁ; *Kemosh-nadab, king of Moab*, KB ii 90 (=Schrader *COT* 288); כְּמוֹשִׁי on Moab. seals, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 136 ff. The identification of Kemosh with Ares is based upon an error of Eusebius, *Onom.* 228 66 ff. éd. Lagarde. Other deities worshipped by the Moabites were עֶשְׂתֵּר l. 17; כְּמוֹשׁ l. 17; בַּעַל מֶעַן l. 30, בַּעַל פֶּעַר Num. 25 1-3, local cults of Ba'al (? of Kemosh); and possibly נִבַּח l. 14 n. קְרַחָה ll. 21. 24 f. The stone is expressly associated with the sanctuary at QRHH ('this high-place to K. at QRHH'), but it was found at Dibon, evidently *in situ*. We may suppose, therefore, that QRHH was the name of a place *in the district of* Dibon (Nordlander), see l. 21 n. Among the Moabites Dibon may have had this extended sense, although in the O.T. it seems to be always the name of a town. QRHH can hardly have been the acropolis of Dibon (Cl.-Gan. &c.), for this is inconsistent with the terms of ll. 21 ff. Another explanation is suggested by Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.* x 527 f. He takes לַכְּמוֹשׁ בְּקְרַחָה closely together, *Kemosh-at-QRHH*, like לְבַעֲשָׁמִם בְּאִינֶצֶם 39 i. 24 2 n. This expression is used of the cult of a deity transplanted from one place to another, especially to a foreign land; it would be unnatural in Moab, where Kemosh was the chief god of the whole country¹. According to Sayce קְרַחָה is the *Karhu* mentioned in the Karnak list of the conquests of Ramses ii, *Patr. Pal.* 237 cf. 21. The pronunciation of the word is not certain; it was either קְרַחָה or perhaps rather דּוּרָה like יִרְחוֹ, with the ending ה' as in שִׁילָה, נִילָה, and prob. דּוּרָה l. 12; Driver *Samuel* xc. [י] Lidzb. detects traces of נ and ס, and reads שַׁע [י · י] בְּנִסְכִּים with a drink-offering of deliverance; for ב cf. 2 Ch. 29 35 בְּנִסְכִּים. Lev. 16 3; illustrate from Ps. 116 13. Lagrange proposes בְּנִסְכִּים יִשַׁע cf. Ex. 17 15; other suggestions are

¹ Lagrange identifies קְרַחָה with קִיר חֶרֶשׁ, קִיר חֶרֶשׁ Is. 16 7. 11. Jer. 48 31. 36. 2 K. 3 25; regarding the latter as a corrupt form of קִיר חֶרֶשׁ 'New town' LXX Is. 16 7. 11 (so Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* col. 2676), and קְרַחָה as its ancient name. But the reading of the LXX in Jer. 48 (LXX 31) 31 *καὶράδας B, καὶράδας A + αὐχμοῦ* does not imply an original קְרַחָה; it is merely a transliteration of קִיר חֶרֶשׁ (for קִיר חֶרֶשׁ). Qir-hareseth is prob. the same as Qir-Moab = the modern Kerak (Targ. on Is. and Jer. loc. cit.). Nöld. has shown that there is no etymological connexion between קְרַחָה and Kerak, *Inschr. Kön. Mesa* 8 f. See *Expos. Times* xiii (1902) 186 f.

משע *for the deliverance of Mesha'*, Smend u. Socin *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1886) 17; *במת ישע a high-place of deliverance*, Driver l. c.

L. 4. *השלכן* (Cl.-Gan., Nöld., Lidzb.), i.e. (?) *those who attack* (?), *assailants*, lit. *cast themselves*. Neither the form (*שלכן* like *ננב*) nor the meaning occurs in Hebr., which uses only the Hif. and Hof. of *שלך*. In Arab. *سلك* i = *to put in, make to enter*, possibly in Moab. the vb. = *impel, assail*. The reading *המלכן* is less probable. Cf. l. 7. Ps. 59 11. 118 7 &c.

L. 5. *ויענו* i.e. *ויעִנּוּ*, the 3rd rad. of the *ל'ו* (Hebr. *ל'ה*) verb being retained, as in *אענו* l. 6. If *מלך ישראל* = *king of Israel* as elsewhere, *ויענו* must be the impf. with waw conv. introducing the predicate, 'Omri . . . he oppressed, a very harsh construction here; see Gesenius § 111 h; Driver *Tenses* § 127 a. The rendering *was king over I.* is more suitable, although this requires *על* after *מלך* (l. 2). Perhaps the prep. was omitted by accident. Impf. of continuance in the past. The yodh seems certain (Lidzb.). For *אנה* cf. 1 K. 8 46 (Qal). 2 K. 17 18 (Hithp.).

בארצה Cf. Num. 21 29. Jer. 48 46 *מואב.. עם כמוש*. The ancient *ה* of the suff., *ahu-au-δ 'ו'*, is preserved in Moabite; contrast *ו'* in the Siloam inscr. 2 2-4. The form *ה'* is found in the O.T., e.g. *אֶהְלֶה* Gen. 9 21 &c.; Driver *Sam.* xxxv.

L. 6. *ויהלפה* i.e. *וִיחַלְפָה* (Nöld.), or less probably *וִיחַלְפָה* in accordance with Hebr. usage; and similarly elsewhere in the inscr. *ויהלפה* = *succeeded him*; so *خلف* in Arab. In Hebr. the Hif. = *cause to succeed, substitute*, Is. 9 9. Cf. Gen. 27 31. 1 S. 19 20-24. For *הא* see 3 9 n. After *אמר* there are traces of a letter, possibly *מ* (Lidzb.), doubtfully *כ*; the reading *ככה* or *כרבר* is thus very questionable.

L. 7. *אבר אבר עלם* i.e. *אָבַד אָבַד עָלָם* for *לעלם* as in poetry, e.g. Ps. 89 2. 3. 38; or *אָבַד אָבַד עָלָם*, cf. Jer. 51 39 *וישנו שנת עולם* (Driver). Either *וירש* or *וִירֶשׁ*. The context requires a plupf. sense, for which *ועמרי ירש* would be the normal expression (l. 18).

L. 8. *מהרבא* i.e. *מִהֶרְבָּא* (Nöld.), in the O.T. *מִיֶּרְבָּא*, or *מִהֶרְבָּא* (Cl.-Gan. *Stèle de Dhiban* (1877) 55), as in the modern name *مادبا*; so König *Lehrgeb.* ii 345, explaining the form by the Arab. dialectical form *māhun* = *mā'un* 'water'¹. Medeba (Num. 21 30. Josh. 13 9.

¹ The *ה* in *מהרבא* and in *נבה* l. 14 used to denote *ê* and *δ*, according to Hommel, marks an affinity with the Minaean dialect of Arabic known from the el-Öla inscr. (NW. Arabia); *Anc. Hebr. Trad.* 276. The alleged affinity between Moabite and Minaean must be received with caution; at the same time it is natural that the

Is. 15 2 &c.) was E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea. וישב The
 subj., though grammatically 'Omri, must really be Israel. ימה
 The reading seems certain; ימָהּ for ימֵיהָ *yamaih(u) = יָמָיו his days*.
 For the form with *u* cf. the Hebr. יָרִיחַ Hab. 3 10. נְבוֹרִיחַ Nah. 2 4.
 עִינִיחַ Job 24 23, and the Syr. ܥܝܢܐ, where the original *h* of the suff.
 is written but not sounded. For the plur. form without yodh cf. רָשָׁה
 1. 20. מְגֻרְלָתָהּ 1. 22, contrast שְׁעָרֶיהָ 1. 22. בנה Prob. is also plur.,
his sons (see below); although בְּנָה 1. 6 is sing.

L. 9. בה To be completed by restoring ויש at the end of l. 8, i. e. וישבה (Nöld.). Ll. 6–9 are important for the historical setting of the inscr., although the exact bearing of some details is obscure. ויאמר גם הוא וגו' 1. 6 points to a fresh attempt made by Ahab to assert his authority in Moab; this was prob. the immediate cause of Mesha's revolt. וארא בה ובבתה 1. 7 indicates that the revolt was successful both against Ahab (בה) and his dynasty (בתה, cf. בית אחאב 2 K. 8 18. 9 7 ff. 10 11. Mic. 6 16 &c.). וישראל 1. 7 records the final overthrow of Israel's power in Moab, marked, as we may infer from 2 K. 3 27, by the futile conclusion of Joram's expedition¹, or by the extinction of the house of 'Omri. Then in ll. 7–9 the inscr. goes back to the first stage of the revolt. This began with the recovery of Mehēdeba (l. 8 end), which had been occupied by 'Omri: 'and he dwelt in it his days and half the days of his sons, forty years.' 'Omri's reign, according to 1 K. 16 23, lasted 18 years, Ahab's 22 (1 K. 16 29), Ahaziah's 2 (1 K. 22 52), Joram's 12 (2 K. 3 1). Thus 'Omri's 'days' were 18, and 'half the days of his sons' were 18, making a total of 36, or 'forty years' in round numbers. 'Half the days' of 'Omri's sons brings us, strictly speaking, to the 18th year of Ahab; at any rate it was in the closing years of Ahab's reign, and not after his death (2 K. 1 1. 3 5), that Mesha' began his struggle for independence. But the biblical record so far agrees with the inscr., inasmuch as the Moabite rebellion continued after Ahab's death, during the reigns of his two successors (l. 7 ובבתה). This second stage of the rebellion is recorded in ll. 10 ff.; 'Aṭāroth, Nebo, Yahaṣ were recovered, until Israel was finally driven out. At the close of his 18 years' struggle, Mesha' was able to commemorate his victories, and the efforts which language of Moab should betray the influence of its Arabic-speaking neighbours. See further König *Hebr. u. Sem.* 82.

¹ 2 K. 3 27^b seems intentionally to cast a veil over the abrupt retirement of the allies. It may have been due to superstitious dread of the god of the land after the sacrifice of Mesha's son, or perhaps to an unexpected invasion of the Syrians. See Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x 538–545.

he made for the future security of his kingdom, on a triumphal inscription. The stone, be it noted, was set up in קרחה l. 3; but קרחה was not fortified till Moab's freedom had been won, and Israelite prisoners could be employed upon the works, ll. 24-26. The foregoing account to a great extent turns on the rendering of בנה l. 8 *his sons*¹, i. e. יָמָה like יָמָה *his days* in this line. To take בנה as a sing., *his son* i. e. Ahab, raises serious chronological difficulties. It is impossible to get 40 years out of 'Omri's 18 and the half of Ahab's 22. Wellhausen makes the attempt by discarding the dates in Kings, and lengthening the combined reigns to 60 years (*Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*³ 9 f.); but to do this is to dislocate the biblical chronology, and the translation of בנה *his son* is not so certain as to demand such a violent measure². Num. 32 38. Josh. 13 17.

Jer. 48 23 (בית מעון). Eze. 25 9 &c. Now Mâ'in (ماعين), SW. of Mâdebâ. אשוח Prob. from שוח *sink*, so *pit* (cf. שוחה Jer. 18 20) or *reservoir* for water, l. 23. The word prob. occurs in this sense in Sirach 50 3, where אשיח בם is to be corrected to בים λάκκος ὡσεὶ θαλάσσης cod.A. See *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambr. (1899) 63.

L. 10. קריתן = Hebr. קְרִיתִים Gen. 14 5. Jer. 48 1 &c., now Qurêyât (قریات), S. of 'Atţârûs. For the form cf. רבלתן l. 30 = רבלתים, חורנן l. 31 f. = חורנים. These names are prob. not in the dual—it is difficult to see what significance the dual could have—but in the sing., with the sing. termination תן, ת, called by Barth a 'local ending' (*Nominalb.* 319 n. 5); cf. ריתן 2 K. 6 13. קריתן Josh. 21 32. This ending was subsequently expanded into ים; e. g. in Hebr. ירושלים &c., in Aram. שְׁמֶרֶן = שְׁמֶרֶן, Hebr. שְׁמֶרֶן; similarly the Moab. צהרם = Hebr. צְהָרִים. If these forms were originally duals, it is not clear how ים, ת, could have been contracted into ת, ת. It is true that the dual in Moab. ended in ׳, e. g. מאתן l. 20 = מאתים, but the origin of this form is quite distinct. See Gesenius-Kautzsch 256; on the other hand, König *Lehrgeb.* ii 437, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 150, regard these forms as dual, and Nöldeke points ת, ת, &c. ואש עטרות Cf. Num. 32 34 JE. 'Aţāroth = modern 'Atţârûs (عطاروس),

¹ So Nordlander *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1896) 30 f. See Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* i 143 f.

² Marti has recently suggested the rendering 'he (i. e. 'Omri) dwelt therein his days, and half of my days (i. e. יָמִי for יָמִי) his son (dwelt therein),' *Ency. Bibl.* i col. 792. This gets over the chronological difficulty, but it involves a very harsh construction. Marti rather exaggerates the awkwardness of the passage. Winckler cuts the knot by making חצי *the half* mean *the whole*! *Altor. Forsch.* ii 401-407.

about 8 miles NNW. of Dibon. For אש נר cf. אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל Jud. 20 17 &c.

L. 11. וְאַלְתָּהֶם i.e. וְאַלְתֵּיהֶם = the Arab. viii conj. اِفْتَعَلَ; see Wright *Comp. Gr.* 208 f. The stem exists also in Assyrian, e.g. *iktašad* 'he plundered.' In Hebr. קיר = wall; but the meaning town appears in the Moab. pr. nn. קיר חרשת, קיר מואב; cf. Arab. قَرْيَة village. וְאַחֲזָה i.e. וְאַחֲזָה^{impt.}; so in Arab. اخذ = take a city, in Hebr. לכד. At the end of the line מ is prob. to be restored.

L. 12. רִית for רִאִית (לִי), so point רִית, cf. צְבִיָּה, אֲנִיָּה, קְרִיּוֹת (l. 13); Stade *Lehrb.* § 192 b. Cf. Nah. 3 6 רִאִי. Eze. 28 17 רִאֲוֶה. ואשב. Prob. וְאַשֵּׁב from שוב, Josh. 14 7; or וְאַשֵּׁב from שבה. אראל Of the many interpretations proposed for this word the most suitable here is altar-hearth, Eze. 43 15. 16 from ארי burn, Arab. أَرَى whence أَرَة hearth + [א], as in חשמל, ברמל. Here אראל is in the constr. st., and in Eze. 43 15 f. it has the article; this is against treating אראל as a compound, hearth of El, as e.g. König does, *Lehrgeb.* ii 416. See Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* i col. 298; Marti on Is. 29 1. The אראל was perhaps a fire-altar, i.e. a pillar surmounted by a cresset, Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 469. If אראל = lion of El as in 2 S. 23 20 and Is. 33 7, it is difficult to believe that this was the title of a priest, as Lidzb. takes it, *Eph.* i 278. דודו Prob. Daudoh (ll. 1 n. 3 n., cf. דודו Jud. 10 1), apparently a local god worshipped by the Israelites E. of Jordan¹. As a pr. n. Dūdu occurs in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 44. 45; in Hebr. דוד, דודו, דודוהי, דודוהי &c.; in Aram. דודעלה CIS ii 107; in Palm. דדא 139 2; and in the inscrr. from Šafâ דד². The primary meaning is loved one, then kinsman, uncle. See Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 60 ff.³ וְאַסְחָבָה i.e. וְאַסְחָבָה cf. Jer. 22 19. 2 S. 17 13. Arab. سكب.

L. 13. כמש Cf. לפני יהוה 1 S. 15 33. 2 S. 21 9. בקרית i.e. בְּקִרְיָת Jer. 48 24. Am. 2 2 (with art.), mentioned by the latter perhaps on account of this sanctuary of Kemosh (Nöld.). It is not unlikely that Ar, the capital of Moab, was the same place; see Driver on Am. 2 2. Its site is unknown, but it must have been on the N. or NE. border of Moab. Another suggestion identifies Qeriyyoth with Rabbath-Moab, S. of the Arnon, Buhl *Geogr. Alt. Paläst.* 270. ואשב.

¹ The difficult דדך Am. 8. 14 LXX δ θεός σου is ingeniously corrected to דִּדְךָ by Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 195.

² Dussaud et Macler *Voyage Archéol. au Šafâ* (1901) 126.

³ Winckler treats Ariel-Dôdah as a compound deity, i.e. 'nergal-Tammuz-Jahve with his consort Dodah'—an etymological extravagance; *Gesch. Isr.* ii 257 f.

i. e. וְאֵשֶׁב 2 K. 17 24. שָׂרֵן if not a city, may be the שָׂרֵן of 1 Ch. 5 16 (E. of Jordan) which is prob. the same as הַמִּישׁוֹר Dt. 3 10. Josh. 13 9. 16 f. At the end of the line an א can be traced, prob. part of אֵש.

L. 14. מַחֲרַת Site unknown; not in the O. T. וַיֹּאמֶר לִי כַמֶּשׁ לָךְ Cf. l. 32. Josh. 8 1. Jud. 7 9. 1 S. 23 4 &c. נִבְה Num. 32 3. 38 JE (assigned to Reuben). Is. 15 2. Jer. 48 1. 22. A city on or near Mt. Nebo; Buhl 266 f. The name may point to the worship of the Babyl. god Nebo in the city or on the mountain, though not necessarily, cf. Arab. النبوة *the height*. וַאֲהֶלְךָ So in Job 16 22. 23. 8; in prose only Ex. 9 23.

L. 15. בְּלִלָה Pronounced בְּלִילָה, as Is. 15 1 בְּלִיל. 21 11 מְלִיל show. אֲזַיְבִקֶּעַ כְּשַׁחַר אֲוֶרֶךְ (מְבִקֶּעַ) Cf. Is. 58 8 אֲזַיְבִקֶּעַ כְּשַׁחַר אֲוֶרֶךְ. In Hebr. עֵלָה is usual, e. g. כַּעֲלֹת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ 1 S. 9 26, and with מ' מַעֲלֹת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ Neh. 4 15. צֹהֶרֶם Prob. sing. with the ending *ām* (l. 10 *n.*) rather than dual. In Moab. the dual ends in ן, מֵאֲתָן l. 20.

L. 16. בָּלָה Restore בָּלָה i. e. בָּלָה. After שִׁבְעָתָה we may read וְגֵר i. e. וְגֵר *resident foreigner, sojourner (stranger, AV., RV.)*, or possibly, as this is not very suitable, וְנֵר *young, child* (Lidzb.); see 20 A 15 *n.*

L. 17. רַחֲמָתָה i. e. רַחֲמָתָה cf. Jud. 5 30 רַחֲמָתָה, prob. female slaves. עֲשֹׁתֶרֶת A compound deity like מַלְכַּעֲשֹׁתֶרֶת 10 3 *n.* עֲשֹׁתֶרֶת was most likely a female deity, though the name is written without the usual fem. ending, as in the Babyl. *Ishtar*, the Palm. עֲתֶרֶת (in עֲתֶרֶתָהּ 112 4), and in the Phoen. pr. *n.* עֲבֶרֶתֶת 22 1. The male עֲשֹׁתֶרֶת belonged only to the S. Semites. See 4 1 *n.* הַחֲרָמָתָה i. e. הַחֲרָמָתָה ^{place of devotion} For the practice of *devoting* a city to the god, cf. in Israel Num. 21 2 f. JE. Dt. 2 34. 3 6. Josh. 6 17-19. The *ban* (Arab. حَرَمَ *separate, prohibit*) involved the destruction both of persons and of property, Lev. 27 28 f. See Driver *Sam.* 101 f. *Deut.* 98 f., for the idea Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 434 &c., and 79 8 *n.* At the end of the line restore לִי אֶת-כִּי rather than לִי אֶת-רֵא; the latter in l. 12 is sing. and has אֶת before it.

L. 18. וַאֲסַחֲבֵי הֵם The pron. is here used as an accus.; cf. הֵמוֹ *eos* Ezr. 4 10. הֵמוֹן Dan. 2 35. In Bibl. Aram., as in Syr., there is no verbal suff. 3 plur.; in Syr. ܐܢܝܢ, ܐܢܝܢ are used instead.

L. 19. יְהִי Num. 21 23. Dt. 2 32. Is. 15 4. Jer. 48 21 &c. The site is not known, but it lay on the E. plains, N. of the Arnon; according to Eusebius it was between Dibon and Medaba (*Onom.* 264 96 ed. Lagarde). יָהָשׁ was occupied by the Israelite king at the beginning of the war, prob. as an advanced post. בְּהִלְתַּחֲמָהּ i. e. בְּהִלְתַּחֲמָהּ or

בְּהִלְחָמָה following the Arab. form اِقْتَتَالَ inf. conj. viii. The place-names אֲשַׁתְמַע, אֲשַׁתְמַל are in form infinitives of conj. viii. ויגרשה וגו' Cf. of Yahweh Dt. 33 27. Josh. 24 18.

L. 20. מֵאֲתָן = מֵאֲתָיִם, pronounced מֵאֲתָן, cf. the dual ending of the oblique cases in Arab. —ين, and the contraction of *ai* to *é* in Aram. ܡܬܢܐ, ܡܬܢܐ; or the pronunciation may have been מֵאֲתָן, like the Arab. مائتان, Targ. מֵאֲתָן. רשה Prob. *his chiefs*, = רִאשָׁיו, the plur. with suff. as ימה, בנה (?) l. 8. In Moab, as in Israel, the nation was organized in clans or families; e. g. Ex. 6 14 P. 18 25 JE. ואשאה i. e. אֲשַׁתְמַע cf. l. 30. The suff. is sing. collective.

L. 21. לִסְפַּת Inf. of יסף (l. 29), i. e. לִסְפֹּת, as לִסְפֹּת should be read in Num. 32 14. Is. 30 1. Ges.-Kautzsch 195 n.¹ דיבן Perhaps a district, rather than a city (l. 3 n.); note the expressions לִסְפַּת עַל (cf. יספתי על הארץ l. 29) and כל ר' משמעת l. 28, which seem hardly applicable to a city (Nordlander 42). היערן Lit. *the woods*, prob. the royal groves or park קרחה; cf. Qoh. 2 6.

L. 22. העפל the *acropolis* of קרחה; cf. Neh. 3 27. 2 Ch. 27 3. Is. 32 14 &c. of the fortified mound within Jerusalem, 2 K. 5 24 within Samaria. שעריה Plur. with scriptio plena, cf. l. 8 n. מגרלתה must also be plur., i. e. מְגִרְלָתָהּ or מְגִרְלָתָה (Nöld.), l. 8 n.

L. 23. בַּת מֶלֶךְ Cf. 1 K. 16 18. בלאי Either *both, double*, Hebr. בְּלֵאִים, Arab. كِلَا, كِلَان both, Eth. *kel'é*, or *sluices* from בָּלָא, כלא *restrain*. After האש there are traces of ו; restore [ח. למ.] אין; restore למין. i. e. לְמִין or לְמִין. The ב in בקרב is doubtful (Lidzb.).

L. 24. אֵין i. e. אֵין. The order as in Gen. 47 13.

L. 25. המכרתה Prob. הַמְכַרְתָּהּ from כרת, *cutting*, perhaps for water. In Hebr. כרת is used of *cutting* trees, and כרה of *cutting* wells or trenches. כרתי may be taken from כרה (פְּרִתִּי) whence מְכָרָה *pit*, Zéph. 2 9; but it is difficult to see how מכרתה can come from a ל'ה verb, unless it be a peculiar Moab. form. באפרי i. e. באפרי. The yodh is faintly visible. For ב with the help of, cf. 1 S. 14 6 and l. 28 n.

L. 26. ערער Num. 32 34. Dt. 2 36. Jer. 48 19 &c. The ruins 'Arâ'ir (عراير) S. of Dibon are on the N. edge of the ravine of the Arnon (W. el Mojib). After ארנן perhaps the stroke | followed.

L. 27. במות בעל Prob. the same as במות Num. 21 19 f. 22 41 &c., situated perhaps on Mt. 'Attarûs. הרם i. e. הרם 2 K. 3 25. בצר Dt. 4 43 (in Reuben) &c. 1 Macc. 5 26 ff. Βοσόρ. The site is unknown; it must have been towards the E. border of the Moab. table-land. עין i. e. עין Mic. 3 12.

L. 28. At the beginning we may conjecture ש[ור | הא]; for רש see l. 20 n. Halévy suggests plausibly ש[היה | בא], i. e. *with the help of fifty men of D.* (l. 25), *Rev. Sémi.* (1900) 292. מִשְׁמַעַת obedience, cf. Is. 11 14 מִשְׁמַעַתָּם. ובני עמון. For the idiom see Driver *Tenses* § 189. 2. At the end of the line part of a כ can be discerned; restore מלכת[י]. In the space which follows על רש *over chiefs* may be supplied.

L. 29. בקרן Prob. בִּקְרָן *in the cities*. יספתי Cf. l. 21.

L. 30. Before ובת only בא can be seen, perhaps to be completed מהרבא l. 8. בת דבלתן Jer. 48 22. Num. 33 46 עלמן דבלתים. ובת בעלמען Cf. l. 9 n. The preceding stroke usually marks a stop; and as בעלמען was 'built' in l. 9, it seems unreasonable to take 'ובת ב' as accus. after בנתי l. 29. On the other hand if 'ובת ב' begins a new sentence as *casus pendens*, and as for *Beth-b.*, the construction of ואשא (cf. note on ויענו l. 5) becomes awkward. At the end of the line the usual restoration נקר is possible, meaning *breeders* of a particular kind of sheep; cf. 2 K. 3 4 (of Mesha').

L. 31. וחורן See l. 1 n. 10 n. Is. 15 5. Jer. 48 3 ff. The city lay on the table-land S. of Wadi Kerak, but on lower ground; hence the verb ירד l. 32, and 'מורד ח' in the O.T. The word must be construed as a *casus pendens*. Neither [בן · דרן · ודרן] (Smend u. Socin) nor [בני · חורן] (Nöld.) can be supported by a close examination of the stone. Lidzb. suggests .בת · וק. As Ḥauronān lay in the S., and outside the Israelite occupation, it is likely that these lines gave an account of campaigns against the Edomites.

L. 32. אמר לי כמש Cf. l. 14. At the end of the line Halévy (l. c.) supplies רבן ימן רבן ³³ תחם בקר ימן רבן 'and I fought against the city many days.'

L. 33. בה. Restore וישבה i. e. וַיִּשְׁבָּה l. 8 f. על[א]רה prob. the name of a place.

L. 34. שרק? meaning.

HEBREW

2. Siloam. Circ. 700 B. C. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

... הנקבה . וזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד 1
הגרזן . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמת . להנק[ב . נשמ]ע . קל . אש . ק 2
רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . זרה . בצר . מימן א ובים . ה 3
נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרזן . על[ג]רזן . וילכו 4
המים . מן . המוצא . אל . הברכה . במאתים . ואלף . אמה . ומא 5
ת . אמה . היה . גבה . הצר . על . ראש . החצבם 6

... the boring through! And this was the manner of the boring through: whilst yet² the pick, each towards his fellow, and whilst yet there were three cubits to be bored [through, there was hear]d the voice of each calling to his fellow, for there was a split in the rock on the right hand And on the day of the ⁴ boring through the miners struck, each to meet his fellow, pick upon pick; and ⁵ the waters flowed from the source to the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits; and a hundred cubits⁶ was the height of the rock above the head of the miners.

This ancient Hebrew inscr. was discovered in 1880 on the right wall of the tunnel which connects the Virgin's Spring ('Ain Sitti Maryam) with the pool of Siloam (Birket Silwân, Jn. 9 7), about 19 ft. from the Siloam end. This tunnel pierces the SE. spur of the hill on which the temple of Jerusalem formerly stood. Above the inscr. the rock was dressed for a considerable space, as though it had been prepared for some more writing, or for a relievo representing the miners at work (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 295. ib. ii 285 illustrn.). The inscr. describes an incident in the boring of the tunnel: the gangs which started from opposite ends successfully effected a junction, and so freed a passage for the water from the spring to the pool. The course of the tunnel is marked by two curious curves which perhaps were designed intentionally to avoid some underground obstacle, supposed by Cl.-Gan. to have been the tombs of the kings (*Rec.* ii

§ 66). A plan, showing the points where the excavators lost the direction and where they met, is given by Conder *PEFQS* (1882) 122; Stade *Gesch.* i 591; Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 54 &c. For an interesting parallel see the Lat. inscr. of Lambaesis (N. Afr.), CIL viii 2728, which describes the excavation of a *cuniculus* or subterranean aqueduct on similar principles.

There can be little doubt that the work was carried out in the reign of Hezekiah. We are told that, as a precaution against a possible siege (2 Ch. 32 2 ff.), he brought water from the only natural spring near Jerusalem by a channel through the rock to a place of security within the walls; 2 Ch. 32 30. 2 K. 20 20. Sirach 48 17¹. In ancient times the city walls took in the pool of Siloam; the 'waters of Gihon' were outside them; and the Gihon of the O.T., as the evidence implies, was identical with the Virgin's Spring². The aqueduct, therefore, and with it the inscr., may be assigned to a date about 700 B.C.³ The character of the writing points to the same period. It belongs to the archaic stage represented by the Moabite Stone; but in general form it is lighter and more flowing than the Moabite, and some of the letters, e. g. א, ו, ז, ח, צ, are considerably different. It will be noticed that the final vowels are represented by consonants, e. g. הִיָּה, נִקְבָּה, זֶה, בִּי, וִילְכוּ; but within the word the vowel letter is not written, e. g. צִר, אֵשׁ, יָמֵן; δ =*au* diphth. is written *plene*, עוֹד (from '*aud*'), מוֹצֵא, but \bar{o} = \bar{a} is written *defective*, שֶׁלֶשׁ, אִמָּת, קֵל, חֲצַבִּים. For the suff. 3 m. sing. י' is used instead of the archaic ה' (ה'), e. g. רָעוּ. The words are separated by dots (see p. 62). The style is pure and idiomatic, and reads like a good prose passage out of the O.T. The fullest account of the inscription, and the best facsimile, are given by Guthe *ZDMG* xxxvi (1882) 725-750. Cl.-Ganneau's facsimile in *Rec.* i Pl. xvi is remarkably clear; see also Driver *Samuel* xiv ff.; Socin *ZDPV* xxii (1899) 61 ff.

¹ Καὶ εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν τὸν Γώγ (a corruption of ΤΟΥΔΩΡ) B. ὕδωρ A. In Hebr. the verse runs:—[ל. 'בג']. וַיִּחְצַב כְּנָחֶשֶׁת [בג']. יוֹקִיחֶהּ חֹק עִירוֹ בַּחֲשׂוֹת אֶל חֹכְמָה מִיָּם; וַיִּחְצַב וַיַּחֲסֹם הָרִים מִקֶּדֶה.

² Targ., Pesh. render גִּיחֹן 1 K. 1 33 by שִׁילֹחָא.

³ Is. 8 6 can hardly refer to this invisible channel. An older water-course, which carried the water above ground down the Kidron valley into a reservoir formed by a dam across the opening of the Tyropaeon valley, was discovered by Schick some years ago (see Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii plan); this would agree with the prophet's reference. An ancient reservoir close to the present pool of Sil., and NE. of it, was unearthed lately by Guthe; this may have been the 'upper pool' of Is. 7 3. 36 2 and possibly the 'old pool' of Is. 22 11 (Stade 592). Other pools are mentioned in Is. 22 9. Neh. 2 14. 3 15. 16. It is impossible to identify with any certainty the details of the system of pools and channels in this quarter. See Guthe *ZDPV* v (1882) 355 ff.; Benzinger 52-54; Conder *PEFQS* (1897) 204 ff.; and for recent excavations in the neighbourhood, Bliss *ib.* 11 ff. 91 ff. 173 ff.

L. 1. At the beginning of the line we may conjecture הֵן *behold!* or וְזאת, or בִּים cf. l. 3. Blake (see *n.* 1 below) suggests תם; for the construction cf. Gen. 11 1. Is. 47 11. נקבה Not in the O. T.; but the vb. occurs in 2 K. 12 10 &c. = *pierce*, Arab. كَتَبَ *ib.* נקבה may be pointed נִקְּבָה or נִקְּבָה, Syr. نَحْلُ *hole*, Arab. نَقَبَ *tunnel*. The word is to be translated as a verbal noun active, *piercing through*; see l. 3. דבר Cf. Dt. 15 2 וזה דבר השמטה 19 4. 1 K. 9 15. In the lacuna there must have been a verb and a subject, e.g. *the miners were lifting up*, את מניפם החצבם את (Ex. 20 25); or הניפו וגו'.

L. 2. רעו So Jer. 6 21 = רעהו. הִנֵּקֵב i.e. בעוד להנֵקֵב; for the construction cf. Gen. 48 7. The נ is fairly clear (Socin l.c.), and a part of the top of ק (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 53). This restoration was proposed by Guthe l.c. 737. נשמע Pf. as in 2 S. 12 22; or וישמע.

L. 3. הִית i.e. הִית 2 K. 9 37 Keth., rather than הִית which in this inscr. would be הִיתָה (see above). זרה The context suggests *fissure*; but the meaning is uncertain, and the word not otherwise known. The וור *seethe, act presumptuously* gives no suitable sense¹. After מימן many restore ומשמאל *and on the left*, i.e. *from S. to N.* facing the two gangs, in the direction of the tunnel. Socin in his facsimile gives אל and what are supposed to be fragments of ומ; but while the א is certain, the ל is very doubtful, and the restoration אל[ומשמ] is not sufficient to fill the gap (Lidzb. l.c.).

L. 4. החצבם *the hewers*; הצב of *hewing out* cisterns Dt. 6 11. 2 Ch. 26 10, and of *mining* Dt. 8 9. See the word in Sirach 48 17 (p. 16 *n.* 1). לקרת i.e. לקרת from קרה. וילכו Note the use of waw conv. with impf.

L. 5. מוצא *spring* of water; i.e. the Virgin's Spring, from which the tunnel starts. Cf. 2 Ch. 32 30 מוצא מימי ניהון העליון מאתים. מוצא מימי ניהון העליון מוצא ואלף אמה For the unusual order cf. Num. 3 50 שלש מאות ואלף אמה. The actual length of the tunnel is 1706.8 ft. (Conder l.c. 122), very nearly 1200 cubits of 17 in.; but the 1200 is only a round number, like the 100 at the end of the line, and therefore is of no value for fixing the length of the cubit.

L. 6. גבה הצר i.e. גִּבְהַּ הַצֵּר. The thickness of the rock above the excavators is roughly calculated at 100 cubits. 'Towards the north the rock surface is 170 feet above the roof of the tunnel.' Conder l.c. 127.

¹ Blake, in the *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* xxii. i (1901) 52 f., suggests ורה from ור which seems to have the primary meaning of *narrow* in Syr. and Arab., وَرَّ *evacuavit, privavit* (Payne Smith), وَرَّ *fill, be in straits for water*, conj. *v straitened in one's bosom* (Lane). This is possible.

PHOENICIAN

PHOENICIA

3. Byblus. CIS i. v-iv cent. B. C. Paris.

- 1 אנך יחומלך מלך גבל בן יהרבעל בן בן ארמלך מלך
 2 גבל אש פעלתן הרבת בעלת גבל ממלכת על גבל וקרא אנך
 3 את רבתי בעלת גבל [כ שמע] קל ופעל אנךלר בתי בעלת
 4 גבל המזבח נחשת זן אש בה[צ]ר ז הפתח חרץ זן אש
 5 על פן פתחי ז והערות חרץ אש בתכת אבן אש על פתח חרץ זן
 6 והערפת זא ועמדה זה . . . אש עלהם ומספנתה פעל אנך
 7 יחומלך מלך גבל לרבתי בעלת גבל כמאש קראת את רבתי
 8 בעלת גבל ושמע קל ופעל לי נעם תברך בעלת גבל אית יחומ[לך]
 9 מלך גבל ותחוו ותאריך ימו ושנתו על גבל כ מלך צדק הא ותתן
 10 [לו הרבת ב]עלת גבל חן לען אלנם ולען עם ארץ ז וחן עם אר
 11 [יז] כל ממלכת וכל אדם אש יסף לפעל מלאכת עלת מז
 12 [בה ועלת פת]ח חרץ זן ועלת ערפת זא שם אנך יחומלך
 13 פעל מלאכת הא ואם אבל תשת שם א . כ ואם ה .
 14 את ה א . . . ים . ה עלת מקם ז ו .
 15 הרבת בעלת גבל אית האדם הא וזרעו

I am Yehaw-milk, king of Gebal, son of Yehar-ba'al, grandson of Uri-milk, king ² of Gebal, whom the lady, mistress of Gebal, made king over Gebal; and I invoke ³ my lady, mistress of Gebal, [for she hears] my voice. And I make for my lady, mistress ⁴ of Gebal, this altar of bronze which is in this court, and this engraved work of gold which ⁵ is over against this engraved work of mine, and the uraeus (?) of gold which is in the midst of the stone, which is above this engraved work of gold, ⁶ and this portico and its pillars and the . . . which are

upon them and its roof do I, ⁷Yehaw-milk, king of Gebal, make to my lady, mistress of Gebal; inasmuch as I invoked my lady, ⁸mistress of Gebal, she has heard my voice and done kindness to me. May the mistress of Gebal bless Yehaw-milk, ⁹king of Gebal, and grant him life and prolong his days and his years over Gebal, for he is a righteous king! And may ¹⁰[the lady, m]istress of Gebal, give [him] favour in the eyes of the gods and in the eyes of the people of this land and the favour of the people of the lan[¹¹d . . .]! Every prince and every man who shall make any addition to this alt[¹²ar or to this engraved wor]k of gold and to this portico I, Yehaw-milk, ¹³. set him who does that work; and if thou do not set there (??) . . and if ¹⁴upon this place and ¹⁵the lady, the mistress of Gebal, that man and his seed.

Dupont-Sommer, L'inscription de Yehawmilk, roi de Byblus, Semitica III 1938, pp. 35-44.

This is the oldest Phoenician inscr. yet found in Phoenicia itself. It belongs to the Persian age. Above the inscr. Yehaw-milk, in Persian dress, stands with left hand uplifted, and with the right offering a bowl to the seated goddess. The scene perhaps pictures the occasion when he dedicated the objects recorded below. A conjectural restoration of the stele standing on the two lions which were found near it is illustrated in Berger *Hist. de l'écriture*² 162.

L. 1. אֲנִי The usual form of 1 sing. pron. in Phoen.; rarely אֲנִי CIS i 103 c. 104. 107. Though not written (cf. פִּעֲלָתָן l. 2, ו, כ &c.), the final *i* vowel was prob. pronounced. In later Punic usage the final vowel seems to have been dropped in pronunciation as well as in spelling, e.g. Plautus *Poenulus* v 2 35 *anech*, Schröder xxix 18 4 אֲנִי. Cf. 1 י n. יְחַמְלֵךְ i.e. יְחַמְלֵךְ *let Milk grant life* cf. חַיִּי l. 9 and יְחַיֵּאל 2 Ch. 29 14. גִּבְלִי Cf. 1 K. 5 32. Eze. 27 9. The Greeks changed the name Gebal to Βύβλος; it is now called Djebêl, about half-way between Tripoli and Beirût, where the inscr. was found in 1869. *Gubla* is frequently mentioned in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 50 2. 53. 54. 123 &c. יְהָרְבַעַל *Ba'al is proud* cf. יְהָרְבַעַל *haughty* Pr. 21 24; NHebr. (Hithp.), Aram. יְהָרְבַעַל *be haughty*. The reading, however, is uncertain. The Corp. and Lidzbarski read יְהָרְבַעַל *B. rages*; Vogüé יְהָרְבַעַל *B. gives joy* cf. יְהָרְבַעַל 1 Ch. 5 24. בֶּן בֶּן Cf. 5 14. 27 4. CIS i 372. 391 f.; in Aram. 68 2; in Hebr. Ex.

10 2. אִרְמִילְכִי *fire of Milk* cf. אִרְמִילְכִי I Ch. 6 9, and *Urumilki of Gebal* on the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib, col. ii 50 (*KB* ii 91)—an earlier king of the same name. The occurrence of *milk* in the royal names יְחִימֶלֶךְ and אִרְמֶלֶךְ points to the cult of the patron-deity of Gebal, by tradition identified with Κρόνος, the mythical founder of the city, Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568 ὁ Κρόνος . . . πόλιν πρώτην κτίζει τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης Βύβλον. Milk alone as the name of the god has not been found on any inscription; it is merely a title.

L. 2. אֵשׁ The Phoen. relative, pronounced as a monosyllable *ish* or *ash*, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* v 2 56 *assamar* = אֵשׁ אִמֶּר, or possibly as a dissyllable אֵשׁ, Plaut. *ib.* 1 5; Apuleius *Herb. Medicam.* 47 (48) *nesso esse sade* = אֵשׁ שָׂדֶה נֶשֶׁה. The short form ש is also found, e.g. CIS i 112 b², and more frequently in Pun. and NPun. e.g. 41 2. 3. 55 6. 57 7. 9. 10 שֵׁלָא = שֵׁלָא, and in the transcriptions *si*, *se* Plaut. *ib.* 1 1. 8 &c. The etymology of אֵשׁ is obscure. Taking ש as the original element, it is possible that א, properly a demonstrative sound, ‘Deutelaut,’ was added to it; cf. the א in אֶשׁ, אֶשׁ, אֶשׁ, König *Lehrgeb.* ii 323; on the other hand, in the Assy. *ša* the vowel sound followed the consonant. Whatever the relation between אֵשׁ and אֲשֶׁר may be, in actual usage the Phoen. אֵשׁ forms historically a link between the Hebr. אֲשֶׁר and ש. See Wright *Comp. Gr.* 119; Zimmern *Vergl. Gr.* 77. אֵשׁ יַעֲמֹסֵן 4 7 תְּרַגֹּן i.e. פְּעֻלַּתִּי cf. אֲנִי יוֹסֵף אֲשֶׁר 45 4 מְכַרְתִּם אֹתִי (Ges. § 138 d). The sentence has been rendered ‘for whom . . . made the kingdom,’ treating the suff. as=prep. and suffix, as in נָתַתִּי Josh. 15 19 &c., but מְמַלְכָּת = *royal person* not *kingdom* in Phoen.; see note below. The title גַּבְלָהּ הרבת בעלת גבל is very ancient; it was used by the inhabitants of Gebal in the fifteenth cent. B.C. of the goddess of their city, *Bilit ša Gubla* (Tell-el-Am. letters 55–110). Whether *Bilit* (בעלת) was the name of the deity, or whether it was used in an appellative sense, *mistress*, like בעל lit. *owner, lord*, cannot be decided with certainty¹. Among the Phoenicians of a later age, at any rate, there is no clear evidence of a distinct goddess Ba‘alath. The meaning of the expression לְרַבַּת הַחֲדָרָה 47 is too obscure to be decisive². Probably, therefore, בעלת גבל is only the title of the chief goddess of the city, *the mistress*

¹ This goddess was, of course, a Canaanite not a Babylonian deity. But the Assy. *Bilit* raises the same difficulty; sometimes it is used as a pr. name, sometimes as a title ‘lady,’ sometimes—and this illustrates the usage here—merely as a designation of Ishtar. Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 226; Zimmern *KAT*³ 356.

² The NPun. pr. n. עַבְרַבְעֵלָה is uncertain; Berger *Inscr. céram. d’Hadrumète* 2.

of Gebal; her actual name was not pronounced, perhaps out of reverence. But there can be little doubt that the Ba'alath of Gebal was 'Ashtart, just as the Ba'al of Tyre was Melqarth (36 1), the Ba'al of Harran was Sin (p. 182), and בעלת מיפע was the title of an unnamed goddess in Sabaean (CIS iv 172 3)¹. There is abundant evidence that 'Ashtart was the chief goddess of Gebal. The city was specially sacred to her; its coins are stamped לגבל קדשת (149 B 11), with her symbol, the cone, standing in the temple-court (Rawlinson *Phoenicia* 146, Perrot et Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii 60). Moreover, the goddess represented in the sacrificial scene above the inscr. is almost certainly 'Ashtart. In appearance, indeed, she resembles the Egyptian Isis-Hathor, having on her head the solar disk between two cow-horns²; but the Phoenicians borrowed some of the attributes, as well as the outward representation, of the Egyptian Isis for their own goddess. In an inscr. lately found at Memphis (1900) Isis and 'Ashtart are named together . . . לרבתי לאלם אדרת אם אלם עשתרת ולאלנם (p. 91 n. 1); and Plutarch has preserved the legend that Isis journeyed to Byblus (Gebal), where she was called 'Αστάρτη, *de Os. et Is.* § 15³. By the Greeks Ba'alath was taken to be a distinct deity, Βήλθης, Βααλτίς, and in particular the Ba'alath of Gebal was identified with Aphrodite, 'Αφροδίτη Βυβλίη, Lucian *de dea Syr.* 6⁴. In certain parts of Arabia the planet Venus had the name of *Balthi*⁵. The title רבת is given to 'Ashtart and to other goddesses; see 45 1. 47. 50. 60. 77 B. הרבת The article in Phoen. is far less common than in Hebr.; thus in 5 it occurs 7 times where Hebr. would have used it 28 times, Schröder 161. ממלכת kingdom, sovereignty, then generally, royal person, cf. l. 11. 57 2 &c.; in contrast to אדם 5 4. 6; and often on coins of African kings=מלך, 57 1 n. פעל The ptc. followed by the pron. as in וקרא אנך

¹ So with the Nab. דושרא lit. *lord of Shara*; the actual name of the god is unknown. Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heid.*² 51; and see E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3742.

² Cf. Philo Bybl. ἡ δὲ 'Αστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλῇν ταύρου *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569.

³ Is. 10 4, if emended to בְּלִי פְרַעַת חַת אֲפִיר (Lagarde), may further illustrate the combination of Phoen. and Egypt. deities; Beltis is perhaps the goddess of Gebal. Cheyne *Isaiah*, SBOT 137.

⁴ Cf. Philo Bybl. ὁ Κρόνος Βύβλον μὲν τὴν πόλιν τῇ θεᾷ Βααλτίδι, τῇ καὶ Διώνῃ, δίδωσι ἰβ.

⁵ Chwolson *Die Ssabäer* ii 22 (= En-Nedîm i iv) يوم الجمعة الزهرة واسمها بَلثى. Isaac of Antioch (died circ. 460 A. D.) speaks of Baaltis as a goddess common to the Osrhoenes and Arabs (*Opera* i 210 l. 98; 212 l. 129 ed. Bickell). Cumont in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie* (1896) s. v. Baltis.

קרא אני 13 48 Is. cf. in Hebr. Is. 48 13 שם אנך 12. 1. שם אנך 6. 3. ll. אנך Jer. 38 14 שאל אני. The idiom is more frequent in Aram., e.g. ירע אנה Dan. 2 8. In the Mishnah the ptc. and pron. are united and form a present tense, Driver *Tenses* § 135. 4. Cl.-Gan. thinks that the words refer to the scene above 'I am (here) invoking,' *Ét.* i 11.

L. 3. את 1. 7. 28 4. 42 21 usually אית ll. 8. 15, the sign of the accus. אית was prob. pronounced 'iyyath, later 'iyth, 'ith=yth in Plautus, את in later inscr. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xl (1886) 738, suggests that the pronunciation was 'iūth ('iyāth, 'iyōth); but the analogy of the Hebr. form 'iwayath, 'iyyath, 'eth, favours the vocalization אֵית. The Aram. forms יֵת, אֵ, seem to be shortened from the fuller form preserved in Phoen. (61 28 n.); these, like the Arab. اِيْث, presuppose an original i'yāth (so Nöld. l. c.): König *Lehrgeb.* ii 295, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 112. [כ שמע] קל Cf. the common formula 23 7. 24 2 &c. and Ps. 116 1. 13. 17.

L. 4. המזבח נחשת זן The word denoting material (נחשת) is in apposition to the preceding noun, a familiar construction in Hebr., e.g. הבקר הנחשת 2 K. 16 17 &c., Driver *Tenses* §§ 188 (1). 191; but in accordance with Phoen. usage (l. 2 n.) there is no article with זן נחשת, cf. הפתח חרץ זן in this line, הערת חרץ 1. 5, מרקע חרץ אז 24 1. נחשת might be explained as an accus. of limitation of the type זהב הכרובים 1 Ch. 28 18 and لَحَاقَتُمْ حَدِيدًا (Driver l. c. § 193, Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 44 e), but the former construction is far more probable in Phoenician.

Ll. 4-6. The principal objects dedicated by Yehaw-milk were apparently three, (1) המזבח נחשת זן, (2) הפתח חרץ זן, (3) הערפת זא. Notice that these three have the demonstrative pron., and appear again in the recapitulation l. 11 f. Attached to (2) was הערת חרץ, just as עמרה, ו...ם were attached to (3). The meaning of the second object, הפתח חרץ and הערת חרץ, is obscure. A reasonable sense is obtained for ll. 4 and 5 by treating פתח as=Hebr. פְּתִיחַ *engraving* on a seal (Ex. 28 11 &c.), or plate (1 K. 7 37), or wall (1 K. 6 29. 2 Ch. 3 7). פתחי ז will then mean *this engraved work of mine*, i.e. the stele which bears the inscription; *over against, opposite to this* (על פן cf. 45 3. 1 K. 8 8. 2 Ch. 5 9), was הפתח חרץ, another incised stone, gilded, and surmounted by הערת חרץ set *in the midst of the stone*, i.e. prob. as a centre-piece at the top of it. What the gilded incised stone represented it is impossible to say for certain. Perhaps the stone was carved to represent a small shrine, like the façade of a temple, with the goddess standing or seated within, such as may be seen on the coins of Gebal, e.g.

Babelon *Pers. Achém.* nos. 1398, 1403, 1407 &c.; cf. the *aedicula* from Sardinia, CIS i 148, Pl. xxx. It has been suggested that פתח may mean not merely *engraved work* but *statue* or *bust*, and that the statue of the king (פתחי ז) was erected opposite to a gilded statue of the goddess (הפ' חרין זן); a position which may be illustrated from the Rosetta Stone, where the priests decree a statue of Ptolemy to be placed near the principal god of the temple, Cl.-Ganneau *Ét.* i 17. But whether פתח could be used in this sense is questionable; and even if the word is to be found in τοῖσι Φοινικηίοισι παταϊκοῖσι, which Herodotus says 'the Phoenicians place at the prow of their triremes' (iii 37), this single example of doubtful significance—παταϊκοῖσι may refer to figures of the Egyptian god Ptah—is hardly sufficient to warrant the rendering *statue*. An obvious meaning of פתח is *door*, here a *monumental door* or *pylon* (Vogüé, Renan); this suits פתח חרין זן but not פתחי ז, which seems to denote the stele of the inscr. What is intended by הערת, if that be the right reading, is even more doubtful. Possibly ערת is the Phoen. equivalent of the Egyptian 'ar'a, i. e. the uraeus, or small serpent, which appears sometimes as an accessory to the winged disk and on the head-dress of gods and kings in Egyptian art. Cl.-Ganneau takes the word as a plur. denoting an uraeus-frieze of Egyptian pattern on the epistyle of the *aedicula* (הפתח); he gives several illustrations of Egyptian and Phoen. votive shrines with this decoration (l. c. 22-24). בח[צ]ר ז in this court

is the best restoration of the text; cf. 33 2. 3. חרין = χρυσός,

וזה, 4 5. 24 1. 33 3. 5. In Hebr. חרוץ is poetical, e. g. Ps. 68 14;

many words poetical, archaic, or rare in Hebr. are common in Phoen.,

e. g. טוב for נעם, בשר for שאר, שור for אלה, רגל for פעם, עשה for פעל,

רח for חדש &c. In this inscr. and in 4 5. 33 5 חרין has been

rendered *incision, engraving* from חרין = *cut, sharpen* in Hebr. See 33

5 n. The rendering *gold* is preferable here and in 4 5. בתח

Prob. = בתוך cf. עלת for על ll. 11. 12. 14 &c. הערפת Prob.

gallery, portico, στοά. Etymologically the word is the same as the

Arab. غُرْفَةٌ lit. 'eaves to catch the rain,' or 'gable from which the rain

drips'; then 'the gallery below the roof,' 'upper balcony'; see

Hoffmann *Ueb. einige Phön. Inschr.* 12 f. in *Abh. Gött. Ges.* xxxvi

(1890). The word occurs again 10 1. 33 5. The Corp. reads, with

less probability, הערכת the row of columns, cf. the Hebr. מערכה a row

(of lamps) Ex. 39 37. עמדה i. e. עמדיה; cf. in Sabaeen the dedication

of the peristyle of 'Umdán, מכנתן עמון CIS iv 240 6. זה . . . ם

perhaps וה[ראש] ם and the capitals, Ex. 36 38. 38 17. ומספנתה

and its ceiling cf. ספון in Jer. 22 14. Hag. 1 4.

L. 7. כראת Pf. כמו אשר, כאשר, 10 9. L. 7. כמאש i. e. כמ + אש = אשר, 10 9. 1 sing.; cf. 5 פעלת 19. 16 2. Though not written, the final *z* was pronounced; Plaut. *Poen.* v 1 1 *corathi*. Schröder 204.

L. 8. ושמע . . . ופעל Pf., prob. pronounced as fem.; cf. 56 1. 27 3. חוא 54 3 (NPun.) נדר CIS i 191 2 (Pun.). In Pun. inscr. the pf. 3 sing. fem. often ends in א (א-), e.g. CIS i 216 3 f. 280 2 f. &c. Contrast impf. with ו after כאשר in Hebr., Ex. 16 34. פעל עשה חסד עם = Hebr. עשה טוב עם Gen. 26 29. Ps. 119 65 or עשה חסד עם Gen. 24 12 &c.

L. 9. ותחוו Piel impf. 3 sing. fem. with suff. of 3 sing. mas. i. e. ותחוו. The same stem of the √חוו occurs in the pr. nn. יחומלך, ותארך חנה, cf. מחויאל Gen. 4 18 and perhaps יחובעל, יחואלן &c., cf. 65 3. Ps. 21 5. ימו ושנתו are plur. Cf. Dt. 17 20. i. e. ותארך; cf. 65 3. Ps. 21 5.

1 K. 3 14. הא Pron. of 3 sing., used in this form for both genders, prob. with a difference of pronunciation, *hu'* or *hi'*, according to the gender of the antecedent; e.g. mas. הדבר הא 15. 4 6. 5 10 &c. Moab. St. 1 6. 27. Old Aram. 61 30. 62 11. 22. 63 17 f. Palm. 147 ii c 6: fem. מלאכת הא 13. 5 11. 22. 27 2 &c.

L. 10. חן וחיים לען אלנם ובן אדם Cf. ותחן . . . חן לען in the inscr. from Memphis l. 4 p. 91 n. 1, and the Hebr. idiom with בעיני, Pr. 3 4; also with לעיני, Ex. 7 20. Num. 25 6 &c.; cf. 62 23 קדם. אלנם Cf. 5 9. 16. 18. 22. 10 7 (constr. st.). 20 A 3. B 3 (constr. st.). *Poen.* v 1 1 *alonim valonuth* = ואלנות; the sing. occurs only in pr. nn. יחואלן, אחעלן. This אלנם is not the direct equivalent of the Hebr. אלהים, for נ does not interchange with ה; it is an independent formation with the ending ון, like the Hebr. גאון; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 444. In the cases quoted אלנם has a plur. meaning *gods* (האלנם הקדשם) 5 9. 22; contrast אלם, which, though plur. in form, is sing. in meaning, 33 6 n.

L. 11. No convincing restoration has been proposed for the beginning of the line. For the imprecations cf. 5 10-12. יסף Prob. Hif. impf. 3 sing. mas. על = עלת, after יסף 5 20. Moab. St. 1 21. 29.

L. 12. שם Ptcp.; cf. l. 2 n. At the beginning of the next line we may restore מלך גבל פני ב to complete the construction, as in Lev. 20 5. Jer. 21 10 &c. Cl.-Ganneau l. c. restores [מלך גבל קמני ל]פעל, cf. 4 3 n.

L. 13. מלאכת הא. Phoen. omits the art. with the pron. in these cases, cf. האדם l. 15, and sometimes with the noun too, as here and 5 11 ממלכת הא. Cf. 1 3 הבמת זאת and add. note ii. The rest of the line is obscure. Cl.-Ganneau takes ואם . . . ואם as depre-

cative particles after the adjuration which he restores in l. 12 (קנמי), cf. Neh. 13 25, *Do not set there . . . nor.* אַבִּל perhaps = בִּל *not*.

L. 14. Cl.-Ganneau suggests י[סח]ה *sweep* refuse into the sanctuary; cf. Lam. 3 45 סחי. The prohibition may be illustr. by a Gk. inscr. (B. C. 380) ἐπὶ τὰς ἱερὰς γὰς κόπρον μὴ ἄγειν μηδεμίαν Michel *Rec. d'inscr. gr.* 702 21.

L. 15. זרעו In fig. sense as 4 7 n. 5 8. 11. 22; cf. also Ps. 21 11. זרעו is an isolated instance of the suff. ו' with a noun instead of the usual י'. A verb is required at the beginning of the line, such as חקץ *may . . . cut off!* 5 9 f. 22.

Judging from this inscr., the dialect of Gebal approached nearer to Hebr. than the normal Phoen. speech. Thus the suffixed forms follow the Hebr. type, עלהם l. 6, זרעו l. 15, ימו ושנתו (plur.) l. 9, עמדה (plur.) l. 6, מספנתה (sing.) l. 6; תחוו l. 9 with תו for תו cf. יחיהו Ps. 41 3. The verb חוה seems to have been used at Gebal; in NPun. it occurs rather often in the form חוא, עוה &c.; in Phoen. proper it is only found in compound names. Idioms which resemble Hebr. are כמאש = כאשר l. 7, על פן l. 5 *over against*, תארך ימו l. 9, תתן חן לען l. 9 f., יסף לעשות l. 11 cf. יסף לעשות l. 12 f., שם [פני ב] l. 12 f. There is a Hebr. ring about the phrase מלך צדק הא l. 9.

Additional note i. The fem. sing. ending in Phoenician. The ending of the fem. sing. of nouns in Phoen., whether in the absol. or constr. state, is ת', an archaic form which belongs also to the language of Moab, e. g. במח 1 3. מסלת 26. 28. 29. The ת' was prob. pronounced ת- (in transcriptions 'ath), as in the names of the old Canaanite towns אֶפְרַת, בְּעֶלְת, חֶלְקַת &c., in the O. T.; for Phoen. followed the same general laws of tone as Hebr., which lengthened the vowel of *ath* under the accent. Hebrew, however, went further, and aspirated the final ת into ה, e. g. in the Siloam inscr. נקבה 2 1. אמח, הברכה 5; the transcription of some pr. names suggests that the Punic dialect did the same to a limited extent, e. g. Dido = ירירא, Carthago = קרת חרשא, Ἰμυλκῶν = חמלכא &c., Schröder 126. The instances of the ending א' with fem. nouns cited by Schröder 172 n. 9 are all doubtful. With regard to the fem. ending of the verb, it seems that Phoen. proper did not use a consonantal form, e. g. שמע . . . ופעל 3 8. The ending א', developed like the Hebr. ת- out of an original ת-, is confined to the Punic and Neo-Punic inscrr., e. g. נדרע, נדרא *passim*, שמא = שמעא CIS i 180 4. See Stade *Morgenl. Forschungen* (1875) 214 ff.; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 134.

Additional note ii. The forms of the demonstrative pron. in Phoenician.

Sing. (1) ז mas., sometimes fem. e.g. 3 10. 5 3. 7 1. 19 1. 42 3 &c., and often in NPun. ז אבן 54 1. 58 1. Cf. the Old Aram. ז in פמן 61 3. ומן 4. 22, and the Hebr. זו Ps. 12 8. It does not take the art. after a definite noun; cf. Moab. זאת הבמת 1 3; *Poen.* v. 1 1 *macom esse* = מקום הזה is an exception.

(2) זן mas. 3 4. 5. 12. Cf. Old Aram. זן 61 1. 62 1 and the emphatic זנה 62 22. 63 20. 64 3. 68 6. 76 c 2 (p. 185 n. 1); in Nab., Palm., Palest. (זין) and Bibl. Aram., דנה; Eth. *zentū*.

(3) זא fem. 3 6. 12. Cf. Old Aram. 61 18 f. 69 13. 76 B 5 (used as fem. of זנה); in Nab., Bibl. Aram., דא (used as fem. of דנה); Palm. דה; Eth. *zātī*.

(4) זת fem. NPun. 54 4. 57 3 &c.; in Plautus *syth*. Both זא and זת are, in origin, fem. formations from ז.

(5) אז mas. 11. 24 1. 25 1. 30 1, and fem. 13 2. 15 1. The א is a demonstrative sound, not the article.

Plur. אל 5 22. CIS i 14 5 &c.; cf. 1 Ch. 20 8; with the art. האל 27 3, cf. האל in the Pentateuch; in NPun. אלא, Plautus *ily*; Old Aram. אל (?) 61 29; Egypt. Aram. אלו 74 A 2; Nab. אלה 87 3 &c.; Palm. אלן 110 1 &c.; Bibl. Aram. אלה (אלה) Jer. 10 11; Palest. Aram. אילין; late Hebr. אלו; Eth. *'ellu*.

4. Sidon. Tabnith. Circ. 300 B.C. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

- 1 אנך תבנת כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם בן
 2 אשמנעזר כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם שכב בארן
 3 ז מי את כל אדם אש תפק אית הארן ז אל אל ת
 4 פתח עלתי ואל תרגון באי אדלן כסף אי אדלן
 5 חרץ וכל מנם משר בלת אנך שכב בארן ז אל אל תפת
 6 ח עלתי ואל תרגון כתעבת עשתרת הדבר הא ואם פת
 7 ח תפתח עלתי ורגו תרגון אל י[כ]ן ל[ך] זרע בחים תחת שמ
 8 ש ומשכב את רפאם

I, Tabnith, priest of 'Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, son ² of Eshmun-'azar, priest of 'Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, lie in this coffin: ³ My [curse be] with whatsoever man thou art that

bringest forth this coffin! Do not, do not ⁴ open me, nor disquiet me, for I have not indeed (?) silver, I have not indeed (?) ⁵ gold, nor any jewels of . . . only I am lying in this coffin: do not, do not open ⁶ me nor disquiet me, for that thing is an abomination to 'Ashtart. And if thou do at all ⁷ open me, and at all disquiet me, mayest thou have no seed among the living under the sun ⁸ nor resting-place among the shades!

The sarcophagus of Tabnith, like that of Eshmun-'azar ii (5), displays the characteristics of Egyptian workmanship; it was apparently stolen from an Egypt. tomb, for it bears the epitaph of an Egypt. general Penptah. The style is that of the fourth cent. B.C.; and as the dynasty of Eshmun-'azar i and Tabnith prob. belongs to the period after the occupation of Sidon by Alexander the Great in 332, the inscr. may be assigned to the end of the century, or perhaps rather to the first decade of the next, circ. 290, and 5 to a date 15 years later; see 5 18 n.

L. 1. אֲנִי See 3 1 n. תַּבְנִית Father of Eshmun-'azar ii, 5 1. The name, pronounced Tabnîth or Tabnêth, is preserved in that of a village near Nabatiyeh, SE. of Sidon, *Kefr Tibnîth*. It corresponds to the Hebr. Tibni, 1 K 16 21 f. LXX Luc. Θαβενναι, but hardly to the Gk. Τέννης, the king of Sidon who rebelled against the Persians and was slain in 350, for his coins bear the letters תע as the initials of his name, Babelon *PA* 1574-8. כהן עשתרת cf. 5 15. It is prob. that the dynasty was founded by a priest of 'Ashtart at Sidon; cf. 1 K. 16 31 and Jos. c. *Ap.* i 18 Εἰθώβαλος ὁ τῆς 'Αστάρτης ἱερεύς¹.

¹ עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת pronounced 'Ashtart, as the Gk. 'Αστάρτη (LXX &c.) proves: the chief goddess of the Phoenicians. Her cult was established at Sidon (5. 6. 1 K. 11 5. 33), at Gebal (3), at Ashqelon (Herod. i 105 τῆς Οὐρανίης 'Αφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν . . . πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ, prob. alluded to in 1 S. 31 10 where עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת is to be read, LXX τὸ 'Ασταρτεῖον; cf. the bilingual inscr. 32 1 עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת שם בן עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת; cf. the bilingual inscr. 32 1 Ἀντίπατρος 'Αφροδισίου 'Ασκαλωνίτης), in Cyprus (e. g. at Kition 13. 20), in Sicily at Eryx (CIS i 135 אֵרִיךְ חֵם = the frequent VENEREI ERYCINAI), in Gaulus (38), and at Carthage (e. g. 45 1. CIS i 255 עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת . . . שֵׁשׁ 263 אֲמַעֲשֶׁתֶרֶת (אש בעמח אש ע). The goddess of Carthage called by classical writers Coelestis, Οὐρανία (see quotation from Herodian below), was prob. none other than the Phoen. 'Ashtart; but see 48 1 n. As an element in compound pr. nn. 'Ashtart occurs very often. She was the goddess of fertility and generation (cf. Dt. 7 13. 28 4. 18. 51); and was identified both by Greeks and Phoenicians with Aphrodite, e. g. the common epithets Κύπρις and Κυθήρεια (of Kuthera in Crete) in Homer, and Cypria, Paphia, as titles of Venus; Λιβανίτις was the title of Aphrodite worshipped in Lebanon (עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת בְּלִבָּנון), Lucian *adv. indoct.* 3. There can be no doubt that the prototype of the Phoen. 'Ashtart was the Assyr. Ishtar; to a considerable

L. 2. ארן Of a mummy-case, as Gen. 50 26.

L. 3. מי את כל אדם אש תפק The construction is uncertain. Taking מי as *whosoever* and את as = אֵתָה, we may render *whosoever thou art—any man—that shalt bring forth*; cf. 64 5 f. *whosoever thou art that shalt rob* (so Cl.-Gan.); but here the construction is complicated by the insertion of כל אדם and becomes very laboured. Renan may be right in explaining מי as a mistake for קנמי, *my curse be with every man*; see 5 4 n. תפק is prob. Hifil impf. of פוק which means (1) *bring forth, fetch out*, e.g. Is. 58 10; cf. the Aram. נפק *go forth*, in Af. *bring forth*; or (2) *light upon, find*, e.g. Pr. 3 13 || מצא. 8 35. The first meaning is preferable here. According to Hoffmann פוק = *primarily to come upon by accident, break in upon, break* (*Ueber einige phön. Inschr.* 57 ff.).

L. 4. ולא יתפתח עליהם 11. 6. 7. 5 7. 10. CIS ii 226 2 תפתח עלי is prob. the prep. with suff., *upon me*, used pregnantly after תפתח lit. *open over me*; contrast 5 4 ז משכב אית יפתח אית משכב ז. Less prob. עלי is a noun (1) *inner chamber* (of the vault), the root עלה being used, as often in Assy., in the sense of *going away*; so Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.* i 63 n.; or (2) *roof, lid*, lit. 'that which ascends,' cf. ʿġāṣ upper part, ʿġāyā an elevated place; so Hoffmann l. c. But no derivative of the verb is actually used in Assy. or in Arab. with the meanings proposed in (1) and (2). To take עלי as = Hebr. עֲלִיָּה *upper chamber* does not suit the reference to a sepulchre. It is safer to render עלי *upon me*. See further 5 6 n. תרגוני i.e. תרגון Cf. 1 S. 28 15 of

degree the character of the goddesses was alike, and both filled the most prominent place in the worship of the two races. No satisfactory Semitic derivation of Ishtar-Ashtart has yet been found; hence it has been supposed that ultimately the name is of non-Semitic origin, Schrader *COT*² 179, Sayce *Hibb. Lects.* 252 f. The form עשתרת with the fem. ending *t* is peculiar to the Palestinian deity. In Moabite the name occurs as עשתר with כמש 1 17; in Aram. it becomes עתר (= עשתר), e.g. Palm. עתרעה 112 4 n. = Ἀταργάτις, and the pr. nn. עתרעה CIS ii 52, עתורשור Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118. In S. Semitic (Sabaean) the phonetic equivalent is עתר CIS iv 41 2. 46 5 &c., a male, not a female deity. 'Ashtart was not properly a moon-goddess, any more than Ishtar; but in some places she appears in this character, e.g. Lucian *de Dea Syr.* § 4 ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἀστάρτης ἐστίν. Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι (speaking of the temple at Sidon), and Herodian v 6 10 Λίβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι. Φοίνικες δὲ Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες. 'Ashtart was sometimes represented, as we have seen (3 2 n.), with the Egyptian symbols of Isis and Hathor, the solar disk between two cow-horns. It has been suggested that these were misunderstood, and taken to represent the full and crescent moon; and in this way 'Ashtart came to be conceived as a moon-goddess. See Schürer *Gesch.*³ ii 23 f.; Driver, art. *Ashtoreth*, Hastings *Dict. Bibl.* vol. i; Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x (1901) 550 ff.; E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3741 ff.

disquieting the dead. **אי** The Phoen. negative; twice in the O.T. 1 S. 4 21. Job 22 30; in Assy. *a-a, é, ai*. It is the usual negative in Eth., and frequently occurs in Rabbinic, e.g. **אי אפשר**. The pr. nn. **איתמר**, **איזבל** do prob. *not* contain this form. The other neg. in Phoen. is **בל** 5 3 *n*. **אי 5 5 אילן** The parallel expression in 5 5 **אי 5 5 אילן** suggests that **אילן** like **בן** must contain some such meaning as *with me*. At any rate the final **ן** is prob. the suff. 1 sing. in the verbal form which was sometimes used with preps.; e.g. **בן 5 9 תחתנם**. Hoffmann l. c. reads **לן אר**, which is quite possible, and takes **אר** as a particle strengthening the preceding negative (cf. **אי 42 18 בל**)=the Bibl. Aram. **ארי**=**הנה**, Pal. Talm. and Midr. **הרי** used sometimes with merely a demonstrative force, *here*; so he renders *there is not indeed with me* (**לי=לן**). It is possible that S. Augustine on Ps. 123 (*Op. iv. col. 1407* ed. Ben.) is alluding to this particle when he writes ‘quod Punici dicunt *iar*, non lignum (**יער**), sed quando dubitant; hoc Graeci *ἀρα*; hoc Latini possunt vel solent dicere, “putas,” cum ita loquuntur, “putas, evasi hoc?”’ For **הנה** after a negative cf. **הלא הנה** Hab. 2 13 and **οὐχὶ ἰδοὺ** Acts 2 7. Though Hoffmann’s explanation cannot be regarded as certain, it is preferable to that of Halévy, who takes **אילן** as = *εἰδωλον*. It was not the custom to bury *εἰδωλα* of gold and silver in sepulchres.

L. 5. **מנם 5 5. 45 2 f.** Prob. = Aram. **מִאֵן, מִלְתֵּךְ, מִלְךְ**, lit. *vessel*, used here like the Hebr. **כלי** for *jewels*. Hoffmann takes the word as = *μαμμωνᾶς*, **ממון**, *money, valuables* (Talm.); but this does not account for the plur. form. **בלת** Meaning unknown. here apparently = **בלתי** *only*. There is no exact parallel for such usage in Hebr.

L. 6. **תעבת עשתרת** Cf. **תועבת יהוה** Dt. 7 25. 17 1. 18 12 &c. Pr. 3 32. 11 20 &c. **הא** See 3 13 *n*. 9 *n*.

L. 7. **רָגוּ פִּרְיָיוֹנִי** i. e. **רָגוּ תְּרִגְוֹן**. In Hebr. the Qal. inf. abs. is found occasionally with the fin. vb. in a derived conjugation, e.g. Hif. **עָרַם** 1 S. 23 22. Nif. **סָקַל יִפְקַל** Ex. 19 13. **יכן לך** The stone-cutter has accidentally omitted the **כ** in these two words. The verb **כון** is used in Phoen., as in Arab. and Ethiop., for the Hebr. **היה**, in the sense *to exist, to be*; e.g. 5 8. 11. 20. 29 15. 42 3. 7. 13 &c. **זרע** For **זרע** in metaph. sense cf. 61 20. 64 11. 69 12; and cf. the imprecations in 5 8–9. 11–12, and the Palm. **לא יהוא לה זרע וגר ער**. **עלמא** 145 4 f. **תחת שמש** Cf. 5 12. The phrase is a favourite one with the author of Qoheleth.

L. 8. **משכב את רפאם** Again in 5 8. For **משכב** of a *resting-place* in the under-world cf. Eze. 32 25. For **רפאם** cf. Is. 14 9. 26 14. 19.

Job 26 5. Ps. 88 11 &c.; the meaning usually given is *weak ones*, $\sqrt{\text{רפה}}$ *to be weak*; but, as Cheyne remarks, 'the terrible' or 'the wise' is what we should expect; see *Ency. Bibl.* art. Dead.

5. Sidon. Eshmun-azar. CIS i 3. Date, see p. 27. Louvre. Plate I.

Monde. Exon. e. d'antiqu. phén. Louvre. p. 56 ff.

- 1 בִּירַח בַּל בִּשְׁנַת עֶסֶר וָאַרְבַּע — וְלַמְּלָכִי מֶלֶךְ אֲשַׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צַדְנָם
 2 בֶּן מֶלֶךְ תְּבַנְתָּ מֶלֶךְ צַדְנָם דְּבַר מֶלֶךְ אֲשַׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צַדְנָם לֵאמֹר נְגוּלַת
 3 בַּל עֵתִי בֶן מִסֶּךְ יָמָם אֲזֹרֶם יָתָם בֶּן אֱלֹמֶת וְשָׁכַב אֲנִי בַּחֲלָתִי וּבִקְבֹרִי
 4 בַּמָּקָם אֲשֶׁר בָּנָתָה קִנְמִי אֶת כָּל מַמְלַכְתָּה וְכָל אָדָם אֶל יִפְתַּח אֶת מִשְׁכְּבִי
 5 אֶל יִבְקֹשׁ בֶּן מִנָּם כִּי אֵי שֵׁם בֶּן מִנָּם וְאֵל יִשָּׂא אֶת חֲלָתִי מִשְׁכְּבִי וְאֵל יַעֲמֵ
 6 סֵן בַּמִּשְׁכָּב וְעָלָה מִשְׁכְּבִי שְׁנֵי אָפָּה אִם אֲדָמָם יִדְבַּרְנֶךָ אֶל תִּשְׁמַע
 בַּדְנָם כִּי כָּל מַמְלַכְתָּה
 7 כָּל אָדָם אֲשֶׁר יִפְתַּח עָלָה מִשְׁכְּבִי וְאִם אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא אֶת חֲלָתִי מִשְׁכְּבִי
 אִם אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמֵסֵן בִּי
 8 שָׁכַב וְאֵל יִכֵּן לִּי מִשְׁכָּב אֶת רַפְּאִים וְאֵל יִקְבֹּר בִּקְבֹּרִי וְאֵל יִכֵּן לִּי בֶן זֹרַע
 9 תַּחְתָּנִים וְיִסְגְּרִנִּים הָאֵלִנִּים הַקְּדִישִׁים אֶת מַמְלַכְתִּי אֲדָר אֲשֶׁר מִשָּׁל בָּנִים לִּי
 10 צַתְנָם אֶת מַמְלַכְתִּי אִם אָדָם הֵא אֲשֶׁר יִפְתַּח עָלָה מִשְׁכְּבִי וְאִם אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא אֶת
 11 חֲלָתִי וְאִתִּי זֹרַע מַמְלַכְתִּי הֵא אִם אֲדָמָם הֵמָּה אֵל יִכֵּן לִּי שְׂרֵשׁ לִמְטִי
 12 פֶּרֶל מַעַל וְתֹאֵר בַּחַיִּים תַּחַת שֶׁמֶשׁ כִּי אֲנִי נָחַן נְגוּלַת בַּל עֵתִי בֶן מִסֶּךְ
 13 יָמָם אֲזֹרֶם יָתָם בֶּן אֱלֹמֶת אֲנִי כִּי אֲנִי אֲשַׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צַדְנָם בֶּן
 14 מֶלֶךְ תְּבַנְתָּ מֶלֶךְ צַדְנָם בֶּן בֶּן מֶלֶךְ אֲשַׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צַדְנָם וְאִמִּי אֲמַעֲשֶׂתֶרֶת
 15 כַּהֲנַת עֲשֶׂתֶרֶת רַבְתָּן הַמַּלְכָּה בַּת מֶלֶךְ אֲשַׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צַדְנָם אִם בֶּן
 אֶת בַּת
 16 אֵלִנִּים אֶת [בַּת עֲשֶׂתֶרֶת] בַּצִּדִּין אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת עֲשֶׂתֶרֶת שֶׁמֶמְאָדָרִם
 וְאֲנִי
 17 אֲשֶׁר בֶּן בַּת לֹאֲשֶׁמֶן [ד.] קִדְּשָׁה עֵין יִדְלָל בַּהֲרֵי וְיִשְׁבְּנִי שֶׁמֶמְאָדָרִם וְאֲנִי
 אֲשֶׁר בֶּן בַּת

לאלן צדנם בצדן ארץ ים בת לבעל צדן ובת לעשתרת שם בעל 18
ועד יתן לן אדן מלכם

אית דאר ויפי ארצת דגן האדרת אש בשר שרן למרת עצמת 19
אש פעלת ויספננם

עלת גבל ארץ לכננם לצדנם לעל[ם] קנמי את כל ממלכת וכל 20
אדם אל יפתח עלתי

ואל יער עלתי ואל יעמסן במשכב וואל ישא אית חלת משכבי לם יסגר 21

אלנם הקדשם אל ויקצן הממלכת הא והאדמם המת וזרעם לעלם 22

In the month Bul, in the fourteenth year 14 of the reign of king Eshmun-‘azar, king of the Sidonians, ²son of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, spake king Eshmun-‘azar, king of the Sidonians, saying, I have been seized ³before my time, the son of a (short) number of days . . . , an orphan, the son of a widow ; and I lie in this coffin and in this grave, ⁴in the place which I built. I adjure every prince and every man that they open not this resting-place, ⁵nor seek with me jewels, for there are no jewels with me there, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place, nor carry me from this resting-place (and lay me) on a second resting-place! Yea, if men speak to thee, do not listen to their words. For every prince and ⁷every man who shall open this resting-place, or who shall take away the coffin of my resting-place, or who shall carry me from ⁸this resting-place, may they have no resting-place with the Shades, nor be buried in a grave, nor have son or seed ⁹in their stead ; and may the holy gods deliver them up to a mighty prince who shall rule over them, to cut off that prince or man who shall open this resting-place, or who shall take away ¹¹this coffin, and the seed of that prince or of those men! May they have no root downwards or ¹²fruit upwards, nor any comeliness among the living under the sun! For I am to be pitied (?); I have been seized before my time, the son of ¹³a (short) number of days . . . , an orphan, the son of a widow was I. For I, Eshmun-

'azar, king of the Sidonians, son ¹⁴ of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Am-'ashtart, ¹⁵ priestess of 'Ashtart, our lady, the queen, daughter of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians—(we are they) who built the houses ¹⁶ of the gods, the house of 'Ashtart in Sidon, the land of the sea, and we caused 'Ashtart to dwell there, making (her) glorious (?); and we ¹⁷ (are they) who built a house for Eshmun, in the holy field (?), the well of Yidlal in the mountain, and we caused him to dwell there, making (him) glorious (?). And we (are they) who built houses ¹⁸ for the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon, the land of the sea, a house for the Ba'al of Sidon, and a house for 'Ashtart, the Name of Ba'al. And further, the lord of kings gave to us ¹⁹ Dôr and Yāfê, the glorious corn-lands which are in the field of Sharon, in accordance with the great things which I did; and we added them ²⁰ to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians for ever. I adjure every prince and every man that they open me not, ²¹ nor uncover me, nor carry me from this resting-place, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place, lest ²² these holy gods deliver them up, and cut off that prince and those men, and their seed, for ever!

L. 1. בל 12 1. 24 2. the eighth month, November, cf. 1 K. 6. 38; Assy. *Arah samna*, Palm. כנון, Jewish מרחשון. The name is probably native Canaanite; its original meaning is not known. עסר For עשר, an orthographic peculiarity found only here; 42 3. 46 1 עשרת. In Phoen. as in Hebr. ש stands for *s* and *sh*, e.g. שמע l. 6 and ישא l. 7. שנת is plural. Phoen. uses 'in 14 years' for 'in the 14th year'; see 6 1 *n.* and cf. the construction vi בימם 12 1 *n.* למלכי is usually taken as inf. constr. with suff. 3 mas. sing., 'of his reign,' viz. of king Eshmun-'azar, cf. the Aram. idiom in which the suffixed noun is followed by י, before the genitive. The Hebr. בבאו האיש Eze. 10 3 is similar; Ges. § 131 *n.* and note ², Schröd. 149 f. But the construction is awkward in Phoen., and the parallel which is quoted from 42 4 ff. אחרי השאר can be otherwise explained. Lidzsb. may be right in treating מלכי as inf. constr. with י compaginis, cf. 6 1 f. בירח... מ[לכ]י מלך ברעשתרת. In 24 2. 26 2 למלכי has the suff.

3 mas. sing., but the construction is different. אשמנעזר i.e. Eshmun-‘azar ii, see 4 1 f.

L. 2. תבנת בן מ' See 4 1. Elsewhere peculiar דבר . . . לאמר to Hebr. The דבר l. 6 has not been found in Phoen. outside this inscr.

L. 3. נגולת בל עתי l. 12, cf. Job 22 16 קמטו ולא עת Qoh. 7 17, and the beginning of Hezekiah's hymn, Is. 38 10. The Phoen. negative בל, in Hebr. poetic, occurs again in 42 15. 43 6. The other negative is אי l. 5 and 4 4 n.; the two are apparently combined in איבל 42 18. 21. 43 11. לא is not used in Phoen. The meaning of the eight following letters (again in l. 12 f.) is obscure. They may be read בן מסך ימים *the son of a (small) number of days*, cf. Num. 9 20 *a few days*. The word מסך prob. comes from סנך (for the form cf. מסך Ex. 26 36. מסך Num. 31 28), and means *number, sum*, as סך in the Babyl. Aram. of the Talmud, e.g. B. Bathr. 21 a סך מקרי דרדקי *the number for a teacher of the young*; hence the denom. vb. סך *to sum, count up*, e.g. B. Bathr. 166 b (Levy *NHWP* s.v.); cf. the Syr. سَمَلَ (from سَمَى) *sum, limit*, and Arab. سَلَّ *to stop, close up*. The Hebr. סוֹך (שׁוֹך) *to fence, hedge round* Job 3 23, מסוכה *hedge* Mic. 7 4, is prob. a kindred root. With regard to בן another explanation is possible; it may be written for מן before a word beginning with מ, cf. l. 6 n., 29 13 בן מנחת (Lidzb. 312); in Himyaritic בן is the equivalent of מן *from*, e.g. CIS iv 20 4, בעמהו = מן iv 2 9 f. If this is the case, tr. *from the (full) number of (my) days*. אורם l. 3. Meaning unknown. The four letters occur again in an inscr. from Hadrumetum (Susa), Euting *Hadr.* 9 2 נצב מלכבעל אורם (Carth. In. Anh. 6). To derive the word from אור *to gird* (Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 225 f.) gives no sense that suits the context; on the other hand, if the root be זרם, it may have the same sense as the Arab. زَرَمَ *cease, stop short*, and אורם, possibly an Afel form, may mean *cut off*, i.e. by disease (Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 67); but it is hard to say what part of the verb אורם (Afel) can be. None of the explanations which have been proposed, e.g. Hoffmann's אָז רָם תָּם בֵּן [בֵּין] אֵל, commend themselves. The letters which follow may be read אלמת perhaps = Hebr. אלמנות *widowhood*, here *widow*. חלת Prob. *sarcophagus*. The √חלל = *bore, hollow out*; Arab. حَلَّ, hence حِلَّة box, case; Aram. חֲבֵן sheath; Bab. Talm. חלתא *bee-hive*; ll. 5. 7. 11. 21.

L. 4. בנת i.e. בְּנִתִי. קנמי את כל וגו' *my curse be with every . . . !* cf. l. 20. 4 3 (corr.). In the Mishnah קונם is used in adjurations and imprecations, very much in the same way as קרבן (e.g. *Nedarim* 10 a), Gittin 45 b a man of Sidon said to his wife 'א קונם אם איני מגרשך

curse upon me if I do not divorce thee!'; the word may have been used in Phoen. for similar imprecations. It is to be explained most prob. by the Syr. **ܡܢܫܐ** *substantia*, ὑπόστασις, so *person* (from **ܡܢܐ**), often used in such phrases as **ܡܢܫܐ ܢܦܚܝ** *tu ipse*, and with the suff. simply as an emphatic pers. pron. **ܡܢܫܐܐ** *egomet*. In imprecations **ܡܢܫܐ** will then be the object in an elliptical sentence, '(I pledge) myself, my person, with so and so (that I will avenge)...' See Wright *Comp. Gr.* 130. **ܡܡܠܟܬ 3 2 n.** **ܝܦܬܚ** and the vbs. which follow may be either sing. or plur. **ܡܫܝܒ** A resting-place in the grave, as 16 2.

2 Ch. 16 14. Is. 57 2, cf. 4 8 n. To violate a grave was the greatest indignity that could be offered to the dead; see Am. 2 1. Jer. 8 1 f.

L. 5. **ܒܢ** Either **ܒܢ** *with me* or **ܒܢ** *with us*. The former is better suited to the context, while the latter is what we should expect from the analogy of Hebr. But the sing. suff. with demonstrative **ܢ**, though properly belonging to verbs (e.g. **ܦܥܠܬܢ 3 2** **ܝܒܪܟܢ 9 8**), may have been used in Phoen. with prepositions; cf. the form in **ܝܫܢܐ, ܗܢܢܐ, ܐܝܢܢܐ**. See note on **ܐܕܠܢ 4 4**. **ܡܢܡ** See 4 5 n. 65 6. The five letters **ܡܢܡܢܡ** are taken by the Corp. as one word **ܡܢܡܢܡ** for **ܡܢܡܢܡ** *treasures* cf. *μαμμωνά*. Stade, *Morg. Forsch.* 223, proposes **ܡܢܡܢܡ** (from **ܡܢܐ**) *a rich man*, lit. *a son of pounds*, cf. Talm. B. *Erubim* 85 b **ܡܢܐ ܡܢܐ**. Both explanations are improbable.

L. 6. **ܝܥܡܫܢ ܒܡܫܝܒ ܐܠ ܥܠܬ ܡܫܝܒ ܫܢܝ 6** Usually rendered, 'nor superimpose upon this resting-place the chamber of a second resting-place,' taking **ܝܥܡܫܢ** as impf. 3 plur. with ending **ܝܢ** (cf. **ܝܫܐܢ 1. 22**, **ܝܫܐܢ 33 6**), and **ܥܠܬ** as a noun, see 4 4 n. This rendering, however, is prob. incorrect. In Hebr. **ܝܥܡܫܢ** = (1) *lay a burden upon* (**על**), *lade* Gen. 44 13. Neh. 13 15, and (2) *carry as a burden, lade oneself* Zech. 12 3 (with suff.). Neh. 4 11. Is. 46 3. Each time **ܝܥܡܫܢ** occurs in this inscr., ll. 5 f. 7. 21, the parallel verb in the context is **ܝܫܐ**, just as in Is. 46 3 **ܝܫܐ** . . . **ܗܝܫܐ** cf. v. 1 and Neh. 4 11; it is therefore most probable that **ܝܥܡܫܢ** means not *lay a burden upon* (which would require the prep. **ܥܠ** rather than **ܒ**), but *carry me as a burden*, the final **ܢ** being the suff. 1 sing. (cf. **ܝܫܐ 4 6** **ܝܒܪܟܢ 9 8** **ܝܫܐ 29 15**). Similarly in 42 13. 43 8 **ܝܥܡܫܢ** is used of an offering *carried* into the presence of the god; cf. also the pr. nn. **ܝܥܡܫܢܝܢ 39 2** CIS i 941 &c. **ܝܥܡܫܢ ܒܡܫܝܒ ܐ** can hardly mean *carry me in this sepulchre*, for the **ܡܫܝܒ**, which denotes not the coffin but the sepulchre or place of burial, could not be carried away. The removal of the coffin or mummy-case is deprecated in the phrase **ܐܠ ܝܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܬ ܡܫܝܒܝ**, repeated three times in this context (ll. 5. 7. 21). Accordingly **ܐ** must mean *from this sepulchre*, the **ܒ** being written for **ܡ**

(מן) before a word beginning with מ, see l. 3 n. The prep. ב itself cannot denote *from* (Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 64 f.); the instances quoted, e.g. 11 בראשת נחשת 9 בפלג לארך 33 בנסף אלם 6 are not conclusive. The meaning of עלת is disputed. It occurs after פתח three times in this inscr. ll. 7. 10. 20 (cf. l. 4 אלת יפתח), and three times in 4, ll. 4. 6. 7; similarly after יער l. 21. It is safest to take it here (l. 6), and in every case, as the prep. עלת used in a pregnant sense; thus after יעמסן, *carry me (and lay me) on a second sepulchre*, after יפתח, *open over me, over this sepulchre i.e. open me up &c.*, exactly as the Palm. ואנש לא יפתח עלוהי גומחא *and let no man open over him this chamber* 145 3. Note the alternative construction with the accus. l. 4 אל יפתח אית משכב 1. See 4 4 n. אדם Plur. of אדם, not found in Hebr.; ll. 11. 22. 20 A 5. 33 4. 7. 42 16. 17. ידברנך For suff. after דבר cf. the rare usage in O.T., e.g. Gen. 37 4 דברו. The form here is Piel impf. 3 plur., and the suff. has a demonstrative נ; cf. יספננם l. 19. Ps. 50 23 יכברנני Gen. 27 19. 31 תברכני Job 7 14 תבעתני; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 443 c. ברנם This might mean *their vain talk* from בר Is. 16 6. Jer. 48 30 &c., but it is much more likely that the stone-cutter made a mistake (cf. ll. 9. 15. 16), and intended to write ברברנם i.e. בְּדַבְּרֵיהֶם. For שמע ב cf. Gen. 22 18. 2 S. 12 18 &c. with בקול.

L. 7. 4 יפתח עלת 4 4 n. אש אש or *who shall take away*. Here and in ll. 10. 11 אש by itself=*or*, a variation from the Hebr. usage. In 42 3 &c. אש . . . אש=*whether . . . or*, as in Hebr.

L. 8. 4 יכן 4 7 n. למ Prep. ל with suff. 3 plur., l. 11. Many scholars, however, take this suff. to be sing. and not plur., and suppose that it was pronounced לִם -*ahim-ém* (as *ahi-é* ' , the usual form of this suff.); Schröd. 153-157, see 42 5 n. But in this inscr. the context does not require למ to be taken as sing. 4 רפאם 8.

L. 9. תחתיהם = תחתנם *in their stead*. ויסגרום Piel or Hifil impf. 3 plur. mas. with suff. נם, *and may . . . deliver them up*; here followed by את *with*, instead of ביר as in O.T. האלנם הקדשם

Cf. l. 22. 3 10 n. Dan. 4 5. ממלכת[ת] So the text is prob. to be corrected. Cf. the mistake in ממלכת[ת] l. 11. אדר splendid,

mighty, an epithet assumed by the Ptolemaic kings, 10 6; cf. Ps. 136 18 מלכים אדירים. משל Qal ptcp. where the impf. might be expected. בהם = בנם See add. note on suff. נם p. 39.

L. 10. לקצתנם *to cut them off*, see add. note p. 39. The object of the inf. is expanded in the two long clauses which follow: '(even) that prince . . . or those men (l. 11).' It is possible to put the stop at לקצתנם and take אית ממלכת וגו' as accus. pendens, the construction

being resumed by **לם אל יכן** l. 11 (Hoffmann); but this is less in accordance with epigraphic style. **אם** or l. 7 n.

L. 11. **מ' הא ממל[ב]ת** So correct the error of the mason. **הא** 3 **מ' הא** 13 n. **הארמם המת** l. 22. 29 5. 42 17. For the ending **ת** in **המת** cf. Eth. 'emüntū, 'emāntū, Assy. šunūti, fem. šināti, Sab. hmt; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 368. **שרש למט וגו'** Cf. Is. 37 31. Am. 2 9. Job 18 16. For **פר** cf. 44 2.

L. 12. **תחת שמש תאר** with the sense of *beauty* as in Is. 53 2. **תחת שמש** 4 7 n. Apparently Nifal ptc. of **נחן** i.e. **נָחַן** to be pitied, cf. Jer. 22 23 **מִה־יִנְחָנִי** (text doubtful); for ptc. as gerundive cf. **נורא** Ps. 76 8. **מהלל** 18 4. It is possible (Lidzb.) that **נחן** may be some form (? ptc.) connected with the **נח** and means *I am resting*; cf. **נחת** of *rest* in the grave 16 2.

L. 14. **בן בן** refers to Eshmun-azar, not to Tabnith; cf. 3 1. **אמ[ת]עשתרת** Not 'Ashtart is mother but *handmaid of 'Ashtart*, **אמ[ת]עשתרת** 16 3, as is clear from **אמאשמן** CIS i 881 which must = **אמ[ת]אשמן**, for Eshmun could not be 'mother.'

L. 15. **רבתן** Cf. **רבתי** 3 3. 7. **אם** An error for **אש**. **בנן** i.e. **בְּנֵינוּ**. **בתי** Plur. = **בת**.

L. 16. **אלנם בת אלנם** Jud. 17 5. For **אלנם** see 3 10 n. The 'house of 'Ashtart' mentioned here is prob. the great temple of 'Αστάρτη in Sidon which Lucian visited, *de dea Syr.* § 4; see p. 27. **וישרן** Prob. an error for **וישבן** l. 17, Hifil or Piel (cf. Eze. 25 4 and **ישב** in Mishnah) pf. 1 plur. of **ישב** and *we caused to dwell*. Winckler, however, *Altor. Forsch.* i 67, prefers the text, which he renders *and we brought in*, quoting the Assy. *iširu* (a Canaanite word), *send or bring in something*, often in Tell-el-Amarna letters (Winckler, Engl. Tr., p. 10*). **שממאדרם** Meaning uncertain. The Corp. groups the letters **שם מאדרם** *there, making (her) glorious*, i.e. **מִאֲדָרִים** cf. l. 19 n. Hoffmann explains **שֵׁם מִאֲדָרִים** in app. to **עשתרת** and in l. 17 to the suff. in **וישבני**, and illustrates the order by Ps. 47 10, and the idea by Ps. 7 18. 9 3 &c., comparing the name Semiramis = **שמי רם**; but it may be doubted whether **שם** can = nomen = numen. The rendering of *the glorious heavens* **שם אדרם** does not suit l. 17. **אֲנִיָּהּ = אנחן**. The final vowel, though not written (cf. Aram. **سنة**, later **سنة**), was prob. pronounced.

L. 17. **אשמן** Eshmun was the god of vital force and healing; hence the Greeks and Romans identified him with Aesculapius, e.g. in the trilingual inscr. 40 1 **לאשמן** = ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ = AESCOLAPIO. He had a shrine near Berytus, τὸ τοῦ 'Ασκληπιοῦ ἄλσος Strabo ed. Müll. 644; at Sidon his importance is implied by the name of king Eshmun-azar. In Cyprus many pr. nn. were compounded with Eshmun, e.g. **אשמנאדן**

12 4. עבראשמן 17 1 f. אשמנצלח 19 2 &c. At Carthage he had a temple which stood on the highest ground in the city, the Byrsa (cf. CIS i 252 4 'עבר בת א'). His worship was carried to the Carthaginian colonies, e.g. to Sardinia, cf. 40 and the pr. nn. עבראשמן ib. אשמנעמם 39 2 &c. At Carthage his attributes were combined with those of 'Ashtart, e.g. עברמלקרת בהן אשמנעשתרת CIS i 245 3 f., and in Cyprus with those of Melqarth, e.g. לאדני לאשמנמלקרת CIS i 16. The etymology of the name is obscure. According to the ancients אשמן was derived from שמי *the eighth* of the Κάβειροι¹; recently G. Hoffmann has suggested a connexion with שָׁמֶן, אֶשְׁמֶן, 'the fat one,' ZA xi 227. The two letters before קדש are almost obliterated; the latter of the two is ד or ר. The Corp. suggests 'יר ק' = יער *the sacred grove*; 'שר ק' = שדה *the sacred field* (Lidzb.) is more likely. Hoffmann's *holy demon* (שֶׁד) is improbable. ען ידלל Meaning uncertain; perhaps, *well of Fidlal*. וישבני Hifil pf. 1 plur. with suff. ' and *we caused him to dwell*, i. e. וישבני.

L. 18. לאלני i. e. לְאֵלִי plur. constr., cf. 20 A 3. לבעל צרן *to the Ba'al of Sidon* 33 6, cf. Hesychius Θαλάσσιος Ζεὺς ἐν Σιδῶνι τιμᾶται. For Ba'al with a local designation cf. לבנן ב' 11. צר ב' 36 1. תרזו ב' 149 A 1 ff.; in O.T. חרמון ב' Jud. 3 3. חצור ב' 2 S. 13 23. פעור ב' Dt. 4 3 &c. The actual name of the god was not pronounced; see 3 2 n. עשתרת שם בעל *A. the name of Ba'al*, i. e. the manifestation of B. In the O.T. the Name of Yahweh is frequently used for His manifested presence (Ex. 23 20 f. 1 K. 8 16. Is. 18 7 &c.), or His Person and attributes as revealed to men (Ex. 3 15. 34 5 f. &c.). The Phoenicians, in accordance with their polytheistic tendencies, personified the attributes of Ba'al, and the name of Ba'al became a distinct deity and underwent a change of gender; the manifestation of B. became 'Ashtart his consort. Cf. תנת פן פעל *Tanith the Face of B.* in the Carthaginian inscr.; and see further Vogüé *Mélanges d'Arch. Orient.* 53 ff., Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 196. Some authorities, however, interpret differently, pronouncing שם as שֶׁם, and rendering 'Ashtart of the heaven of Ba'al, Dillmann *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* (1881) 606 ff., Nowack *Hebr. Archäol.* ii 306 f., E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3745. These scholars in l. 16 group the letters עשתרת שם אדרם *A. of the glorious heavens*; see note in loc. But the meaning *Himmels-Astarte Baals*, i. e. 'Ashtart the consort of Βεελσαμην (Dillm.), can only be extracted

¹ E. g. Damascius ap. Phot. 352 b, ed. Migne iii 1305 οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἑσμοῦνον ὄγδοον ἀξιοῦσιν ἐρμηνεύειν ὅτι ὄγδοος ἦν τῷ Σαδύκῳ παῖσι. Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569 οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ Σιδῶκα παῖδες Κάβειροι, καὶ ὄγδοος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκληπιός.

from *ע' שם בעל* by violence; the equivalent of such a title would be *ע' שמת ב' ש' or עשתרת ב' ש'*, see p. 27. Besides the temples of 'Ashtart and Eshmun (ll. 16. 17), perhaps the gods of the royal house (Hoffm.), the king and his mother had founded temples to the patron deities of the state, Ba'al of Sidon and 'Ashtart the Name of Ba'al (l. 18). The 'house of 'A.' in l. 18 is different from the 'house of 'A.' in l. 16; the same goddess was worshipped in two temples under different aspects.

The Phoen. form of the Hebr. *נתן*, 11. 12 3 &c., and the pr. nn. *בעליתן, מלכיתן, יתנבעל* &c. The form *נתן*, however, is implied in some names, e.g. 9 2. *מתנבעל, מתנאלם* &c.¹

ארן מלכם = the Ptolemaic title *κύριος βασιλέων* (Gk. inscr.), the chief holder of royal power in the East, e.g. 10 5 f. (Ptolemy iii). 27 1 (Ptolemy ii). 28 2 (Ptolemy i). 29 4 ff. (Ptolemy vii?); in 9 5 Alexander the Great (Seleucid era). Here the reference is perhaps to Ptolemy ii Philadelphus; and the position of Eshmun-azar as a subject-prince may be confirmed by Diodorus Sic. (xix 58), who mentions Phoen. kings *after* Alexander in the time of Antigonos (so Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 86). As illustrating Eshmun-azar's commemoration of his suzerain's bounty, cf. what Theocritus says of Ptolemy ii, *Πολλὸν δ' ἰφθίμοισι διδώρηται βασιλεῦσιν Πολλὸν δὲ πτολίεσσι, πολλὴν δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐταίροις* *Id.* xvii 110 f. The death of Eshmun-azar may have occurred about 275 B.C. His dynasty has been placed much earlier, in the Persian period; but the use of the title *ארן מלכם* favours the view adopted; the Persian king is always *מלך מלכים*, cf. 71 3; Cl.-Gan. l.c. and *Rec.* v 223, E. Meyer l.c. 3762 n. See Appendix I.

L. 19. *דאר* The modern Tāntūra, on the coast, N. of Jaffa. In Assy. inscr. it is called *Du'ru*, Schrader *COT* 168; in the O.T. *דור* Josh. 12 23 or *דאר* ib. 17 11 &c. *יפי* Joppa, Josh. 19 46. Jon. 1 3 *יפו*.

האדרת great, glorious ll. 9. 16 f. The idea of expanse is contained in the root (Ex. 15 10. Ps. 93 4 of the waves of the sea, majestic); so *אר* is suitably applied to the wide corn-lands of *שרן* (Is. 65 10. 1 Chr. 27 29 &c.). *שד = שרה* cf. 29 9. *למדת*

Prob. *in proportion to, in accordance with*, cf. 42 17; from *מדר*

¹ Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 69 f. explains *יהן* as originally (H)ifil of *נהן* (cf. *ישנא*), subsequently used as the basis of a new Qal formation. In the same way he accounts for the Hebr. *יצב, יצה, יצק* &c., viz. as Qal formations from the (H)ifil of verbs *פ'ץ*. But (1) there is no evidence for a Hifil in Hebr. with ' for 'ה, and (2) the cognate languages show that these verbs were originally *פ'י*, not *פ'ץ*, e.g. *יצב* = Aram. (Targ.) *יצב*, Arab. *وَصَبَ*; *יצע* = Aram. *יצע*, cf. Arab. *وَضَعَ*; *יצר* = Aram. (Targ.) *יצר*, Arab. *وَضَرَ*, Assy. *ēšēru*.

measure. עֲצֻמָּה וגו' *the mighty things which I did*, perhaps referring to the support given to Ptol. ii in his struggle with Antiochus i, which began about 275 B. C., Bevan *House of Seleucus* ii 233–235. The words have been transl. ‘for the great tributes which I paid’; but מִדָּה Neh. 5 4, BAram. מִדָּה, מִדָּה, is a loan-word from Assy. (*madattu*), and even if it had found its way into Phoen. through Aram., פָּעַל is not a suitable verb to go with it; the Hebr. עָשָׂה נָדָר is not really parallel. וַיִּסְפְּנוּ Qal perf. 1 plur. with suff. *and we added them* i. e. וַיִּסְפְּנוּ, see add. note; to take the form as Qal perf. 3 sing. with suff. does not account for the first נ. Stade, *Morg. Forsch.* 310, regards וַיִּסְפְּנוּ as imperf. 3 sing. with waw conversive; but this idiom is not found elsewhere in the Phoen. inscrr. at present known (see 42 4 n.); and though the נ energicum belongs to the imperf. rather than to the perf. in the cognate languages, yet a double energic נ, with the verb and in the suff. נָם, produces a combination too clumsy to be probable. יסִפֵּה עֲלָת 3 11.

L. 20. לְהִיוֹתָם = לִכְנָנָם Cf. 4 7 n. and add. note below. נָבַל
Prob. plur. = נָבִילִי.

L. 21. יַעַר Piel juss. 3 sing. or plur. from עָרָה *lay bare, uncover*, cf. 2 Ch. 24 11 וַיַּעַר אֶת הָאָרוֹן; here followed by the prep. עֲלָת (cf. יָפַתַח l. 7 & c. 4 4 n.), unless עֲלָת is to be taken as a noun, *inner-chamber* l. 6 n. לָמָּה = לָמָּה in the sense of *lest*. In dialectical or late Hebr. לָמָּה preceded by the relat. has acquired this meaning, e. g. Cant. 1 7 שְׁלֹמֶה. Dan. 1 10 אֲשֶׁר לָמָּה. In Aram. ܠܡܐ is the ordinary word for *lest*; so in BAram. ܠܡܐ ܕܝ Ezr. 7 23, and ܠܡܐ alone Ezr. 4 22; Kautzsch *Gr. Bibl. Aram.* 131, see further Driver *Samuel* 123 f. In the expression לָמָּה יַעֲמֵם CIS i 270 ff. (49 5 n.), לָמָּה has a prohibitive sense; cf. in Palm. ܠܡܐ ܝܫܒܥ *let him not be satisfied* 145 7. יִסְגְּרָנָם l. 9 n.

L. 22. אֱלָהָה = אֵל Cf. 45 2. 27 3 האֵל. יִקְצֹן Qal or Piel impf. 3 plur. with ending ܐܢܝ, cf. 33 6. ܝܫܐܢ l. 11 n.

Additional note on the suffix of 3 plur. in Phoen. There are three forms: (1) הֵם, so far only found in Plautus *Poen.* v 1 4 *syllōhōm* i. e. שְׁלָהֶם, cf. Hebr. הֵם, Arab. هُمْ, Aram. הֵם. (2) ם prob. *ēm* (from *ahim*), e. g. זֶרַעַם l. 22. 23 7 קִלְמָם 43 6. (3) נָם, with nouns sing., e. g. חֲבֵרָנָם l. 6. 27 5 אֲדִנָּנָם 19 3 f. אֲבָנָם 42 19. עֲזֹרָנָם 25 2 (ptcp.); with the verb, e. g. לִקְצַתְנָם l. 10. 19 1 (inf.). יִסְגְּרָנָם l. 9 (impf.). 19 1 (pf.); with preps., e. g. תַּחַתְנָם l. 9. בָּנָם ib. This suff. is compounded of נָם + ם, the נ being the energic or demonstrative *nun* which is common in Arab. with the

impf. (also before suffixes, e. g. *yaqṭulan-ka* and *yaqṭulanna-ka*), and appears in Hebr. occasionally, e. g. יִבְרַךְנִי. In Phoen. it has been already noticed l. 6 above, ידברנך. This same נ is regularly used in the Aram. dialects with the plur. suff. attached to the verb, e. g. Bibl. Aram. נִבְּרִין, Mand. 'ינאן, 'ינכון, 'ינהון (Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* 88), Palest. Talm. 'ינן, 'ינכון, 'ינן, 'ינא (Dalman *Gr. d. Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* 79). It is a peculiarity of Phoen. that this נ is combined with the suff. ם, and that this נם is used as a suff. with nouns and preps. See König *Lehrgeb.* ii 444, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 194.

6. Sidon. CIS i 4. iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

- 1 בִּירַח. מִפּ [ע] בִּשְׁת מ [לכ]
 2 י מֶלֶךְ בִּדְעֶשְׁתֶּרֶת מֶלֶךְ
 3 צִדְנָם כ בִּן בִּדְעֶשְׁתֶּרֶת
 4 מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם אֵית שֶׁרֶן אֶר [ן]
 5 [ז] ל [א] לִי לְעֶשְׁתֶּרֶת

In the month MP', in the year when king Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, came to the throne, (it was) that Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, built the plain of this land to his god 'Ashtart.

L. 1. [ע] מִפּ Restored after 29 6. בִּשְׁת מֶלְכִי מֶלֶךְ ב' lit. 'in the year of the reign of king B.,' i. e. prob. his first year. For the construction מֶלְכִי מֶלֶךְ see 5 1 n.; in the latter case we find מֶלְכִי שֶׁת (for שֶׁתָּ as בֶּת for בִּתָּ) is obviously singular here, as it is in such expressions as שֶׁת הָא שֶׁת 27 2, and similarly 9 5. 10 8. שֶׁת שֶׁפֶּטֶם 40 2. 47 1. . . בִּשְׁת . . . בִּים 33 1; so on the Moab. St. 1 2. 8, and in Aram. 69 1. On Phoen. coins, to denote the year, it is always שֶׁת or בִּשְׁת, not שֶׁנֶּת, e. g. Babelon *Pers. Ach.* p. 211 ff. On the other hand, שֶׁנֶּת is the form used for the plural; thus . . . בִּשְׁנֶת . . . בִּימָם 12 1. 13 1. 14 1. 23 1 and similarly 5 1. This is quite clear in the phrase אֶשְׁ הָמָת xxxiii שֶׁנֶּת 29 5. In NPun. שֶׁעֲנֵאת, שֶׁנֶּת, is obviously plural, e. g. 53 2. 54 3. 56 4. 58 3. There are cases where בִּשְׁת sing. is used, e. g. 9 4. 10 5. 33 1, instead of the normal בִּשְׁנֶת plur. 23 6. 24 2. 26 2. 29 4. 8. 30 4; but these cases may be accounted for by the imitation of the Gk. formula ἐν ἔτει or ἔτους. Thus the usage seems to be estab-

lished: in Phoen. שט was used for the sing. and שנת for the plur. (cf. Hebr. בת and בנות). The above is worked out clearly by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 75.

L. 2. ברעשתרת Perhaps Straton i 374–362 B. C.; cf. 149 B 13, and see Appendix I. The meaning of the prefix בר is disputed. The word may be explained by the Hebr. בר plur. בָּרִים *parts, members*. The theophorous pr. nn. which contain this prefix, e.g. ברמלקרת 39 2. ברדאשמן 42 2. ברדתנת ib. 1, will then describe the individual as being under the protection of the deity, a *member* or *client* of 'Ashtart, Eshmun &c.; cf. נר 17 2 *n*. In the same way we can account for the use of בר in a series of Carthaginian inscrs. CIS i 269–286, where it occurs, not in connection with a deity, but with the name of the donor's patron, e.g. 49 2 f. (=CIS 269) בעלחנא אש צרן בר ארני בר אשמניתן *B. the Sidonian, the client of his master Eshmun-yathon*. This usage is explained by the old Semitic custom which allowed a foreigner to place himself under the protection of a native, a *member* of whose household he became. The donors of these inscrs. were apparently strangers (e.g. אש צרן) who availed themselves of the custom at Carthage; so Lidzbarski 134 *n*., Bloch *Phoen. Gloss.* 19 *n*. Most authorities (e.g. Corp. p. 345) take בר to be a shortened form of עבר *servant*; but this does not suit the cases where בר is used of women (CIS i 279. 280)—אמת would be the proper word—nor the cases where בר and עבר occur in the same context, e.g. ברמלקרת בן עברמלקרת and vice versa, CIS i 203. 199. The pronunciation of ברעשתרת &c. was prob. Bod-'ashtart &c., the short vowel before ר with daghesh (. . . בֵּר) being lengthened when בר was used in composition before another syllable; this pronunciation is supported by the Gk. form Βουδάστρατος, in an inscr. from Cos, Michel 424, Θήρων Βουδαστράτου Τύριος. A different etymology is suggested by Grunwald, *Eigennamen des A. T.* 7 *n*., who quotes the Assyr. *Pudi-ilu, Budu-ilu* = 'prince of God' (?) *KB* ii 91, *Budi-ba'al* ib. 173; this meaning of *Budu*, however, is not clearly established.

L. 3. כ בן i.e. כִּי בָּנָה *for he built*; or supplying a clause before the conjunction . . . (*it was*) *that he built*. Cf. 33 3.

L. 4. אר[ן] שרן Various restorations and renderings have been suggested; the simplest is *the plain of this land*, שרן being a *plain* between the mountains and the sea, cf. 5 19. To *build the plain* is not a very natural expression, but it is paralleled by 1 K. 16 24 ויבן את ההר. Hoffmann, *Üb. ein. Phön. In.* 59, connects the word with אֲשַׁרְנָא *Ezr.* 5 3. 9 *walls* (Vulg.), a form which is itself equally obscure.

L. 5. ל[א] לי לע' Cf. 24 1. CIS i 94 4. The Phoen. suff. 3 m. sing.

is 'ē, contracted from *ahi*; cf. Aram. ܐܝ, ܐܝܝ, ܐܝܝܝ. Both the Phoen. and Aram. have weakened the original *ahu* preserved in the Arab. ʾ and the Hebr. הו', ה', ו'.

7. Sidon. Sid. 4. iii-ii cent. B.C. Louvre.

1 המנחת ז אש יתן עבדמסכר רב עבר לספת
2 רב שני בן בעלצלח לאדני לשלמן יברך

This offering (is that) which 'Abd-miskar, governor of the other side of SFT, the second governor, son of Ba'al-šillah, gave to his lord Shalman: may he bless!

L. 1. מנחת Here of an *offering* in general, as perhaps in CIS i 14 5 אל//מנחת; elsewhere מ' is used of sacrifices, with or without blood, e.g. 29 13. 42 14. 43 10. For ז with a fem. noun see 3 add. note ii. עבדמסכר Cf. חטרמסכר 59 A 5. גרמסכר CIS i 267 &c. מסכר must be the name of a deity, though it appears as the name of individuals in the Latin forms *mescar*, *misicir* &c. CIL viii 5194. 5217. The etymology of the name is uncertain. Renan thinks of the Egypt. Sokari, who at Memphis was the god of the dead (Maspero *Hist. Anc.* 26. 412); another suggestion is that the name is pure Egypt. *mer-seker* 'loving silence,' a title of Hathor (cf. חטרמסכר *supr.*), with an elision of the *r*; Hoffmann proposes a compound of the Cyprian מרי (= מלקרת 40 1 n.) + the Egyptian Σώχαρις, *Skr*, ZA xi 239 f.; Cl.-Gan. suggests that מסכר = מזכר (cf. 9 6 n.), which may be the equivalent of Μνημοσύνη to whom a temple (*Aedes Memoriae*) was dedicated at Carthage, *Rev. Arch.* iii. t. 33, 274. This last explanation is certainly attractive. רב עבר לספת רב שני Meaning obscure. Lidzbarski 367 renders, most plausibly, 'under-prefect of Trans-LSPT,' or 'of Trans-SPT,' taking the ל as a prep. (cf. עבר לירדן) and ספת as the name of a stream (√סוף), or as = Hebr. שפה *bank*; Eph. i 16. 147. This rendering may be illustrated by the legend on some Cilician coins of Mazaios, וחלך עברנהרא וזי על מורי i.e. 'Mazaios governor of Trans-Euphrates and Cilicia,' 149 A 6. Cl.-Ganneau's explanation, 'rab retired, moreover rab for the second time,' is less probable; it is difficult to believe that לספת = *added to this*, and שני = *שנית*. Landau, *Beitr. z. Altertumsk. d. Or.* ii 13, renders 'which 'A. gave for LSPT, the over-šni,' treating ר in רב as due to dittography, and reading בעבור = בעבר.

L. 2. בעלצלח *Ba'al prospers*, cf. דעמצלח 32 2. אשמנצלח 35 2; צלח is Piel. שלמן The name of this deity has been found on a

Gr. inscr. from Shêh Barakât, N. of Aleppo, Σελμανης CIG 4450. 4451. The Assyr. *Shulmanu* may be the same word (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 48), but as it occurs only in pr. nn., e.g. Shalman-asar, it may be merely the title of some god; Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.* 189. יברך A brief petition often found at the end of a votive inscr., e.g. 9 8. 12 4. 30 6 &c.

8. Tyre. iii cent. B.C. Louvre.

- | | |
|---|---|
| רת עלת שמאלקצרי .. נפעל הסף ז | 1 |
| באבן צר ועד כסף NNN טבע צר משנ | 2 |
| נדר עבדך ארנבעל השפט בן עזמלך בן | 3 |
| [הש]פט בן בדמלקרת השפט בן דעמלך | 4 |
| [השפ]ט בן עזמלך פעל אית חצי הסף ז | 5 |
| ת יתן אית החצי הסף ז | 6 |
| דל ... ד שפט בן בדמלקרת | 7 |
| צאת ... בן | 8 |
| [ע]ברבעל ... | 9 |

L. 1. עלת is the prep. *upon*. The next four letters are read שמאל *the left* by Cl.-Ganneau *Rec.* i 89; but the letters are very doubtful. נפעל Nif. pf. 3 m. sing. הסף is used in the O.T. for a *sacrificial bowl* Ex. 12 22. 1 K. 7 50. Jer. 52 19. Here we must suppose that the word is used in an extended sense of a large receptacle or *reservoir*. The inscr. is carved on a small moulded cube of stone pierced with a round passage about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; it was probably a spout through which water ran into a tank or reservoir. It seems to be the latter which is referred to as הסף, and not the stone which bears the inscr. The Hebr. סף has also the meaning *threshold*, e.g. Is. 6 4; but this meaning is not suitable here.

L. 2. באבן צר may possibly mean *in Tyrian weight*, cf. אבן המלך 2 S 14 26; but the first word is very uncertain. ועד כסף *and moreover* (?) *silver* (*shekels*). The first of the numerical signs is probably to be taken as the symbol for 1000 † ; it seems to be different from the three signs which follow. This symbol † is found on the Aram. papyrus CIS ii 147; see Euting *Nabaläische Inschriften* 96 and Schröder *ZDMG* xxxix (1885) 317. The total number will be

1070. טבע צר *coinage of Tyre*, טבע lit. *stamped*; so in Arab. طَبَعَ *seal, imprint*. The coinage of Tyre, i.e. the Tyrian or Phoen. as distinct from the Attic standard, is frequently mentioned in the Talmud, e.g. *Bab. Qam.* 90 b מנה צורי. *Bekoroth* 49 b. *Jos. Bell.* ii 21 2 Τυρίων νόμισμα. This was the standard adopted by the Hasmonean princes, as being the native and traditional one; see *Levy Gesch. jüd. Münz.* 155.

L. 3. השפט The title only here in Phoenicia itself. At an early date, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, we hear of a succession of *judges* at Tyre, who took the place of the king; they held office for short terms, and in one instance two ruled together for six years, *Jos. c. Ap.* i 21. Whether this precedent was followed in the third cent. is not known; cf. 17 2. The *suffetes* at Carthage belonged to a more developed constitution. עומלך i.e. *Milk is (my) strength*, a common name in the Pun. inscr.

L. 4. בדמלקרת 6 2 n. דעם-מלך = דעמלך *D'om is king*, cf. 32 2 דעמצלח בן דעמחנא צדני. These names show that דעם was a deity who had votaries among the Sidonians at the Piraeus. No further traces of him have as yet been found in Phoen.; but D. H. Müller, *ZDMG* xxx 691 f., quotes דעמם (with mimation) as a pr. name found in Himyaritic; in Arab. too pr. names are formed from the same root. The Arab. دَعَمَ = *prop, support*; and it is possible that דעם = *Supporter, Upholder*.

L. 5. ז הסף חצי פעל אית חצי הסף ז *made the half of this tank*. חצי again in *CIS* i 169 11.

L. 6. החצי הסף is a grammatical anomaly.

9. Umm-el-'Awâmîd. *CIS* i 7. Date 132 B.C. Louvre.


1	[לאדן ל] בעל שמם אש נדר עבדאלם
2	בן מתן בן עבדאלם בן בעלשמר
3	בפלג לאדך אית השער ז והדלהת
4	אשל פעלת בתכלתי בנתי בשת צצ
5	צצצ לאדן מלכם צצצ III שת לעם
6	צר לכני לי לסכר ושם נעם
7	תחת פעם אדני בעל שמם
8	לעלם יברכן

To the lord Ba'al-shamem (this is that) which 'Abd-elim,
² son of Mattan, son of 'Abd-elim, son of Ba'al-shamar, in ³the
 district of Laodicaea, vowed:—even this gate and the doors
⁴ thereof I made in fulfilment of it (? ?); I built (this) in the year
 180 ⁵ of the lord of kings, the 143rd year of the people ⁶ of
 Tyre, that it may be to me for a memorial and a good name
⁷ under the foot of my lord Ba'al-shamem ⁸ for ever: may he
 bless me!

Umm-el-'Awâmîd is a ruined site near the coast between Tyre and
 'Akka.

L. 1. בעל שמים *lord of the heavens*, i.e. the god who dwells in the
 heavens, to whom the heavens belong¹. Unlike the early Ba'als who
 were connected with the earth and with special localities, *Ba'al of
 heaven* had a general, universal character. He makes his appear-
 ance in the later stages of Sem. religion, during the Gk. period.
 The earliest texts which mention him are the Punic (3-2 cent. B. C.),
 39 I לארן לבעשמים; CIS i 379 חנא כהן שבעלשמים (Carthage); קבר
 ' חמלכת כהן בעלשמים וגו' (a newly discovered inscr. from Carthage,
 Lidzb. *Eph.* i 248 n.); Plaut. *Poen.* v 2 67 *balsamen*. But Carthage
 was not the original home of the cultus. This inscr., dated 132 B. C.,
 gives evidence for Phoenicia, and throughout the N. Semitic world
 'ב' ש' can be traced at this and a later period; thus among the
 Nabataeans of Hauran CIS ii 163 בעשמן. 176 לבעשמן; in the Safâ
 inscrr. בעל סמן (Littmann *Safâ-Inscr.* 58. 70); in Palm. 133 I n.
 The name implies a conception of deity which seems to have been
 produced by outside influences. Lidzb. l.c. suggestively notices that
 the Jewish title יהוה אלהי השמים Ezr. 1 2. אל השמים Ps. 136 26. אלה
 שמיא Ezr. 6 9 &c. מרא שמיא Dan. 5 22 &c., which begins to be used
 in the Persian period, and may reflect the influence of Persian
 religion, was circulated by the Jews of the Dispersion at the very
 time when 'ב' ש' came into vogue (3-2 cent.); and it is probable
 that Jewish monotheistic ideas found their way into the surround-
 ing heathenism, as they certainly did at Palmyra (135 I n.). On the
 other hand, when Syria came under Gk. rule, 'ב' ש' was readily

¹ The S. Arab. god ʿšmī is generally said to = 'ב' ש'; but Lidzb., *Eph.* i 243 ff., has proved that the identification cannot be sustained. The S. Arab. inscrr. do not give ʿšmī the position of 'ב' ש'; he is only one among other deities; and 'heaven' is never written ʿšmī in S. Arab. The Minaean form is ʿšmā, the Sabaean שמן, and 'heaven' is always sing. (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 46). Like other Arab. names with ʿš, possessor of ..., ʿšmī is an epithet, prob. = possessor of loftiness.

identified with Zeus, as later, under the Romans, with Jupiter; thus in 2 Macc. 6 2  = Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος and Ζ. Ξένιος¹. Yet 'ש' 'ב' never occupied the predominant position of Zeus or Jupiter among the N. Semitic races². Among the Nabataeans (supr.) in Roman times he never took the place of the national god Dushara; at Palmyra he was not counted among the πατρώοι θεοί, and it is remarkable that the dedications which contain his name were made by private persons, and they are few in number. There is no record of any official or general adoption of his worship by a king or city. A striking reference to the god occurs in the story of Ahiqar. Down to the fifth cent. A.D. his cult lasted in Syria, and from there passed into Armenia; see Lidzb. l. c. מתן Cf. 2 K. 11 18 מִתָּן a priest of Ba'al; *Mitina* a king of Tyre, inscr. of Tiglath-pileser, *COT* 169; *multun, mythum* &c. in Lat. inscr., CIL viii p. 1030 a. עבדאלם 'Αβδήλιμος Jos. c. *Ap.* i 21; see 33 6 n.

L. 3. בפלג לארץ Cf. Hebr. פלך Neh. 3 17 f., and the Assy. *pulug(g)u* and *pulukku*, both in the sense of 'district,' 'border,' Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 525. 527. It is impossible to say which of the many Laodiceas in Syria is intended; perhaps L. ad mare, as distinguished from L. ad Libanum, is the most likely. Appian, *Syriaca* 57, mentions a Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινικῇ, and there is a series of coins belonging to L. ad Libanum which bear the legend ללארנא אש בכנען 149 B 8³. In the Talm. a לוריקיא is mentioned, and the context implies that it was near Tyre, *Menaḥoth* 85 b: also *Siphre* (Deut.) 148 a, ed. Friedmann. The ב in בפלג is rendered 'oriundus a' by Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 65; but the rendering is scarcely supported, see 5 6 n. Cl.-Gan. takes לארץ as the name of a month, *λαοδίκιος*, and explains thus: the vow was made in the middle (בפלג lit. *division*) of the month, and the building carried out at the end of it (בתכלתי), *Ét.* i 37 ff. דלהת From דל 20 A 5. Ps. 141 3 = דָּלָת.

¹ The שמש of Dan. 12 11 &c. is prob. an intentional disfigurement of בעל שמש, Nestle *ZATW* (1884) 248, Driver *Daniel* 188. In *Julian* ed. Hoffmann 249 l. 8 he is mentioned along with Zeus, Hermes, Serapis.

² Philo of Bybl. exaggerates when he says τοῦτον γὰρ (τὸ ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον Βεελσάμην καλοῦντες, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 565 f. The identification with the sun is hardly correct.

³ Babelon gives ללארנא אש בכנען *L. the metropolis of Canaan*, *RS* p. 84, cf. p. 86 לצדנא אש כמב אפא נה צר 149 B 15; but the construction אש ב is objectionable, and אש the rel. should be read, מ and ש being almost indistinguishable on the coins. It is surprising to find the same legend on coins of Berytus (Babelon *Pers. Ach.* clxiii f.); but the L. of the inscr. is not likely to have been Berytus, which was destroyed by Tryphon in 140 B. C.

For the ה artificially inserted in the plur., cf. Hebr. אִמְהוֹת, Aram. אִמְהָן, אִמְהָן, Arab. أُمّهَات, and 63 16 n.

L. 4. אִשְׁל פִּעֵלְת בְּתַכְלִתִּי בִנְתִּי No satisfactory explanation of these words has been discovered. The translation given above is that of the Corpus; אִשְׁל = אִשְׁר לוֹ, פִּעֵלְת, בְּתַכְלִתִּי in the fulfilment of it, i.e. the vow, בִּנְתִּי Pf. 1 sing. But ל by itself = לִי (לוֹ) is contrary to usage, and the suff. in בְּתַכְלִתִּי has no direct antecedent. Another explanation is אִשְׁ לְפִעֵלְת בֵּת בְּלָתִּי בִנְתִּי which are for the making of the temple, I have finished; I built it . . . , or I have completely built. But we should expect the forms בִּלְת, בִּנְת for the Pf. 1 sing., and perhaps הִבְת. Lidzb. proposes to treat ל before פִּעֵלְת as an affirmative, the Arab. ج, and תַּכְלִתִּי as a noun תַּכְלִית or תַּכְלִת with ' compaginis, and בִּנְתִּי as inf. constr. with suff., which I have indeed made in the completion of my building; this involves too many doubtful assumptions. בשׁ Sing.; see 6 1 n.

L. 5. לֵארוֹן מַלְכָּם 5 18 n. The date is reckoned by the Seleucid era which began in 312 B.C.¹ Strictly speaking the *lord of kings* was Alexander the Great (died 323 B.C.); at the time when the era was instituted, however, the reigning king was Seleucus i Nicator. 'The 180th year of the Seleucids' will be 132 B.C., and 'the 143rd year of the people of Tyre' thus makes the Tyrian era begin in 275 B.C., at which time the city, after its capture by Ptolemy Philadelphus, began to recover itself as an autonomous municipality.

L. 6. שֵׁם 56 זכר = סֵכֶר לְהִיחֹתוֹ = לִכְוֹנֵה לְבִנְי לְכִנִּי i.e. לכני Cf. Is. 56 5; and for שֵׁם נֶעֱם cf. 65 3, and in the Mishnah, e.g. Berakoth 17 a.

L. 7. רָגַל = פעם. אֲרִנִּי My or his lord. The context makes the former more suitable.

L. 8. יִבְרַכֵּן Cf. 7 2 n. The suff. shows that here and elsewhere the verb is Piel not Pual.

¹ Its starting-point was the victory of Ptolemy i Soter, the ally of Seleucus, over Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonos, at Gaza in 312 B.C. This was followed by the victory of Seleucus over Nicanor the general of Antigonos, the recovery of Babylon, and the conquest of Susiana and Media. Porphy. Tyr. Fr. Hist. Gr. iii 707. See Cl.-Gan. Ét. i 60 ff.; Bevan *House of Seleucus* i 52. The Seleucid era was used by the Nabataeans, 97 iii n., by the Palmyrenes, 110 5 n., and by the Jews, who called it מִנִּין שְׁמִרוֹת the era of contracts, e.g. 'Ab. zar. 10 a. For other designations see 1 Macc. 1 11. Jos. Ant. xii 5 3. xiii 6 7.

10. Ma'sûb. Date 222 B. C. Louvre.

- 1 ערפת כברת מצא שמש וצ
 2 פלי אש בן האלם מלאך מלכ
 3 עשתרת ועבדי בעל חמן
 4 לעשתרת באשרת אל חמן
 5 בשת א ו ו ו לפתלמים אדן
 6 מלכם האדר פעל נעם בן פת
 7 למים וארסנאם אלן א[ח]
 8 ים שלש חמשם שת לעם [צר]
 9 כמאש בן אית כל אחרי . . .
 10 . . . אש בארץ לכן לם ל . . .
 11 עלם

The portico on the quarter (?) of the sun-rise and the north (side) ² of it, which the Elim, the envoys of Milk-³ 'Ashtart and her servants, the citizens of Ḥammon, built ⁴ to 'Ashtart in the ashērah (?), the god of Ḥammon, ⁵ in the 50th year of Ptolemy, lord ⁶ of kings, the noble, the beneficent, son of Ptolemy ⁷ and Arsinoë, the divine Adelphoi⁸, in the three (and) fiftieth year of the people of [Tyre]; ⁹ as also they built all the rest . . . ¹⁰ . . . which . in the land, to be to them for . . . ¹¹ . . . ever.

Ma'sûb is situated to the S. of Umm-el-'Awâmîd, about half way between Tyre and Ptolemais ('Akka). The general purport of the inscr. seems to be this: Certain distinguished citizens of Ḥammon, a town near Tyre, build or restore a portico in the neighbouring temple of 'Ashtart at Ma'sûb, in honour of their own Milk-'Ashtart, the deity of Ḥammon. It may have been that the temple of Ḥammon was founded from that at Ma'sûb, and the restoration an act of piety towards the mother-shrine.

L. 1. ערפת See 3 6 n. כברת The √כבר = *be much, great*, as in Assy. *kabāru*, Old Aram. e.g. 61 11. 62 4. 9, Aram. כַּבַּר, Arab. كَبَّرَ; so 'כ' may be taken as an adj. agreeing with ערפת *the great portico*.

A more expressive meaning, however, is suggested by the Assy. *kibratu* 'a (widely) extended territory,' 'a quarter of the world,' e.g. *šar kibrat arbati* 'king of the four quarters,' Schrader *COT* 247, cf. the Hebr. כְּבֶרֶת הָאָרֶץ Gen. 35 16 &c. *a distance* (lit. *a large space*) of land; hence we may render כְּבֶרֶת 'quarter. In this case כְּבֶרֶת will be an accus. of place, defined more fully by the following genit. מִצָּא שָׁמַשׁ (a single term) as often in Hebr., e.g. Ex. 33 10. 1 K. 19 13. Jer. 36 10. If כְּבֶרֶת be rendered *great*, then מִצָּא will be accus., *on the east*, cf. Josh. 1 4. 15. 23 4. For מִצָּא cf. Ps. 75 7 and the Old Aram. מוֹקָא שָׁמַשׁ 62 14.

L. 2. וְצָפֹנִי Perhaps *and the north (side) of it*, צָפֹן=צָפֹל, נ being interchanged with ל, as לִשְׁכָּה and נִשְׁכָּה *chamber*. The ו co-ordinates the word with עֶרְפָּת, to which also the suff. refers. For the suff. י used for the fem. (ע' fem. in 3 6) as well as for the mas. cf. עֲבָרִי l. 3 and CIS i 280 בַּד אֲדָנִי . . . שֶׁרֶדְנָת. A different meaning is suggested by Halévy *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* xii 109 f., who takes צָפֹל as a dialectical form of טָפֹל (cf. נָצַר and נָטַר)=*attach, add*, in Rabb. Hebr. טָפֹל *something attached, subordinate*, so וְצָפֹלִי=וְטָפְלִיָּהּ *and its annexes*. The first explanation is preferable. הָאֵלִים appears to be a title, 'primores,' *chiefs, leaders*; cf. אֵילֵי מוֹאָב Ex. 15 15. Eze. 17 13 &c. This use of the word is perhaps to be found again on the Phoen. seal 150 5 לְבַעֲלִיתִן אֵשׁ אֵלִים אֵשׁ מִלְּקֶרֶתְרִצָּף. מִלְּאֲכֵי Plur. constr.= מִלְּאֲכֵי, in appos. to הָאֵלִים. Cf. Le Bas-Waddington *Voy. Arch.* iii no. 1890 Λούκιος Ἀκκαβαίου εὐσεβ[ῶν] καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς κυρίας Ἀταργάτης (from Kefr Hawar).

L. 3. מִלְּכַעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת The name of the goddess and her city occur again in inscr. from the same neighbourhood, CIS i 8 לְמִלְכַעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת אֵל חֲמֵן, and מִלְּכַעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת (recently discovered) Cl.-Gan. Rec. v 151; cf. also the Pun. inscr. CIS i 250 בְּרַעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת . . . עֲבָרִי. Milk-Ashtart is a distinct deity formed out of the combined attributes of Milk and Ashtart. In the combination Ashtart predominates, for the deity thus conceived is a goddess, not a god. Other examples of compound divinities are אֲשַׁמְנַעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת CIS i 245 3 f. מִשְׁתַּר כְּמַשׁ 1 17. מִלְּכַבְּעַל 37 1 n. מִלְּכַאֲסַר ib. מִלְּקֶרֶתְרִצָּף 150 5 &c.; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 37 ff. As the name of a god, מֶלֶךְ alone is not found (see, however, 50 1 n.); but the many pr. nn. of which מֶלֶךְ forms a part imply that a deity was worshipped in Phoenicia and its colonies under this title; 3 1 n., Driver *Deut.* 223¹. וְעֲבָרִי Not plur. constr., for this form is not written with

¹ Hoffmann, *Ueb. einige Phön. Inschr.* 26, renders *Queen-Ashtart* (Milka-Ashtart, but in Phoen. this would be Milkath-Ashtart), *King Ba'al* &c. We

‘ in Phoen., e.g. מלאך l. 2, בעל (prob.) l. 3, אלן l. 7; it is therefore plur. with suff. 3 fem. sing. = עֲבָדֶיהָ. Cf. צפלי l. 2 n. בעל חמן This must prob. be rendered *citizens of Hammon*, cf. CIS i 120 הרנא בעלת בונתי ‘Eirene, the citizeness of Byzantium.’ 309 3 בעל תברבשי; NPun. בעל המכתערם 54 2; Sab. אבעל CIS iv 86 8. 172 1; and בעלי יריחו Josh. 24 11. Jud. 9 2. If בעל be taken as a divine name, עבדי must = *her servant the Ba'al of H.*, an unsuitable expression, for Ba'al could not be termed the servant of ‘Ashtart. To render *his servant B.-hammān's*, on the analogy of למלכי מלך אשמנעור 5 1, is to introduce confusion into the general sense of the inscr. A place called חמון (*hot spring?*), near Tyre, is mentioned in Josh. 19 28 as belonging to Asher; it is prob. to be identified with Umm-el-‘Awāmîd (9), where there are ruins of a Phoen. city: Guérin *Galilée* ii 141, Hoffmann l. c., Buhl *Geogr. Alt. Pal.* 229¹.

L. 4. לעשתרת באשרת This difficult phrase is usually rendered *to ‘Ashtart in the ashērah*, the goddess being regarded as dwelling in her symbol, the sacred pole (בִּאֲשֶׁרָה); see Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 83, Robertson Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 172, Driver *Deuteron.* 202 f. We have no clear evidence, however, that the *ashērah* was the symbol of ‘Ashtart. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus, the Bible and Homer* 165. 168, explains ‘*Ashtart in the ashērah*’ as referring to an image of ‘Ashtart standing in a niche in an *ashērah*, and he gives an illustration of Artemis in a similar position. But it is by no means certain that the poles or trees figured on gems &c. to which he alludes are *ashērahs*; so that this explanation has only the value of a conjecture. The most plausible solution of the difficulty is that proposed by Hoffmann l. c. The primary meaning of אשרת he takes to have been a *sign-post* set up to mark the site or the boundaries of a deity’s influence; cf. Assy. *ašru* ‘place,’ Aram. לִלְ place, Arab. أَثَرٌ *sign, trace*, from the same root. Meaning originally the *sign* of the deity’s habitation, the *ashērah* would readily be used of the *sacred precincts* or τέμενος of the god, which is exactly the sense required here; in Assy. *aširtu, eširtu*

must take מלך, like בעל and ארן, as an appellative; but while two divine names are sometimes compounded to form a single divinity as above, the language does not favour a combination of this kind; the analogy of ordinary pr. nn. compounded with מלך requires that מלך be taken as a predicate, e.g. מלכיה *Yah is king*. Ba'al *is king* would be a suitable name for a man, but not for the god himself.

¹ Meyer, *Ency. Bibl.* 3741, renders ב' חמן *B.-hammān* (37 4 n.) i. e. the numen occupying the hammān of Milk-‘Ashtart, *the god of the hammān-pillar*, who in turn has an *ashērah* in which dwells an Astarte, the dedication being made to the latter. This seems improbable. Would ב' חמן be called *his servant* (עבדי) in relation to אל חמן?

actually denotes a 'sanctuary' or 'temple'; so Zimmern *KAT*³ 437 *n.* The fem. ending does not mark the gender, according to Hoffmann, but has merely a grammatical significance; it is the sign of a 'nomen unitatis' (Ges. § 122 *t*). The word *ashērah* has been read in only one other inscr., 14 3, and there the text is uncertain. It is true that אֲשֶׁרָה was a goddess, known in Assyria as *Ash-ra-tum*, in Arabia as *Athirat* (cf. 69 16 *n.*), and in Canaan, 1 K. 15 13 = 2 Ch. 15 16. 2 K. 21 7. 23 4. 7; see Lagrange *Relig. Sémi.* 120 ff. Here, however, באֲשֶׁרֶת cannot be treated as a divine name. אֵל חַמֵּן Again in CIS i 8 מַלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶרֶת אֵל חַמֵּן from Umm-el-'Awâmîd; this shows that אֵל חַמֵּן is in apposition to לעֲשֶׁתֶרֶת.

L. 5. אֵל מַלְכָּם 5 18 *n.*; Ptolemy iii Euergetes, B.C. 247–221. בִּשְׁת Sing. for the usual בִּשְׁנַת plur., see 6 1 *n.*

L. 6. הָאֶדֶר corresponds to the Gk. μεγαλοδόξου; see 5 9 *n.* פֶּעַל נֶעַם i.e. εὐεργέτου; cf. 3 8. בֶּן פִּתְלִימִים son of Ptolemy, i.e. of Ptolemy ii Philadelphus, B.C. 285–247. Cf. 27 1.

L. 7. אֶרְסִנָּאס i.e. Ἀρσινόης. The Phoen. has transcribed the genitive; cf. 27 2. אֵלן אֶרְסִנָּאס i.e. אֶרְסִנָּאס cf. 3 10 *n.*, the Phoen. equivalent of the title θεῶν ἀδελφῶν in Gk. Ptolemaic inscr., e.g. the bilingual inscr. of Canopus (B.C. 238), where Ptolemy iii is styled τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν, Michel 551; see 95 1 *n.*

L. 8. [צַר] לָעַם See 9 5 *n.*

L. 9. כִּמּוֹ אֲשֶׁר = כִּמְאֵשׁ, see 3 7 *n.*; lit. *according as*, introducing a fresh *item*; similarly 45 1. 4. אַחֲרֵי בֶן The subj. is הָאֵל l. 2. אַחֲרֵי 10 8. 42 4. 8. 10 אַחֲרֵי הַשָּׂאֵר; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 85. Hoffmann conjectures [הַמְקִדָּשׁ] for the missing word.

L. 10. בְּאֶרֶץ Perhaps the land within the domain of the sanctuary of Ḥammon (Hoffm.). . . לֵבָן לֵם לֵב Cf. 9 6, which suggests that the line may be restored לֵבָן לֵם לֵב [לְעַלְמָא].

CYPRUS

11. Ba'al Lebanon. CIS i 5. viii cent. B. C. Biblioth. Nat., Paris.

א... סכנ קרתחדשת עבד חרם מלך צדנם אז יתן לבעל לבנן ארני a

בראשת נחשת ח ... a

טב סכנ קרתחדשת b

לב[על לבנן ארני] c

a . . . governor of Qarth-hadasht, servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians, gave this to Ba'al of Lebanon, his lord, of choicest bronze.

b . . TB, governor of Qarth-hadasht.

c to Ba'al of Lebanon, his lord.

These inscriptions, the most ancient examples of the Phoen. language and writing yet discovered, are found upon eight fragments of thin bronze, which formed parts of bowls or paterae used for ceremonial purposes¹. Six of the fragments when pieced together make up inscr. *a*; the remaining two, *b* and *c*, are considered to have belonged to a second bowl, owing to slight differences in some of the letters, e. g. א and ל. The writing is of the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone (ix cent.) and the Old Aramaic of the Zenjirli inscr. (viii cent.), allowing for the differences between engraving on metal and carving on stone. The Old Greek alphabet belongs to the same type; in particular, the correspondence between the ⚭ i. e. י and the ⚭ i. e. η and the same letters in Old Greek is noticeable. On this account Lidzbarski (p. 176) is disposed to assign the inscr. to a date not far from the period when the Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Semites (2nd millennium B. C.), considerably earlier than the date of the Moabite Stone. Internal evidence, however, favours a later age,

¹ Fine specimens of these bowls, discovered at Nimroud, may be seen in the British Museum, Nimroud Gallery, table-cases C and D. They are the work of Phoen. artists; in some instances the artist's name is inscribed on the edge in Phoen. letters. The design and workmanship exhibit the characteristics of Egyptian art. The date of the bowls is not earlier than 700 B. C. See Brit. Mus. *Guide to Babyl. & Assy. Antiq.* (1900) 22 f.

that of the Zenjirli inscr. (61-63), the middle of the eighth cent. B.C.; and the character of the writing agrees with this.

The fragments, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, were found in Cyprus. The dedication to Ba'al of Lebanon seems at first sight to point to Phoenicia or Syria as their original home. But the Phoen. colony in Cyprus may well have carried with them the cult of their deity from the mother-land; or if the מִכְנָן *governor* came from Phoenicia, he may have wished to remember the god of his native place, just as the Tyrian colonists at Malta made their dedication to Melqarth, the Ba'al of Tyre, 36 1.

מִכְנָן *governor, prefect*, cf. מִכְנָן *steward* Is. 22 15. The title occurs in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, apparently as a Canaanite loan-word, *zukini* = *rabizi* 'officer' 237 9. The √ = *be of use, service* (Hebr.), *care for* (Assyr.). קִרְת־חֲרָשֶׁת i.e. *new-town*, 'Carthage.' That there was a place of this name in *Cyprus* is made certain by the mention of *Karti-hadas(š)ti* (Assyr. כ interchanged with north-semitic ש) in the lists of Asarhaddon and Ašurbanipal, along with well-known Cyprian towns, such as Paphos, Idalion, Tamassos; *KB* ii 240. It is clear from this inscr. that the city at this period was under the dominion of the Phoen. king. Its site is unknown. An attempt is made by Schrader, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* (1890) 337-344, to identify it with Kition, the modern Larnaka. *Karti-hadast* occupies, he says, the place on the Assy. lists where we should expect to find Kition; and as the name קִרְת־חֲרָשֶׁת *new-town* suggests a previous 'old town,' it is probable that ק'ח' was the Phoen. quarter of the ancient Kition. The identification he thinks to be confirmed by the discovery in Larnaka itself of an inscr. containing the words עֲבֵד הַקִּרְת־חֲרָשֶׁת 'Abd. the man of Carthage, 20 B 6. This is very likely the Cyprian Carthage; but the special mention of the individual's native place rather points to the fact that his home was not in Kition but elsewhere. The bronze fragments are said to have been found on a mountain 20 miles NE. of Limassol and 10 from the sea (CIS i p. 23), at some distance from Larnaka; but this can have no bearing on the argument, for the bowls may have been removed from the place to which they originally belonged. The evidence, in fact, is not sufficient to establish Schrader's identification. עֲבֵד *servant* i.e. high official as עֲבֵד מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל in 2 K. 25 8. Lidzb., ? *vassal* as in the Zenjirli inscr. 63 3. חֵירָם i.e. חֵירָם = אֲחֵירָם *brother of the exalted one*; cf. חֵמֶלֶךְ 40 2. חֵמֶלֶכֶת ib. חֵיָאֵל 1 K. 16 34 for 'אח'. Hiram here has the title מֶלֶךְ צִדְוֹנִים *king of the Sidonians*. It is improbable that he is the Hiram i

who was the friend of David and Solomon, for this Hiram is consistently called *king of Tyre* in the O.T., e.g. 2 S. 5 11. 1 K. 5 15. 9 11 &c.; and historical usage shows that מלך צר did not mean the same thing as מלך צידנים. The official title *king of the Sidonians* implies the union of Tyre and Sidon under one ruler; thus Ethba'al circ. 855 B.C. is called מלך צידנים in 1 K. 16 31 and Τυρίων καὶ Σιδονίων βασιλεύς by Josephus (*Ant.* viii 13 1 cf. Τυρίων βασ. ib. 13 2). The king of the Sidonians was virtually king of all Phoenicia, Sidonians being a general term for Phoenicians used by the people themselves (e.g. 4 1 f. 5 1 f.), by the Assyrians, by the Hebrews (e.g. Jud. 3 3. 1 K. 11 5 &c.), and by the Greeks (Homer, e.g. *Od.* 4 618. *Il.* 6 290). Another Hiram (*Hirummu*) is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser iii as paying tribute in 738 B.C. (*COT* 252). It is true he is called *of Tyre* (*Surrai*); but since no king of Sidon is mentioned—if there had been one the Assyrian king would certainly not have allowed him to escape tribute—we may conclude that Sidon was at this time subject to Tyre, and Hiram ii king of both cities. Hence מלך צדנם would have been his full official title; and the probability is that this Hiram ii, who was reigning in 738, is the king alluded to in the inscr. The epigraphical evidence supports this date; for the character of the writing closely resembles that of the Old Aram. of the Zenjirli inscr., which belong to this period, and mention Tiglath-pileser by name, 62 15 f. 63 3. 6. The third Hiram known to us as the contemporary of Cyrus (Jos. *c. Ap.* i 21) is altogether excluded; he could not have been called מלך צדנם, for by his time the title had long been an anachronism. The union of the two cities under the hegemony of Tyre came to an end in 701, when Sennacherib expelled Luli šarru Siduni (= Ἐλουλαῖος king of Tyre, Jos. *Ant.* ix 14 2), and made Sidon subject to Assyria; *KB* ii 90. Tyre survived as a separate state with a king of its own. The above view is stated forcibly by Landau *Beitr. z. Altertumsk. d. Orients* i (1893) 17–29. אִז Demonstr. pron.; add. note ii p. 26. בעל לבנן is not mentioned elsewhere; cf. בעל חרמון Jud. 3 3, and the Ζεὺς ὄρειος = בעל ההרים to whom a temple was dedicated at the gates of Sidon, Renan *Mission de Phénicie* 397. אִדני Cf. 7 2. 12 4 &c. בראשת נ' Cf. Am. 6 6 ראשית שמנים *the best of ointments*; it is also possible to render *as the first-fruits* (ἀπαρχή) of bronze, cf. Ex. 23 19 &c. The ב' is *beth essentiae*.

12. Kition. CIS i 10. B. C. 341. Paris.

1 בימם ווו לירח בל בשנת א למ[לך פמייתן מלך כתי ו]
 2 אדיל ותמש בן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל מזבח א[ו]
 3 וארום אשנם ו אש יתן ברא כהן רשפחץ בן יכנש
 4 לם בן אשמנארן לאדני לרשפחץ יברך

On the 6th day of the month Bul, in the 21st year of ki[ng Pumi-yathon, king of Kition and] Idalion and Tamassos, son of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion. This altar and two hearths (?) 2 (are they) which Bodo, priest of Reshef-ḥeṣ, son of Yakun-shalom, son of Eshmun-adon, gave to his lord Reshef-ḥeṣ. May he bless!

L. 1. vi בימם lit. *in days*, 6 for *on the sixth day*, xxi בשנת lit. *in years*, 21 for *in the twenty-first year* (see 6 i n.). This clumsy expedient is used to express the ordinal numbers which Phoen. does not possess; instinctively the noun was written in the plur. before the numerical signs; cf. 14 i. 23 i. 27 i. In Hebr. and Aram. a similar usage is occasionally found, e.g. Ex. 19 15 לשלשת ימים *after three days*, i.e. *on the third day*; Dan. 12 12 unto 1335 days, i.e. *unto the 1335th day*; Mishnah Berakoth 9 b ער ג' שעות i.e. *to the third hour*; Mt. 20 3 مَتَمَّ; König *Syntax* § 315 m, *Lehrgeb.* ii 255 n. A less probable explanation is that ימם is not plur. but sing., יָמַם, like the Aram. יממא, (Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl 721); the Aram. יממא, however, is used of *day* as distinguished from *night*, and not in such constructions as the above. Cf. 5 i n. למ[לך פמייתן בל

Restored from 13 i f. With פמייתן cf. עברפמי 23 6. אמתפמי=מתפמי CIS i 55. [פמיש[מע] ib. 197 3. The form suggests that there is some connexion between פמי, clearly a divinity, and the god פעם in the pr. nn. עברפעם CIS i 112 c¹. c². נעמפעם Eut. *Carth.* 263 2 (*namphamo* &c. in Lat. inscr., CIL viii p. 1030 b), but the exact nature of the connexion has not been made out. It is possible that פעם forms an element in the names Pygmaios, Pygmalion (פעם עליון ?)¹; at any rate Pygmalion could be confused with Pumi-yathon, as will appear below. An

¹ It is curious actually to find the name פגמלין in Phoen. (Punic), and in combination with עשתרת, apparently as a deity. It occurs in an inscr. on a gold medallion found in a grave at Carthage, 1894, and written in the earliest type of characters. The form of the name must be due to Gk. influence. The inscr. is given in Lidzbarski 171; see also Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* v 152 n.

interesting side-light is thrown by Gk. historians upon Pumi-yathon (361–312 B.C.). Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.*, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 472, on the authority of the historian Daris, says that Alexander, after the capture of Tyre (332 B.C.), gave to one Pnytagoras an estate which Pasicyprus king of Amathous sold along with his crown to Pumatos of Kition, Πυμάτω τῷ Κιτιεῖ. There is good reason for believing that this estate was none other than Tamassos. For if we compare 26 1 and this inscr., on the one hand, with 13 1 on the other, we may infer that Pumi-yathon acquired Tamassos between the 8th and 21st year of his reign, and lost it between his 21st and 37th year, i.e. between 341 and 325. This agrees very well with the statement of Athenaeus that Alexander disposed of it in 332. Pumi-yathon's reign continued for some time after the latest date furnished by the inscr. (13 1), as appears from his coins, stamped with his 46th year (149 B 6). Diodorus Sic., xix. 79, tells us how his reign came to an end; he was put to death by Ptolemy i Soter, who came to Cyprus ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας τῶν βασιλέων Πυγμαλιῶνα δὲ εὐρὼν διαπρεσβευόμενον πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἀνείλε. Diodorus calls him Pygmalion; but this is prob. only another name for Pumi-yathon; see Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxxi, Droysen *Hellenica* ii 2 10. His death took place in 312; after this, the reckoning by the era of כתי עם began, i.e. in 311 B.C. מלך כתי ואדיל The usual title of the kings of Cyprus. כתי = Kition, on the S. coast; the importance of the town was such that 'the people of Kition,' כְּתִיִּים or כְּתִיִּים, was the name given by the Hebrews to all the inhabitants of Cyprus. אדיל = Idalion, in the middle of the island, NW. of Kition. This and the following city are found in the lists of Asarhaddon and Assur-banipal, *COT* 355 ll. 13. 19.

L. 2. תמש = Tamassos, N. of Idalion; only here in the Phoen. inscr. known. מלכות Cf. 13 2. CIS i 16. 89 &c., and on coins, 149 B 5. מנבח Cf. 3 4.

L. 3. ארום Meaning uncertain, possibly *lions* (אַרְוִים = אַרְוִים), carved in stone and placed beside the altar; cf. τοὺς δύο λέοντας, dedicated to Ba'al or Zeus, in a Gk. inscr. found near Sidon, Renan *Miss. de Phén.* 397. More probably *altar-hearths*, from ארה (ארו, ארי) *burn*, Arab. اِرْج plur. اِرْج hearth; 1 אראל 12. אשן 23 6. אשנים = אשנים cf. 23 6. For the prosthetic א cf. Arab. اَشْن. בדא Cf. 14 2 f. 31 c, frequently in Carth. inscr. It is prob. that בדא is a shortened form of בדר-אשמן, בדר-מלקרת, or some such name, rather than of עבדא; see 6 2 n. In Hebr. the ending would be ון, e.g. חנן = חנא, עבדא = עבדון. רשפח The deity רשף, *Reshef* or *Reshúf*, cf. the Assy. רֶשֶׁף (א) or רֶשֶׁף (א), occurs frequently in Cyprian inscr. and pr. nn.,

e. g. 15 2. 23 2-6. עבררשף 27 4; cf. מלקרתרצף 150 5. His cult was popular in Cyprus, and especially at Idalion; but beyond an allusion to his temple at Carthage CIS i 251 [עבר בת ארש] (the reading [עברארש] in ib. 393 is uncertain), Phoen. inscr. do not mention him outside Cyprus. In N. Syria, however, his worship was of ancient date; 61 2. 3. רשף = *flame, lightning-flash*, Ps. 78 48. Cant. 8 6; hence the god was identified with Apollo (30, Tam. 2, CIS i 89), who as ἐκηβόλος, ἑκατηβόλος &c. was the author of pestilence (*Il.* i 50 f.). Thus רשף may have been the Phoen. Fire-god who smites men and cattle with fiery darts (cf. Dt. 32 23. Hab. 3 5; Driver *Deut.* 368). The name always has a qualifying term, e. g. רשף-מכל (24 2. 25 2. 26 2 from Idalion), ר' אליית (30 3 f. from Tamassos), ר' אלהיתם Tam. 2 4. In these three instances the qualifying term is the name of a place or city; it is probable, therefore, that the same is the case in ר' חץ *Reshef of Ḫṣ*, ? Issos (Cilicia). Cl.-Ganneau, vocalizing ר' חץ, takes the name to be a Phoen. rendering of Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεύς 'Apollo who guards the streets'; the explanation is ingenious, and may be illustrated by the Assyr. *ilu suki* 'the god of the streets.' The original pronunciation of רשף is preserved in the name of an Arab village near Jaffa, ارسوف *Arsūf* (cf. ארשף above) = the Seleucid *Apollonias*; *Rec.* i 176 ff. In Egyptian the god is called Raspu or Resoup; he is represented as bearded, like Apollo, and is mentioned among Asiatic deities; Müller *Asien u. Eur.* 311 f. The Corp. takes the view that ר' חץ = *Reshef of the arrow*, cf. Ps. 76 4 רשפי קשת; but the figure of Raspu from Egypt. monuments, given in Corp. p. 38, holds a spear, not an arrow, and for other reasons the view is improbable. יכנשלם i. e. *peace be (to him)*; again in 14 2 (rest.), and in NPun.

L. 4. אשמנארן See 5 17 n.

13. Kition. CIS i 11. B. C. 325.

- 1 בימם א ווו לירח. מרפא. בשנת א → ווו ווו למלך. פמייתן.
מלך. כת[י]. ואדיל. בן. מלך.
- 2 מלכיתן. מל[ך]. כתי. ואדיל. [ס]מלת. א[ז]. אש. יתן. ויטנא.
מנחשת. יאש. אשת. [בעלת]יתן. עב
- 3 [ד. בת. עשתר]ת. [בת]שמעא. ב[ן]ב[עליתן]. לרבותי. לעשתרת.
[תש]מע[ל]. [קל]

On the 14th day of the month Merpa, in the 37th year of king Pumi-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, son of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion:—This statue (is that) which Yaash, wife of [Ba'alath?]-yathon, temple-serv[ant of 'Ashtar]t, daughter of Shime'o, son of Ba'al-yathon, gave and set up of bronze to her mistress, 'Ashtart; may she hear (her) voice!

This inscr. was found and inaccurately copied by Pococke at Larnaka in 1738, with 32 others; they have all since disappeared.

L. 1. xiv בימם See 12 1 n. מרפא Name of a month, according to Euting, *Sechs Phön. Inscr.* (1875), the 7th month, October. It is also called מרפאם Idal. 7 (Euting *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* (1887) 422), CIS i 124 3 (Malta), 179 5 (Carthage). פמייתן See 12 1 n. It is noteworthy that Tamassos does not occur in the king's title in his 37th year.

L. 2. מלת [ם] Fem., because the statue represented a female figure—the goddess 'Ashtart; similarly CIS i 40. When the statue represented a male the mas. is used, e. g. 23 2. 5. 25 1. 27 3; the same distinction is observed in the use of צלמא and צלמתא in Palmyrene. In the O. T. יתן ויטנא occurs Dt. 4 16. Eze. 8 3. 5. 2 Ch. 33 7. 15. Perf. 3 fem.; the same formula in 23 2. 30 1. יטנא is Hif., cf. יקדש 28 4. יקדשת 29 9. 14. The initial *h* of the Hifil was weakened into the spiritus lenis and written with initial י, but prob. pronounced *iṭnā*, *iḡdīsh*; cf. the similar weakening of the *h* into *l* in Arabic, conj. iv; Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 208. In NPun. the Qal טנא is used in the same sense. [בעלת] יתן So Corp.; but the reading is very doubtful.

L. 3. עבר בת ע' So restored by Berger, and adopted by Corp.; frequently in Carth. inscr. שמעון In Hebr. שמעון, a diminutive from שמע-בעל 33 2. Adopting the text above, the husband, father, and grandfather of Yaash are mentioned. לרבתי The suff. י' is here used for the 3 sing. fem.; similarly בני 27 4.

14. Kition. CIS i 13. B. C. 375.

1 [בי]מם מ לירח זבחששם בשנת 11 ..למלך מלכיתן מלך כתי
ואדיל סמלת ז אש יתן ו

2 יטנא עבראסר בן ברא בן יכ[נשלם על אשתי על...בת...בן...בן]
3 ברא לרבתי לאם האורת כ שמ[ע קל תברך]

On the 20th day of the month Zebaḥ-Šišsim(?) in the 2nd(?) year of [.] 'Abd-osir, son of Bodo, son of Yak[un-shalom], set up [.] of Bodo, to his lady, the glorious(?) Mother, because she heard [. . .].

More than half of the inscr. has perished; but most of what is missing may be supplied with probability from the preceding inscr. 12 and 13.

L. 1. xx בימם See 12 1 n. זבחששם The name of a month. The text here is rather obscure, but the reading given is determined by 29 4, where the word occurs again. Berger, *Rev. d'Assyr.* iii (1895) 69 ff., regards ששם as the name of a god, and, supposing that ש is interchanged with ס, identifies him with ססם *Sasom* in the Cyprian name עברססם 16 1 n. 27 3 &c. The month זבחששם is then explained as the month in which sacrifices were offered to *Sasom*; for the constrn. cf. זבחי אלהים 'sacrifices offered to God,' Ps. 51 19. But as Cl.-Ganneau justly remarks, there is no evidence that *Sasom*, who seems to have been a foreign deity, occupied such a place of importance in the Phoen. pantheon as to have given his name to a month in the calendar. We should therefore render זבחששם *sacrifice of sixty*, i.e. the month of the sixty sacrifices, and compare *ἐκατομβαιών*, the name of the first month in the Athenian calendar; *Ét.* ii § 20. The king mentioned here was either Milk-yathon or Pumi-yathon, prob. the former; for the full style of Pumi-yathon, as given in 12 and 13, would make the line too long.

L. 2. ימנא See 13 2 n. עבראסר *Servant of Osiris*, cf. 16 1. 18 2 f. 36 2 (in Gk. Διονύσιος). 27 2 אמתאסר. 69 9 פטסרי ברא בן [יכנשלם] The same names in 12 3 f., but not the same persons. The Bodo ben Yakun-shalom who dedicated an altar in the 21st year of Pumi-yathon (341) could hardly have had a son who set up a statue early in the reign of Milk-yathon, circ. 375.

L. 3. לרבתי Cf. 13 3. לאם For *Mother* as the title of a goddess cf. לאם רבת פן בעל CIS i 195 2. 47. לרבתי לאמא 380 4, all Carthaginian. The *Mother* may have been a Phoen. goddess, or one adopted from the Gk. or Egypt. pantheon; there are traces of the worship of Demeter in Cyprus (see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 154 f.). האורת The meaning is uncertain. Perhaps the א here =ע, and the name is ptcp. f. of עור *she who helps*, cf. 52 5 ובאורת for ובעורת; but א for ע is Punic and late. If the word be derived from אור the meaning will be *she who girds on*, figuratively *protects*;

the Piel would properly express this, Ps. 18 33. In CIS i 255 we find עשתרת הארת i.e. (prob.) 'A. the *glorious*'; it is natural to suppose that הארת here is merely a variety of this word.

15. **Kition.** CIS i 44. iv-iii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 47.

= Add. note p. 60 f.

1 המצבת אז לאשמנאדני שרדל בן עבדמלקרת בן
2 רשפיתן מלץ הכרמים

This pillar (is) to Eshmun-adoni šRDL, son of 'Abd-melqarth, son of Reshef-yathon, interpreter of the thrones.

This inscr. is carved on the base of a marble obelisk, about 5 ft. high, terminating in a pyramidal or gabled top. The monument is an unusually perfect specimen of the Phoen. type of *maššēbah* (see the heliogravure in CIS i Tab. viii, and the illustration in Nowack *Hebr. Arch.* ii 18, Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 380); it may be compared with the fine specimen discovered at Larnaka (Kition) in 1894, now in the Brit. Mus., no. 31, Cyprus Room; see 21.

L. 1. המצבת The usual word in Phoen. (rarely מנצבת 56 1) for a gravestone or pillar erected over a tomb to commemorate the dead and perpetuate his memory among the living; cf. 16 1. 18 1. 19 1. 21 1 &c.; similarly among the Hebrews, e.g. Gen. 35 20 מצבת קברת רחל ל. The name of the person commemorated is usually introduced by ל, e.g. 18 3 f. 19 3 f. CIS i 59 116; see further 16 2 n. Thus the usage of מצבת and the form of the sentence leave little doubt as to the way in which this inscr. is to be interpreted; it records the fact the stone was erected to the memory of Eshmun-adoni šRDL and set up over his grave. The view, therefore, that the *maššēbah* was a religious offering '(which) šRDL (erected) to Eshmun his lord' is not in accordance with the usage of the language; it requires אש ימנא to be supplied; and in the case of a dedication to a god the order of words would be different, as for instance in 12. 13 and 14. See add. note p. 26; † is also found after מצבת 19 1. CIS i 61. אשמנאדני is to be taken as a pr. name formed by a combination of Eshmun and Adon, the latter being the title of a god whose actual name was not pronounced. Similar combinations current in Cyprus are Eshmun-

melqarth (CIS i 16. 23. 24) and Adonis-Osiris¹. In these cases, however, the combination forms the name of a deity, cf. 10 3 n. In CIS i 42 and 43 אשמנארני is followed by what appears to be fragments of pr. names, . . . אשמנארני-יבז 42 and . . . אשמנארני-נשכ 43; here the word which follows is שרדל, evidently also a pr. name. It is prob. that in all three instances we have the individual's nomen and cognomen given, a very unusual practice (so Lidzb.). The name שרדל is found again in a Pun. inscr. CIS i 444 3 f. [שרדל]; the etymology and pronunciation are unknown.

L. 2. רשפיתן See 12 3 n. It is curious to find the same name followed by the same title in 23 4 f. 6 and, according to some, in CIS i 22 כרסים [רשפ]יתן מל[ץ]. The three inscrr. prob. belong to the same period; and though in 23 4 f. 6 the son of Reshef-yathon is Adon-shemesh, yet it is conceivable that he had another son, 'Abd-melqarth, who appears here. The facts are worth noticing, but they are not sufficient to establish an identification. מלץ הכרסים

The first word certainly means *interpreter* (to refs. above add CIS i 350 4 המלץ); it has this meaning in Gen. 42 23, cf. Job 33 23 and ἑρμηνευτής in Gk. inscriptions. כרסים is prob. the plur. of כרסי = Hebr. כרס, *seat, throne*; for the form cf. Old Aram. כרסא 63 7; Aram. כרסא, *seat*; Arab. كُرْسِيّ. The title, then, may signify 'interpreter of the thrones,' i.e. dragoman to the court, whose office it was to act as interpreter between the Cyprian kings and the Persian or Greek courts.

16. Kition. CIS i 46. iv-iii cent. B.C. Bodl. Library, Oxford.

1 אֲנִי . עַבְד־אֲסִיר . בֶּן עַבְד־סַסִּם . בֶּן חֹר . מִצֵּבֶת .
2 לְמַבְחִי . יִטְנֶאת . עַל־מִשְׁכְּבִי . נַחְתִּי . לְעֵלָם . וְלֹא
3 שְׁתִּי . לְאַמְתַּעֲשֶׁרֶת . בֵּת . תֵּאֵם . בֶּן עַבְד־מֶלֶךְ

I 'Abd-osir, son of 'Abd-sasom, son of Hor, set up (this) pillar in my life-time over my resting-place for ever; also to my wife, Amath-'ashtart, daughter of T'M, son of 'Abd-milk.

¹ Ἀμαθοῦς, πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾗ Ἀδωνίς Ὀσίρις ἐτιμᾶτο, ὃν Αἰγύπτιον ὄντα Κύπριοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἰδιοποιοῦντο, Stephanus Byzant. ed. Meineke, p. 82.

L. 1. **אנך** The dead speaks in his own name. In other inscrr. of this character we find the donor¹, and once both the donor and the dead, using the 1st person (32). **עבראסר** See 14 2 n. **עברססם** Cf. 27 3. CIS i 49. 53. Tam. 2. The analogy of other proper names compounded with **עבר** shows that **ססם** is the name of a deity; it was prob. pronounced Sasom (Cypr. *apasasomose*, Ἀψάσωμος = **עברססם** Tam. 2, cf. LXX Σοσομαί 1 Ch. 2 40) or Sesom (Σέσματος = **ססמי** 28 3), or, as the Cypriote equivalent may imply, Sasm (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 185, ii § 26). The fact that both here and in CIS i 53 (**ע' בן עברחר**) 'Abd-sasom belongs to families in which Egyptian names occur, makes it probable that **ססם** was a foreign deity, introduced, like Osiris and Horus, from Egypt. Nothing is known of the special character of this god; Baethgen *Beitr.* 64 f. On some coins of Sinope the Aram. legend **עברססן** is certified by Lidzbarski, as against Babelon's reading **עברכמו** *Pers. Achém.* lxxix ff. This **ססן** is, however, explained by Lidzbarski as the equivalent of the Persian name Σισίνης; it is therefore not to be identified with the Phoen. **ססם**; *Eph.* i 106. **חר** Horus, the Egyptian god.

L. 2. **למבחי** *during my life-time*; **למן** places the fact in the past, and **ב** gives the date; for the three preps. cf. 45 5 **למבירח** 42 5 **למבמחסר**. There is no exact parallel in Hebr.; **למפראשונה** *for what was at first* 1 Ch. 15 13 is different, **למב** being = **מה** + **ל** as in **למדי** 2 Ch. 30 3. As a rule the **מצבת** was erected by the children (**לאבי** 18 3 f. **לאבנם** 19 3 f.) or a friend (32) to commemorate the dead 'among the living' **בחים** (e.g. 18 1); but here we have an exceptional instance of the **מצבת** being set up by the person commemorated during his life-time. This was done by persons who had no children to perform the pious duty, as may be seen from 2 S 18 18 **ואבשלם לקח ויצבילו בחיו את-מצבת אשר בעמק-המלך כי אמר אין-לי בן בעבור הופיר על** **הסמל** . . . **אש יטנאת לי** 29 3 Perf. 1 sing., cf. **יטנאת** *נשמי*. Again in 21 5 **נחתנם** **על מ' נחתנם** **משכב נחתי** For **משכב** see 5 4 n.; for **נחת** cf. Is. 30 15.

L. 3. **אמתעשתרת** Cf. 5 14 n. and 27 2 **אמתאסר**, CIS i 395 3 **אמתלקרת** ib. 446 2 f. **תאם** Restored in CIS i 66 1 but not found elsewhere. **עברמלך** Cf. Ἀβδιμίλκων in the Cypr. text of CIS i 89 and in 670 3. The name also occurs in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 77 37 *Abd-milki*.

In this inscr. the words are separated by dots as in 13, and the ancient inscrr. 1. 2. 61. 62. 63. It is noticeable that the tops of the letters **ס**, **ף**, **א** are open.

¹ E.g. CIS i 57 'the pillar which I, Menahem, set up to my father.'

17. Kition. CIS i 47.

לעטהר בת עבדאש 1

מן השפט אשת גר 2

מלקרת בן בנחר 3

ש בן גרמלקרת ב 4

ן אשמנעזר 5

To 'TḤD, daughter of 'Abd-eshmun the judge, wife of Ger-melqarth, son of Ben-ḥodesh, son of Ger-melqarth, son of Eshmun-'azar.

L. 1. עטהר The meaning of this name is unknown. It has been explained as = עטה הור Ps. 104 1. 2; but this derivation is too fanciful to be likely.

L. 2. השפט See 8 3 n. גרמלקרת i.e. *guest of Melqarth*, cf. CIS i 267 3. גרמסכר 31 a 1. גרצד 29 2. גרעשתרת 46 2. גרסכנ 2. גרהכל (= גר היכל) ib. 112 b¹. b². The 'guest' (= *πάροικος, παράσιτος*) was one who placed himself under the protection of the deity; cf. in Hebr. *גַּר* Ps. 15 1 *יהוה מי יגור באהלך* (see Cheyne in loc.), and in Arab. *جار الله* i.e. one who dwells in Mekka, beside the Ka'aba; the verb *جار* in conj. iii is used of 'dwelling beside a temple' or 'receiving under protection as a client'; similarly 'cliens Bacchi,' Hor. *Ep.* ii 2 78. It is prob. that in 20 A 15. B 10 the *גרם* are mentioned as a class in the list of ministers and attendants of the temple of 'Ashtart at Kition. A good illustration of the religious practice is given by a Palmyrene *מצבא* in the Brit. Mus., Semitic Room no. 581, which is inscribed 'To Shadrapa the good god, that he might be a guest with him, he and all the sons of his house.' The religious idea of the 'guest' of a deity had its origin in the social custom of extending hospitality and protection to a stranger, and in the old Semitic right of sanctuary. Cf. 140 B 8 and 6 2 n.; see further Robertson Smith *Rel. of the Semites*¹ 75 ff., *Kinship* 41 f.

L. 3. בנחרש i.e. 'born on the new-moon.' The name is found again in 30 2 (Cypriote *δ Νωμηνίων*). 34. CIS i 117 where the Greek equivalent is NOYMHNIOS. The naming of children after festivals was common in early Christian times, e.g. *ܡܚܠܐ* = *Κυριακός*, Dominicus; *ܡܥܠܐ* i.e. born on the Ascension; *ܡܥܠܐ* i.e. born during the spring fast; Paschalis, Natalis &c.

18. Kition. CIS i 58.

מצבת בחים 1

אש יטנא עב 2

דאסר לאב 3

י לארכתא 4

The pillar among the living which 'Abd-osir set up to his father Arketha.

L. 1. מצבת בחים Cf. CIS i 116 1 מצבת סכר בחים. This inscr. proves that בחים cannot mean 'in (his) life-time' (למבחי 16 2), like the Gk. ζῶν, ζῶσα, and the Lat. vivus, viva, in similar cases; a son would not set up a memorial to his father while the latter was still alive. The meaning, therefore, is 'among the living'; see 15 n.

L. 3. עבראסר Cf. 14 2 n. The name Ἀβδοῦσιρος has been found on the Phoen. coast, Renan *Miss. de Phén.* 241; hence the conjecture that the Phoen. pronunciation of the Egyptian Osir was Usir. אבי It is not certain whether the form was pronounced אָבִי = Hebr. אָבִי or אָבִי = Aram. אָבִי, Schröder 150 n. Nöldeke, *ZA* (1894) iv 402, thinks that the pronunciation was originally אָבִי, קִלָּא, אָמִי 21 i. 3.

L. 4. לארכתא Possibly a Gk. name; Archytas has been suggested.

19. Kition. CIS i 60.

[מצב] ת ז אש יטנ 1

א אשמנצלח ו 2

מריחי לאבנ 3

ם למלגסנס 4

מהמ... 5

This is the pillar which Eshmun-ṣillaḥ and Mar-yēḥai set up to their father Melexenos . . .

L. 1. ז Fem., see 3 add. note ii. יטנא Hif. pf. 3 plur.

L. 2. אשמנצלח Cf. בעלצלח 7 2. דעמצלח 32 2.

L. 3. מריחי i. e. prob. מַרְיָחִי *Mar gives life* (Piel), 27 3 ff. The name *Mar* has been explained by the Aram. מַר, מַרְא=בעל, אֲדֹן; it is conjectured that, like these names, מַר was originally used in an appellative sense *lord*, and afterwards as the title of a deity. A better explanation is proposed by Hoffmann, *ZA* xi 240. He regards מַר in מריחי, מַר ברך CIS ii 85 (? Aram.), מַר מסך Cl.-Gan. *JA* viii t. i 143, as a diminutive of מַלְקָרָת; and similarly *Mar* in θεῶν Βεελμάρι *Rev. Arch.* xxix (1875) 267 inscribed on a lamp from Tyre, and in Μάρνας the Philistine god of Gaza, who appears also in Ḥauran, Διὶ Μάρνα τῷ κυρίῳ Wadd. 2412 g; see also 40 1 n. אַשְׁמֵן מַאֲרַח. אַבְנִים Cf. 27 5, and see 5 add. note.

L. 4. מַלְגָּסָנִים? = Μενέξενος.

20 A and B. Kition. CIS i 86 A and B. iv cent. B. C.
Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

A.

- | | |
|--|----|
| תַּכְלַת יֶרַח אַתְנָם | I |
| בַּחֲדָשׁ יֶרַח אַתְנָם | 2 |
| לְאֵלֶן חֲדָשׁ קֶפֶא | 3 |
| I III | |
| לְבָנִים אֵשׁ בֶּן אֵית בַּת עֲשֹׁתֶרֶת כֶּת קֶפֶא .. | 4 |
| לְפָרְכִם וּלְאֲדָמָם אֵשׁ עַל דֶּל וְקֹר | 5 |
| לְאָדָם בְּעֹר אֵשׁ שְׁכָנָם לְמַלְכַּת קֶדְשֵׁת בֵּים זֶק ... | 6 |
| לְנַעֲרָם II קֶפֶא II | 7 |
| לְזִבְחָם II קֹר / | 8 |
| לְאֵשִׁים II אֵשׁ אֵם אֵית נְעֹר חֶלֶת לְמַלְכַּת ... | 9 |
| אֵת פָּרְכִם קֶפֶא I ... | 10 |
| לְנַעֲרָם III קֶפֶא III | 11 |
| לְגִלְבָּם פְּעֵלָם עַל מְלֹאכֶת קֶפֶא II | 12 |
| לְחֶרֶשׁ • אֵשׁ פֶּעַל אֲשֶׁתֶּת אֲבִן בְּבַת מֶכ ... | 13 |
| לְעִבְרָאֲשָׁמֶן רַב סַפְרָם וְלַח בֵּים זֶ קֹר III זֶ. ק. .. | 14 |

15 [לכלבם] ולגרם קר ו / ופא ו
 16 אש לח בים ז קר ו ז . ב .
 17

Total (?) for the month Ethanim. ² On the new-moon of the month Ethanim:—³ To the gods of the new-moon QP' 2. ⁴ To the builders who built the house of 'Ashtart? QP' . . . ⁵ To the *velarii*, and to the men who have charge of the door? QR 20. ⁶ To ?? who reside for the sacred service, on this day, Q . . . ⁷ To servants 2 QP' 2. ⁸ To sacrificers 2 QR 1. ⁹ To men 2 who ????? for the service . . . ¹⁰ The *velarii*, QP' 1 . . . ¹¹ To servants 3 QP' 3. ¹² To the barbers officiating at the service QP' 2. ¹³ To the masons who made pillars (?) of stone in the house of MK . . . ¹⁴ To 'Abd-Eshmun, chief of the scribes, ?, on this day, QR 3 ? . . ¹⁵ [To 'dogs'] and temple-clients QR 3 and P' 3. ¹⁶ who?, on this day, QR 2? . . .

The two inscrr. A and B are *written* in black pigment on both sides of a stone tablet. The writing of A is in a small, close hand; that of B is in a bolder and clearer character. Many of the letters are difficult to decipher.

L. 1. תכלת *sum, total*; from כלה *be complete*. The first two letters, however, are uncertain. אתנם The month of *steady flowings*, the 7th month, Oct.—Nov.; cf. 30 4, 1 K. 8 2 ירח האתנים. Like the name of the month *bul* (5 1 n.), the name *ethanim* was prob. of Canaanite origin, and adopted by the Israelites from the Canaanite calendar: Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 201.

L. 2. בחדש *on the new-moon* i. e. the first day of the lunar month, cf. B 2. 29 4. Ps. 81 4.

L. 3. אלן Cf. B 3, plur. constr. as in 5 18. 10 7. Who 'the gods of the new-moon' were is not known. The religious celebration of the new-moon was an ancient custom; see 1 S. 20 5 f. Is. 1 13. Hos. 2 13. Am. 8 5. 2 K. 4 23. קפא A coin of some kind. The four strokes, grouped like numerals, between ll. 3 and 4 may possibly indicate the 4th day of the month; or they may merely separate the previous lines from what follows.

L. 4. לבנם אש בן i. e. לבנם אש בן. כת may mean *Kition*, as on coins from Sidon, 149 B 15, although כתי is the usual form.

L. 5. לפרנם Cf. l. 10; perhaps, 'those who have charge of the temple-curtains' (פִּרְכָּת Ex. 26 31 ff. &c.), cf. Talm. *Sheqalim* 11 b אלעזר על פרכת, and the *velarii*, i. e. slaves who drew the curtains, in the Lat. inscrr. This explanation agrees well with what follows: 'the men in charge of the door.' For דל cf. 9 3 n. קר Cf. ll. 8. 14. 16. B 8. 10; a coin, here followed by the symbol for 20.

L. 6. לאדם בער Meaning and text obscure. It has been proposed to render בער *who kindles the fire*. In Hebr. the Piel is used in this sense, e. g. 2 Ch. 4 20 וַיִּתְּיָהֶם לְבַעֲרֵם בַּמִּשְׁפָּט, cf. 13 11. לאלהם בער *who reside for the work*. The construction is curious, but there is no doubt about the reading; למלכת = למלאכת l. 12. 3 11. 13. 45 2. קדשת Adj., fem. sing. For the expression מלאכת עבדת הקדש cf. Ex. 36 3 and 1 Ch. 9 13. 28 13 &c.

L. 9. לאדם i. e. לאדם cf. B 7. 46 1. In Phoen. אש (איש) is not used so frequently as אדם. אם אית נער חלת The words are unintelligible.

L. 12. לגלבם i. e. לגלבם (Eze. 5 1), cf. גלב אלם CIS i 257 ff. and the pr. n. גלב 27 5. The barbers attached to the temple assisted at the hair-offerings, a customary form of devotion in heathen Semitic religion. Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* vi. lv, alludes to the practice of offering hair to Adonis at Byblus and Bambyce; it was a sacrificial act offered with the idea of attaching the worshipper to the deity and his shrine; see Robertson Smith *Rel. of Sem.*¹ 313. The ceremonial shaving of the head was forbidden to the Israelites as a heathen practice; and the prohibition was extended to making incisions in the flesh, which also was prob. performed by these temple-barbers. See Lev. 19 27 f. 21 5. Eze. 44 20.

L. 13. חרשם For חרש cf. 22 2. 45 9. 52 6, CIS i 64 מלכיתן רב חרש. The word is generally used of workers in metal, but also of workers in stone, e. g. 2 S 5 11 קיר ח' אבן 1 Ch. 22 14; see also 2 Ch. 24 12. אשתת Cf. B 5. The meaning of the word is uncertain. It has been taken as = שֶׁתָּת + א prosth. *pillars*, Ps. 11 3. מכ. In B 5 מכל Elsewhere מכל occurs with the prefix רשף as the name of the god Reshef-mukl, 24 2 &c.; מכל is prob. the name of a city (Lidzb.).

L. 14. רב ספרם Cf. הספר frequently in Carth. inscrr., e. g. CIS i 154 4. 240 ff. ולא Again l. 16. It is not unlikely that לה is an abbreviation for לה [ברם] *to the associates*, 42 2 n.

L. 15. ולגרם [לכלבם] Restored from B 10. Is the reference to persons or to animals? The words may be rendered *for the dogs and the whelps* (ולגרם), supposing that the item of expenditure is food for the temple-hounds, which in some cases were considered sacred,

e.g. the hound of Isis, Adonis, &c.; so Hoffmann *Über ein. Phön. Inschr.* 17. In a Gk. inscr. from Epidaurus sacred hounds are mentioned as connected with the temple of Aesculapius (=Eshmun), Michel 1069 126 f.¹ On the other hand, כלבם and גרם may be persons: to the 'dogs' and temple-clients. In this case כלבם is explained by Dt. 23 19, cf. κύνες Apoc. 22 15; they were temple-prostitutes, otherwise called קְדִישִׁים in the O.T., e.g. Dt. 23 18. 1 K. 14 24 &c.; in Assy. *harimtu*, *kadištu* (of Ishtar), Zimmern *KAT*³ 423. The pr. n. כלב אלם CIS i 49, and such names as Kalbi-Bau, Kalbi-Marduk &c. in Neo-Babyl. contracts, may be quoted in illustration, though in these cases it is likely that כלב was used as a term not of contempt but of self-abasement, *the humble slave of the gods*. The word is found in the Tell-el-Am. letters in this sense, e.g. *kalbu-šarri* 'servant, lit. dog, of the king' 75 36. 86 19. 161 15 &c.; cf. 2 K. 8 13 עבדך הכלב². It is possible that כלבים=קְדִישִׁים originally had a similar meaning, *devoted followers*; we cannot tell. If כלבם='dogs' metaphorically, the גרם must be *the temple-clients*, lit. *guests*, here apparently a regular class attached to the temple and supported out of its funds; see 17 2 n. Or, again, גרם may be pointed גְרָם and mean *youths*, cf. 1 16 n.; but this is very uncertain.

B.

→ עקב	1
→ בחדש ירח פעלת	2
→ לאלן חדש קפא ||	3
→ לבעל ימם ברב שלם	4
→ לנפש בת אש לאשתת מכל וש...	5
→ לעבדאבסת הקרתחדשתי...	6
→ לאשם . אש לקח מכנבם קפא...	7
→ לרעם . אש ב??ף לכר קר || אש ב...	8
→ לעלמת ולעלמת = || בזבח...	9
→ לכלבם ולגרם קר || / ופא ||	10
→ לנערם ||| קפא |||	11
→ א . . . . . ||	12

¹ See Cl.-Ganneau *Rec.* i 235 ff.

² Further illustrations from Assy. are given by Thureau-Dangin in *PSBA* xxi 133.

Continuation (?). ² On the new-moon of the month Pa-'aloth:—³ To the gods of the new-moon QP' 2. ⁴ To the ba'als of the days for the ? peace-offering. ⁵ To the persons of the house which is by the pillars (?) of Mikal and . . . ⁶ To 'Abd-ubast the Carthaginian . . . ⁷ To the men who were taken (?) from the 'dogs' (?), QP' . . . ⁸ To the friends (?) who . . . were taken (?), QR 2 which . . . ⁹ To the virgins and virgins 22 in the sacrifice . . . ¹⁰ To the 'dogs' and to the temple-clients QR 3 and P' 2. ¹¹ To servants 3 QP' 3.

L. 1. עקב Arabic usage shows that the root had the two meanings of *follow, be behind* (conj. i) and *to pay back, recompense* (conj. iv). The name יעקב, probably in full יעקב-אל, may have had either of these two meanings originally; see Baethgen *Beiträge* 158, who compares the Palmyrene name עתעקב *Ate follows, rewards*. Hence the noun here may be rendered either *reward*, cf. עקב רב Ps. 19 12 and Pr. 22 4, or *continuation*, i. e. from the foregoing account.

L. 2. פעלת Name of a month, perhaps the 6th. It is found again in 23 1 (rest.). 29 8. Tam. 2 1.

L. 3. See A 3 n.

L. 4. לבעל ימים i. e. לִבְעַל יָמִים is taken to mean 'the gods who preside over the different days of the month.' ברב שלם *in magno sacrificio pacifico* (Corp.); but ברב is very doubtful. For שלם cf. שלם כלל 42 3 ff.

L. 5. The sense is obscure; נפש may be sing. collective (not plur., which would be נפשות) in the sense of *persons*, men- and women-slaves, as in Gen. 12 5. Lev. 22 11. Eze. 27 13 (with אדם). אשתת מכל See A 13 n.

L. 6. לעבראבסת Cf. *Carth.* 161 6 (rest.). The name occurs in an inscr. from the temple of Osiris at Abydos, 31 d, and in the form *'Αβδουβάστιος* in a Gk. inscr. from Sidon, Waddington 1866 c. There can be no doubt that אבסת is the Egyptian goddess Bast, with א prosth.; see Herodotus ii 60. 137 (temple of Bubastis). 156, and cf. the name פעל אבסת 31 a. הקרתחדשתי *the Carthaginian*; the Carthage in Cyprus (11 n.) or in Africa.

L. 7. לקח Either Qal *took* or Pual *were taken*, pf. 3 plur. מכנבם is unintelligible, unless it be a mistake for מכלבם l. 10.

L. 8. לרעם Possibly *to the friends* i. e. לִרְעָם. The Corp. renders לכר *were taken* i. e. by lot, cf. 1 S. 10 20 f.; but this is uncertain.

L. 9. עלמה *virgins* who sang and danced in the temple rites; cf. עלמות תופפות Ps. 68 26. על עלמות Ps. 46 (title). 1 Ch. 15 20.

L. 10. See A 15 n.

21. Kition. iv cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 31. Plate II.

מצבת אז אש יטנא ארש רב סרסרם לאבי לפרסי 1
 רב סרסרם בן ארש רב סרסרם בן מנחם רב סרסרם 2
 בן משל רב סרסרם בן פרסי רב סרסרם ולאמי 3
 לשמזבל בת בעלרם בן מלכיתן בן עזר רב חז 4
 ענם על משכב נחתנם לעלם 5

This pillar (is that) which Arish, chief of the brokers, erected to his father, Parsi, ²chief of the brokers, son of Arish, chief of the brokers, son of Menahem, chief of the brokers, ³son of Mashal, chief of the brokers, son of Parsi, chief of the brokers; and to his mother, ⁴Shem-zabul, daughter of Ba'al-ram, son of Milk-yathon, son of 'Azar, chief of the prefects ⁵(?), over their resting-place, for ever.

This inscr. is written on a fine monolith of white marble with a gabled top; it belongs to the type of memorial inscr. represented by 15. 16. 18. 19. The stone was found in the necropolis of Kition outside Old Larnaka in 1894.

L. 1. ארש is found again in 38 4 and often in Carth. inscr.; on a v cent. gold ring from Syria, Levy *Siegel u. Gemmen* 53; in the form *Arisus* CIL viii 3335, *Arsus* ib. 9054; cf. עברארש 45 7. The √ארש Assy. *ērēšu* = *desire, request*, Hebr. אֲרִשָּׁת; possibly this is the meaning of the name here. רב סרסרם Not found elsewhere. The usage of סְרִסּוֹר in Rabbinic literature gives a clue to the meaning here. Thus in *Pesikta* ed. Buber 45 a סרסור = *mediator* and is applied to Moses, אף הסרסור הרגיש בעבודה 'even the mediator trembled on account of it'; in the Mishnah it is used of a *negotiator* in a business transaction, e.g. *Baba Bathra* 87 a, cf. the Midrash on this passage, Midr. R. *Deuteron.* § 3 fol. 91 b (ס' applied to Moses); Talm. Jerus. *Megila* 74 d &c. In Arab. سُرْسُور denotes *intelligent, skilful*,

one who manages a business well. Thus the earliest authority for the word is this inscr.; and there is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine Phoen. word, a technical term of Phoen. commercial life. It was probably adopted from Phoenicia by the cognate languages. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw. in Arab.* (1886) 186, conjectured that the Arab. *سُرُور* was a loan-word from Aram., but since the discovery of this inscr. he has abandoned the conjecture, *ZA* (1896) x 99. So we may render *רַב סַרְסָרִים* *chief of the brokers*, who probably formed a merchant guild or corporation, *ἀρχιπραγματευτής*. In the family of Arish the office was hereditary, having been held, on the father's side, for six generations. *הַפְּרָסִי* Perhaps *ὁ Πέρσης*, Cf. 18 3 f. n. *לֹאבִי* Neh. 12 22. The name has been found on the foot of a vase from Sidon, Cl.-Ganneau *Ét.* ii 155.

L. 2. *מִנְחָם* Cf. 30 2. CIS i 87 3 (Cyprus). 102 *ḥ* (Egypt).

L. 3. *מִשַּׁל* Cf. Euting *Carth. Inschr.* 130 4 f. *מַלְקַרְתִּי מִשַּׁל*.

L. 4. *שְׁמוּבַל* Perhaps the *Name* has, or is, carried cf. the fem. pr. n. *בַּעֲלֵאוּבַל* CIS i 158 2 f. In Assy. *zabālu* = 'carry,' 'bring' (e. g. *KB* ii p. 235 l. 88; iii 2 p. 92 l. 53 &c.), ? = 'honour,' 'exalt,' as given in *COT*² 550; cf. Arab. *زَجَلْ* *take up and carry*. The pronunciation was prob. *zabul*; cf. the pr. n. *Zabullus* CIL viii 5987. 9947. The explanation suggested by Derenbourg, *Rev. Études Juiv.* xxx 118 ff., that *שְׁמוּבַל* is a variation of such a name as *שְׁכַנְיָה* (similarly Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* iii 183 ff. 'heavenly name,' cf. *Hab.* 3 11) has little probability. The 'Name' may denote 'Ashtart,' called *שֵׁם בַּעַל* in 5 18. *בַּעֲלָרִם* Cf. 23 2 n., a name belonging to the royal family of Kition. *מַלְכִּיתֵן*, also a royal name, is given to other persons, e. g. 41 6 f. (*Carth.*) &c. *עוֹר* Prob. shortened from *עוֹרְבַעַל* or the like; it is found in *Carth. inscr.*, e. g. CIS i 453 5 f. *Carth.* 27 5 f. &c. *רַב סַרְסָרִים* Like *רַב חֲזַעְנִים* only met with here.

A careful examination of the stone makes it almost certain that *חֲזַעְנִים* is the right reading, and that the indentation in the stone after *ז* is not a letter, but a recent mark due to an accidental blow. The reading *חֲזַעְנִים*, given by Nöldeke, *ZA* iv 402 ff., cannot, therefore, be accepted. The meaning is doubtful. (1) The word may be connected with the Assy. *ḥazānu* 'governor,' 'prefect,' of which the plur. is *ḥazianuti*, pointing to *חֲזָה* as the root (Zimmern *ZA* vi 248); Tell-el-Am. 179 19. 147 5 *Zimridi ḥazanu ša Ziduna*, and often. This gives a suitable sense. The title may have passed from the Canaanite coast to Cyprus; Assyrian influence was predominant in both regions at various times. The *y*, not used in Assy., may be due to an attempt to express the long vowel. (2) It is natural to think of the Arab. *حَزَن* *lay up, store*,

guard; حَازِنٌ *guardian* of treasures, of Paradise Qur. 39 73. *Chief of the treasurers* would give a good sense here; but it is not likely that a pure Arab. title would be used of a local official in Cyprus. (3) Nöld., l. c., suggests חֲזִי עֵינַיִם *eye-gazers*, i. e. *seers, diviners*, cf. παντιάρχης Waddington 2795; but the construction *seers of*, i. e. *with, eyes* is not very natural, even if the reading חֲזִיעֵנָם is to be accepted. (4) Halévy, *Rev. Sémi.* iii (1895) 183 ff., proposes *chief of the inspectors of wells* חֲזִי עֵינַיִם עֵינַיִם; so Lidzb.(?). The plur. of עֵין in Hebr. is עֵינֹת, but the mas. form may have been used in Phoen.; Halévy compares חֲזִיעֵנָם Josh. 15 34, which is perhaps a dual. The office may be illustrated from a Gk. inscr., B. C. 333, where an official is rewarded for his services περί τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κρηνῶν, Michel 105 = CIA iv 2. 169 b; cf. also ἐπιμελητῆς αἰρεθεὶς Ἐφκας πηγῆς (from Palmyra), Waddington 2571 c.; procurator aquarum, Rushforth *Lat. Hist. Inscr.* 89. It may be questioned whether חֲזִי *seer* could be used for *inspector*; שומר *keeper* 38 7 would be a more natural term. On the whole (1) is to be preferred.

L. 5. על משכב נחתנם לעלם Cf. 16 2.

22. Kition. iv-iii cent. Larnaka.

1 לעברעשתר בן אשמנ ...
2 חרש עגלת פעל זי ...

To 'Abd-'ashtar, son of Eshmun-..., the chariot-smith;
ZI... made (it).

This inscr. was found at Larnaka in 1894; see Myres and Richter *Catal. of Cypr. Mus.* 172 and Plate viii. Below the inscr. is the incised outline of a figure resembling the steering-oar (?) carved on CIS i 265, Tab. xlvii. But the figure here can hardly be meant for an oar, nor does it look like any part of a chariot. Michon, *Rév. Arch.* (1900) 458, suggests that it represents some tool, such as a plane, and compares the monument of Boitēnos Hermes, a maker of beds, κλεινοπηγός, on which his tools are carved (CIG 2135).

L. 1. עברעשתר For the usual עברעשתרת 29 2. 5 &c.; see for the form 1 17 n. אשמנ The full name was prob. compounded with עזר, ארן, or יתן.

L. 2. חרש עגלת i. e. חֲרָשׁ עֲגָלָת. For חרש a worker in metal or

wood cf. 20 A 13 n.; and for עגלת cf. CIS i 346 3 עץ, which seems to mean (*maker of*) *chariots of wood*; a chariot is figured on a stone from Carthage illustrated in Corp. p. 397. The chariot is copiously represented in Cyprian art from the beginning of the Graeco-Phoenician period. In a private communication M. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that . . . יי is the fragment of a pr. n., such as זיבקים 38 5 &c., the name of the donor of the stele. To read [ברך] י פעל leaves פעל without a subj., and the stele without a donor.

23. Idalion. CIS i 88. Date circ. 386 B. C. Louvre.

בימם → [ו]ו [ו]ו [ל]ירח פע[ל]ת בש[נ]ת וו למלך מלכיתן [מלך כתי 1
אדיל בן בעלרם · סמל אז אש יתן ויטנא ו[חד] ש כל[ה] ר[שפ] 2
יתן בן עזרתבעל מלץ הכרסים לאדני למלקרת ש[מע קל] 3
פקד המפקד ז והסלמת אש למפקד [אז] אש יפקד א[דנ] ש[מ] 4
[ב]ן רשפ[יתן]
מלץ כרסים · ופקד הת סמלם בסלמת המפקד ו אש [יפ] 5
עבדפמי ועבדמלקרת אשן בן [אד] נשמש בן רשפיתן מלץ כרם 6
בשנת וו וו
למלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ו[אדי] ל ב שמע מלקרת קלם יברכם 7

On the 1[6]th day of the month Pa'aloth, in the 3rd year of king Milk-yathon, [king of Kition and] ²Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram:—This statue (is that) which R[eshef]-³yathon, son of 'Azrath-ba'al, interpreter of the thrones, gave and set up and entirely [renov]ated to his lord Melqarth who hears (his) voice. ⁴This? . . . and the steps (?) which belong to this ? . . . , which were commissioned (?), A[don]-sh[amash, so]n of Reshef-[yathon], ⁵interpreter of the thrones, commissioned. And the ? . . statues on the steps (?) of the ? . . . and which were [com]missioned(?), ⁶'Abd-pumi and 'Abd-melqarth, the two sons of [Ad]on-shamash, son of Reshef-yathon, interpreter of the thrones, commissioned in the 6th year ⁷ of king

Milk-yathon, king of Kition and [Id]alion, because Melqarth heard their voice. May he bless them!

This inscr. belongs to the type illustrated by nos. 12–14.

L. 1. **בימם** See 12 1 *n.* **פעלת** See 20 B 2 *n.* **מלכיתן** Cf. 24. 25. 30. According to the chronology given by Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxvi, Milk-yathon reigned first from B.C. 392 to 388 and then from 387 to 361 (see 149 B 5). His third year will thus be 390.

L. 2. **בעלרם** 24 1¹. **סמל** Cf. 13 2 *n.* **חדש** i.e. **חֲדָשׁ**, cf. 38 1. 46 1. 102 1; 2 Ch. 24 4. 12 (of the temple). 15 8 (of the altar). But this and the word following are uncertain.

L. 3. **רשפיתן** See 15 2 *n.* **מלך הכרסים** **עזרתבעל** perhaps *my help is Ba'al*; the usual form of the name is **עזר בעל**. **מלקרת** = **מלך קרת** *king of the city*, cf. 29 3 &c. 36 1 and 3 2 *n.* This title belonged to Ba'al of Tyre, and came to be used as a pr. name; thus 36 1 **לארנן למלקרת בעל צר**. In the Gk. form of the latter inscr. the equivalent of **למלקרת** is **ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ**. By the Greeks Melqarth was identified with Herakles, as we learn also from Philo of Byblus, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568, **Μελακάθρος ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς**. From Tyre the cult of Melqarth spread to Cyprus (as this inscr. and 29 and the Cyprian names **עברמ'**, **גרמ'** testify), and to Egypt, Carthage, and other places; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 20 f. Melqarth is not mentioned in the O. T., but the worship of the Tyrian Ba'al introduced into N. Israel by Jezebel was most likely offered to him. **שמע** i. e. prob. **שִׁמְעַע**.

L. 4. Further objects dedicated to the deity. **פקר המפקר** has been rendered 'curavit hanc curam'; but this rendering of **המפקר**, while it agrees with that of **פקר** (cf. Ezr. 1 2), does not suit **והסלמת** and *the stairs* (?). Accordingly Cl.-Ganneau explains the word from Eze. 43 21, where it is ordered to burn the sin-offering **בַּמִּפְקָד הַבֵּית** **למקדש**. The *mifqad*, then, was some place adjoining the temple,

¹ (1) Although this Ba'al-ram was the father of king Milk-yathon, he is not given the title of king either here or in 24 1; we may conclude, therefore, that he never was king. (2) In the bilingual inscr. CIS i 89 *our prince* (**ארנן**) *Ba'al-ram, son of 'Abd-milk*, dedicates a statue in the reign of Milk-yathon. This Ba'al-ram is prob. to be distinguished from (1). The Cypriote version gives **ὁ φάναξ** as the equivalent of **ארנן**, a title which belonged to princes of the Cyprian royal house, cf. Aristotle ap. Harpocration **οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἄνακτες, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες ἄνασσαι** *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 166; also Clearchus ap. Athen. Deipnos. ib. ii 311. (3) Another Ba'al-ram was king of Kition and Idalion, as his coins testify, about B. C. 396, just before Milk-yathon; but his name has not so far been read with certainty on any inscr.; in Idal. 7 1 **[מלך] בעל** not **[רם] בעל** is prob. the right reading. See Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxvi–cxxx.

but outside the sanctuary; one of the gates of the city was near it, Neh. 3 31. There is nothing, however, in this inscr. to determine exactly what is meant by המפקר; but it prob. had something to do with the statue referred to in l. 2, perhaps *the pedestal* (so Lidzb. 158 n. 1). הסלמת The meaning of this word is also doubtful.

It may be *steps*, from סלל to *lift up, cast up*; hence סלם *ladder* Gen. 28 12. יפקר The word is uncertain; it may be Hofal pf.

plur. as in l. 5. ארנשמש l. 6, only here; cf. עברשמש CIS i 116

2 (=HALIOΔΩPOC). 117 2. מקמשמש (name of a city) Lidzb. 316.

Shamash was the sun-god; cf. in Old Aram. שמש 61 2 &c. 62 22. 64 9; in Ethiop. סמס.

L. 5. ופקר 3 plur.; the subject is 'Abd-pumi and 'Abd-Melqarth l. 6. A fresh dedication is mentioned here.

L. 6. עברפמי Only found here; for פמי see 12 1 n. אשן בן i. e. שני בני. The constr. st. occurs again in 36 2 שן בן, and the abs. in 12 3 אשנם (see n.). The sixth year of Milk-yathon was prob.

B. C. 386, unless the reckoning started from 387 when he became king a second time according to Babelon's chronology (above).

L. 7. The formula of blessing resembles that in 36 3 f. For suff. in קלם see 5 add. note.

24. Idalion. CIS i 90. Date 391 B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus
Room no. 289.

מרקע חרין אז אש יתן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל בן בעלרם לא 1
לרשף מכל באדיל בירח בל בשנת 11 למלכי על כתי ואדיל כ שן 2
קל יברך

This plating of gold (is that) which king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram, gave to his god Reshef of Mukl in Idalion, in the month Bul, in the 2nd year of his reign over Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice: may he bless!

This inscr. belongs to the same type as 25 and 26.

L. 1. מרקע i. e. מרַקַע, again in Idal. 7 3 ת[ע נחש] (Euting Sitz.-ber. Pr. Akad. (1887) 422). The רַקַע = *beat out thin*, of metals, e. g. Jer. 10 9 פֶּסֶף מֶרְקַע. Ex. 39 3. Num. 17 3. Talm B. Sheqalim 9 b

רקעי זהב. The word here prob. denotes the gold-plating of the image (סמל) of the god, cf. *ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον*, Herod. ii 182, and Is. 40 19. If מרקע meant *bowl* or *vessel of beaten gold* (Corp.), the inscr. would have been written on the bowl itself, as 11, not on a stone tablet. חרץ See 3 4 n. בעלרם See 23 1. 2 n.

L. 2. רשף מכל באדיל Cf. 25 1 f. 27 5. CIS i. 94 4 f. מכל is prob. the name of a city, see 20 A 13 n.; and רשף מכל = τῷ Ἀπολῶνι τῷ Ἀμυκλοῖ CIS i 89 (Cypriote), Ἀμυκλός being a dialectical form of the classical Ἀμυκλαῖος. The Phoenicians usually tried to give the names of foreign deities a form familiar to themselves; thus 'Reshef of Mukl' was their way of representing Apollo of Amyclae in Lacedaemon. For רשף see 12 3 n.; this and the following inscr. show that he was specially honoured at Idalion. The prep. in באדיל implies that the cult of the deity was transplanted from its native home; similarly בעשמם באינצם 39 1. שהר בנרב 64 2. 92 3. 99 2. In 45 1. 55 1, however, this appears not to be the case. בל See 5 1 n. למלכי i.e. לְמַלְכֵי Inf. with suff. 3 m. sing., as in 26 2.

25. Idalion. CIS i 91. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 225.

סמל . אז . אש יתן . מלך . מלכיתן . מלך . כתי . ו[אדיל בן בעלרם
לאלי ל]
רשף . מכל . נצחת . את . סבי . היצאם . ועזרנם

This statue (is that) which king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and [Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram], gave [to his god] Reshef of Mukl. With his ? I conquered those who came out and their allies

The general type of this inscr. resembles that of 24 and 26.

L. 1. סמל Cf. 13 2 n.

L. 2. רשף מכל Cf. 24 2 n. נצחת i.e. נְצַחַת or נִצְחַת. The primary meaning of נצח is *shine*, as appears from Aram. usage, e.g. Apoc. 15 6 רָאָה לְבָשׁוֹתָיִם יְהִי מְרִימָה *raiment fine, shining*. From this comes the derived meaning *be illustrious, triumph, conquer*, e.g. Midr. Rab. *Ekah* 1 § 11 ונצח חבריה (Qal), Targ. Jon. Num. 16 14 וַיִּנְצַח (Pael), Dan. 6 4 מִתְּנִיצָח (Ethp.); וַיִּנְצַח *victory* Jud. 15 18, Targ. Jer. Ex. 14 14. 25; in the O.T. cf. the late passages

Lam. 3 18. 1 Ch. 29 11: Driver *Samuel* 98 f. את Prep. as in 4
 8. 5 4 &c., here prob. *with the aid of*. סבי The reading is un-
 certain and the meaning unknown. The first letter looks like a ס,
 possibly a צ, the second appears to be a ב. The Corp. reads סדי
his counsel (i. e. Reshef-yathon's), and quotes in illustration Ps. 25
 14 &c.; this is very doubtful. היצאם *those who came forth* i. e.
 to battle; for יצא in this sense cf. 1 S. 8 20. 2 S. 11 1. ועזרנם
 Cf. 5 add. note. The reference appears to be to some historical occa-
 sion, perhaps a rebellion or political revolution.

26. Idalion. CIS i 92. Date 354 B. C.

1 [סמל אז אש יתן מלך פמייתן מלך] כתי . ואדיל . בן מלך . מלכי
 2 [מלך כתי ואדיל לאלי לרשף מכל בי] רח כרר בשנת שמן ווו
 למלכי על
 3 [כתי ואדיל כ שמע קל יברך]

The son of king Milk-yathon was Pumi-yathon (B. C. 361-312),
 see 12. 13. 149 B 6. The missing portions of the inscr. are restored
 after 24 and 25.

L. 2. רח כרר The name of this month occurs again in the
 NPun. inscr. 55 5. בשנת שמן למלכי Cf. 2 K. 24 12 בִּשְׁנַת שְׁמֹנֶה
 לְמַלְכֵּוּ.

27. Idalion. CIS i 93. B. C. 254. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room
 no. 239.

1 ב'מם ווו ווו \ לירח חיר בשנת א → לאדן מלכם פתלמים
 פתלמי]ס...
 2 אש הא שת א א → ווו ווו \ לאש כתי כנפרס ארסנאס פלר
 אמתאסר בת מל..
 3 בן עבדססם בן גרעת הסמלם האל אש יטנא בתשלם בת מר
 בן אשמנא[דן]

4 על בן בני על אשמנאדן ושלם ועבררשף שלשת בן מריחי בן
אשמנאדן בן נחמי

5 בן גלב הנדר אש כן נדר אבנם מריחי בחיי לאדננם לרשף מכל
יברכם

On the 7th day of the month Hiyar in the 31st year of the lord of kings Ptolemy son of Ptolemy, ² which is the 57th year of the men of Kition, the Kanephoros of Arsinoë Philadelphos (being) Amath-osir, daughter of Mk . . . , ³ son of 'Abd-sasom, son of Gad-'ath:—These statues (are those) which Bath-shalom, daughter of Mar-yehai, son of Eshmun-adon, set up ⁴ for her grandsons Eshmun-adon and Shallum and 'Abd-reshef, the three sons of Mar-yehai, son of Eshmun-adon, son of Nahmai, ⁵ son of Gallab, (being) the vow which their father Mar-yehai had vowed during his life-time to their lord Reshef of Mukl: may he bless them!

L. 1. בימם See 12 1 n. חזיר again in 31 d. 45 5, perhaps identical with the Aram. חזיר, Targ. Jon. Ex. 12 39, Hebr. חזיר, the second month, April-May. פתלמים See 5 18 n. ארן מלכם i.e. Ptolemy ii Philadelphus, 285–247 B. c. The missing word at the end of the line is prob. פלדלה. Cf. 10 6 f. and 29 4 ff.

L. 2. אש היא שנת i.e. אשר היא שנת. Note the pron. after the relat., a construction which occurs several times in Hebr., chiefly before an adj. or ptc., e.g. Gen. 9 3 אשר הוא חי. Dt. 20 20. Hag. 1 9 &c.; in Aram., e.g. Dan. 7 17 די אנון ארבע. Targ. 2 S. 20 19 חיותא . . . די אנון ארבע. Targ. 2 S. 20 19 קירוא דהיא פכה רב; in Arab., e.g. Quran 43 51 هَذَا الَّذِي هُوَ مَهِيْنٌ this who is a contemptible person; the same is found in Ethiopic. See Driver *Tenses* § 199 obs., *Samuel* 64. For שת = שנת sing. cf. 6 1 n. לאש כתי The era of the people of Kition began in 311 B. c. In the previous year Pumi-yathon (12 1 n.) was put to death by Ptolemy i Soter, king of Egypt, and this brought the native dynasty to an end. For the threefold indication of date cf. 29 4 f. כנפרם = κανηφόρος *Basket-bearer*, a title given to the virgins who carried the sacred baskets in the processions of Athene, Demeter, and Dionysos at Athens. In the cult of the Ptolemies, who were treated with divine honours (cf. 28 2–4, 29 5 ff.), the office of the Kanephoros was one of such dignity that in Egypt (and in Cyprus too) the year was indicated by

her name; for this there is evidence from papyri, from the bilingual inscr. of Canopus (238 B.C.) l. 2 *κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Μενεκρατείας τῆς Φιλάμμονος* (Michel no. 551) exactly as here, and from the Rosetta Stone l. 5 *κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀρείας τῆς Διογένους* (CIG 4697), &c., in all cases, be it noted, in connexion with Arsinoë and not with other Ptolemaic queens. From this inscr. it appears that the cult of the Ptolemies, with the *κανηφορία* of Arsinoë, was established in Cyprus. The name of the Kanephoros, Amath-Osir, is Egyptian (cf. עבראסר 14 2), but she was certainly a Phoenician by race. ארסנוס פלדלף (genitive) *Arsinoë Philadelphus*, the sister-consort of Ptolemy ii; the pair were worshipped as gods, cf. *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* 10 7.

L. 3. עברססס See 16 1 n. Baethgen explains as *Fortune of Ath(e)*; cf. גר השמם 59 C 2 and the Pun. name *Giddeneme* in Plaut. *Poen.* = גר נעם CIS i 383 1, the Palm. גרצו Vog. 84 3, and the Hebr. גִּדְיָאֵל Num. 13 10; for the deity עת, עתה, עתא see 112 4 n. Nöldeke, however, considers that the form prob. = גרעון, جَدْعَان; cf. جُدَاعَة, جُدَيْع &c., ZDMG xlii 471. האל Cf. 5 22. ימנא Ifil. 3 sing. fem.; for the omission of the fem. ending cf. 3 add. note i, and 56 1 טנא. מריחי See 19 3 n.

L. 4. נדר בעלשלך . . . על בנם on behalf of, cf. CIS i 178 6. [ככרם] מאת על בני על עברמלקרת בני is plur. constr.; בני sing. with suff. 3 sing. fem. Elsewhere this suff. is ה', e. g. קלא CIS i 371 6, or ע', e. g. קלע Carth. 142 5 &c. אשמנאדן Cf. CIS i 94 4 נחמי Cf. 28 3 n. שלם Cf. 28 3 n. בן נחמי

L. 5. גלב See 20 A 12 n. כן נדר As in Arab., the copulative verb כן is used with the perf. to express a pluperfect, e. g. كَانَ حَرَجَ he had set out: Wright *Ar. Gr.*³ ii § 3 (c), König *Syntax* § 122, Nöldeke *Sem. Spr.* 26. This is the only instance of the idiom so far known in Phoen. The father had registered his vow for the benefit of his three sons, but he did not live to carry it out; so this was done by their grandmother. The inscr. CIS i 381–383 are perhaps to be understood in a somewhat similar way; thus 381 2 b [יתן] אש נ[דר] רא [גד] ת נדר בעלשלך [ך] i. e. the son gave this gift which his father had vowed; so apparently 382 [נדר] גרנעם . . . נדר מגן second had made. ארננם See 5 add. note. בחי during his life-time, cf. 16 2 למבחי during my life-time. רשף מכל See 24 2 n.

28. Larnax Lapēthos. CIS i 95. Date circ. end of iv cent. B. C.

Ἀθηνᾶ Σωτείρα Νίκη
καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου
Πραξίδημος Σέσματος τὸν
βω[μὸ]ν ἀνέθ[ηκ]εν
Ἀγα[θ]ῇ τύχῃ

לענת עז חים 1
ולאד מלכם פתלמיש 2
בעלשלם בן [ס]סמי 3
יקרש [א]ת [מ]ז[ב]ח 4
[למ]זל נעם 5

To 'Anath, the strength of life, and to the lord of kings Ptolemy, Ba'al-shillem, son of Sesmai, consecrated this altar. To good luck!

This bilingual inscr. is written on a rock outside the village of Larnax Lapēthos, near the ancient city of Lapēthos on the N. coast of the island.

L. 1. לענת The goddess 'Anath is met with again in Idal. 7 3 (Euting *Sitz.-ber. Berl. Ak.* (1887) 420 ff.). Her cult goes back to very early times in Syria and Palestine, and has left traces in the names of the old Canaanite towns 'Anathoth (Josh. 21 18 &c.), Beth-'anath (Josh. 19 38 &c.), Beth-'anoth (Josh. 15 59), which were the seats of her worship. The father of Shamgar was called 'Anath (Jud. 5 6)¹. Most likely the goddess came originally from Babylonia, where Anatum was the consort of Anu (cf. עַנְמַלְיָהוּ 2 K. 17 31): Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 153, Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* s.v. Anath. At the same time it is curious that the Canaanites should have adopted Anatum and not the far more prominent Anu; possibly the resemblance between Anatum and ענת may be only

¹ Perhaps shortened from ענרענת; in any case an unbecoming name for an Israelite. But it is possible that Shamgar was not a 'minor judge,' but a foreign oppressor of Israel (ענת וּבֶן עַנְתָּ is read by Cheyne l. c. in Jud. 5 6); the name 'Anath, like Shamgar and Sisera, will then be purely foreign. See Moore *Judges* 143.

accidental; E. Meyer, *ZDMG* (1877) xxxi 717 ff., and Zimmern, *KAT*³ 353, doubt the identification. From Syria the worship of 'Anath was introduced into Egypt, prob. by the Chetas (חֶתַּיִם), and her name appears on the monuments from the 18th dynasty downwards. She was a war-goddess, and was represented helmeted and fully armed; see the monument in the Brit. Mus., Egypt. Saloon no. 191, illustrated in W. Max Müller *Asien u. Eur.* 313. Perhaps it was as a war-goddess that 'Anath becomes Athene in the Gk. version of this inscr.; and the similarity of the two names in sound no doubt assisted the identification (cf. 24 2 n.). Thus לענת עז חים = Ἀθηνᾶ Σωτείρα; for עז חים cf. Ps. 27 1. 28 8, and 57 1 חים חים.

L. 2. מלכם For מלכם 5 18 n. פתלמיש A local variety (cf. 29 4 ff.) of the usual form פתלמים 27 1 &c.; here Ptolemy i Soter (B.C. 323-285). According to Diodorus Sic. xix 79, Praxippos king of Lapēthos, along with other Cyprian princes, declared for Antigonos in the struggles of the Diadochoi. Seleucus as the ally of Ptolemy i laid siege to Kerynia and Lapēthos; later on, in 312, Ptolemy himself landed in Cyprus, put Pumi-yathon king of Kition to death (12 1 n.), and then seized the person of Praxippos, thus bringing to an end the dynasty of Lapēthos. The inscr. must have been written not long after Ptolemy's victory. The Gk. here is difficult to translate. The Corp. suggests an ellipse of νίκη in l. 2, thus: 'Athenae-victoriae et (victoriae) regis Ptolemaei.' Schröder, 156 n., takes the καί of l. 2 as belonging to the preceding word, 'and to the Victory of king Ptolemy.' The second explanation is, perhaps, preferable. For the cult of the Ptolemies, who in Egypt were associated with the ancient gods of the country, cf. 27 2 n.

L. 3. בעלשלם i.e. *Ba'al requites* (Piel), CIS i 338 3; cf. אשמנשלם 35 1. 55 1, and שלם 27 4. The Gk. has Πραξίδημος. On a Gk. inscr. from the same place one Πραξίδημος is ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ναοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Λαρνακαίου (Waddington 2779). דסמי This name is found in 1 Ch. 2 40 דסמי (LXX Σοσομαί, Luc. Σασαμεί, Vulg. Sisamoi) borne by a man of Judah descended from an Egyptian ancestor; it evidently has some connexion with the god דסם, see 16 1 n. Cl.-Gan. thinks that the name in full was [חי]דסמי *Sasom-yehai*, thus accounting for the final י'. The Gk. Πραξίδημος Σέσματος admits of no clear explanation; perhaps Σέσματος = Σεσμαῖος (adj.), the י' in דסמי being treated as the gentilic ending. It is difficult to believe that Σέσματος could have been written for Σεσμάου.

L. 4. יקרש Ifil perf., cf. יקרשת 29 9. 14 and יטנא 13 2 n. For the dedication of an altar cf. 3 4 and 40 1 נחשת מ' 12 2. 29 10 (plur.).

34. Usually אֵית as sign of accus., but cf. 3 3. 7; Cl.-Gan., however, reads קדשת 1 sing.

L. 5. למול נעם *to good luck!*, a formula invoking a blessing; here at the end of the inscr., as in CIS i 89, where the Cypriote version has *τύχαι ἀγεθαί*. The formula occurs more often at the beginning, e.g. 29 1 נעם משל, and the frequent *ἀγαθὴ τύχη* in Gk. inscr.; cf. the Rabbinic למול טוב i. e. למול טוב. מול Aram. מול is a *star of fortune* or *fate*; the plur. מולות = *signs of the Zodiac* 2 K 23 5, מולות Job 38 32. In Arab. مَنْزِل plur. of مَنْزِل is used of the *stations* of the moon, e.g. Quran 10 5 'it is He who ordained . . . the moon for a light وَقَدَرُ مَنْزِلٍ and appointed her stations.' Prob. מול is a loan-word from Assy. *manzaltu* = 'station,' 'abode (of God).'

29. Larnax Lapēthos 2 or Narnaka. iii–ii cent. B. C.

Discovered 1893.

= *Monatsschrift der D.M.G.* 2. Jahrgang der phil. hist. zisichen Gesellschaften p. 217.

1 מ ש ל נ ע ם

2 הסמל ז משאנך יתנבעל רב ארץ בן גרעשתרת רב ארץ בן

עברע[שתרת] סר

3 בן גרעשתרת בן שלם . . . רמל אש יטנאת לי אבמקדש מלקרת

ם לשמי

4 בחדש זבחששם אש בשנת 1 לאדן מלכם פתלמיש בן אדן

מלכם פתלמיש

5 אש המת לעם לפט שנת 2 ו 111 וכהן לאדן מלכם עברעשתרת

בן גרעשתרת

6 רב ארץ . . . רמל ובירח מפע אש בשנת 1111 לאדן מלכם פתלמיש

בן אדן מלכם

7 פתלמיש אבחי אבי ישת במקדש מלקרת אית משפן אבי בנחשת

ובירח

8 פעלת אש בשנת 1111 לאדן מלכם פתלמיש בן אדן מלכם

פתלמיש בחי

in silver, (by) weight 100 and 2 (talents?), and I consecrated (it) to the lord ¹⁵ [who is mine, Melqa]rth; ? and good be to me and to my seed, and may Melqarth remember me ? ? ¹⁶

L. 1. מִשַׁל נָעַם For מוֹל נָעַם (28 5 n.), a local peculiarity of pronunciation, of which other instances occur in this inscr., e.g. פתלמיש for פתלמים, possibly סמדת for צמדת l. 13, אבמקדש for בַּמ' l. 3 &c. As a rule this expression is in the dat., but the nom. is found in a Gk. inscr. from the neighbourhood of Pergamum, τύχη ἀγαθή (Michel 1360).

L. 2. משאנך Possibly the last three letters may be the 1st pers. pron.; Cl.-Gan., *Ét.* ii § 21, reads סמל זם ש אנך *this statue is mine, (yea) mine, Yathan-ba'al*. He assumes זם to be a unique form of the demonstr. pron., and finds it twice again in l. 10; ש he takes as the rel. with suff. of 1st pron. = אשר לי, and אנך as added for emphasis after the suff. in ש (cf. in Hebr. אֲנִי הָעוֹן 1 S. 25 24 &c.). These are serious assumptions, especially the forms זם and ש. The suff. ך is nearly always written in this inscr., and the rel. here is inconvenient before אש in l. 3. רב ארץ Cf. χαράρχης. The office prob. dated from the establishment of the autonomy of Lapēthos. גרעשתרת See 17 2 n. 46 2. The line prob. should be completed with [רב ארץ בן עברא]סר.

L. 3. שלם Cf. 27 4. רמל . . . Here and in l. 6 Berger, *Rev. d'assy.* (1895) iii 76, reads קורמל, taking it as the name of a place, Cape Krommyon, the NW. point of Cyprus. Cl.-Gan. reads פרכרמל, as a title of the רב ארץ. In the latter case, the first three letters recall the Πραξ- in the names Πραξίδημος 28, Πράξιππος 28 2 n., Πράξανδρος Strabo 582 3 ed. Müll., the founder of Lapēthos—all names connected with this part of the island. אבמקדש Cf. 16 2. ימנאת Apparently אב for ב, but in l. 7 we find במקדש; cf. אבחי l. 7 for בחי l. 8. For מלקרת see 23 3 n. A Gk. inscr. which mentions Poseidon Larnakios has been found on the same spot (p. 81 supr.); hence it is prob. that the Gks. regarded Melqarth as a marine deity and identified him with Poseidon. The missing letters may be restored מ[כר נעם ער על]ם *a good memorial for ever*.

L. 4. For the date reckoned by the universal, local, and ecclesiastical systems cf. Luke 3 1 f. בחרש i.e. on the first day of the month; see 20 A 2 n. For the name of the month see 14 1 n. פתלמיש See 28 2 n. There is nothing to determine with certainty which Ptolemy is referred to here; see note on l. 12 below.

L. 11. על חי ועל חי זרעי The formula which occurs frequently in the Palm. inscr. is very similar, e. g. על חייהי וחיי בנויה 135 4. 137 2. &c.; cf. 70 4. 95 2. ירח מר ירח *day by day* as ירח מר *month by month* in the next line. מר is prob. the same as the Hebr. מַרְי lit. *out of the abundance of*, hence *as often as*, e. g. 1 S. 7 16 מדי שנה בשנה. Is. 66 23 מדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו. Apparently *and to the legitimate offspring*; for this fig. sense of צמח *shoot* cf. Jer. 23 5 צמח צדיק and 33 15. צדק here may be either an adj. צַדִּיק or more likely a noun צֶדֶק. ולאשתו ולאדמי As they stand these words are untranslatable. See note below.

L. 12. [בחר] שם וזככאם The words thus restored and read prob. mean *on the new-moons and on the full-moons* i. e. at the beginning and the middle of the month; cf. Ps. 81 4 חקעו בחדש שופר בכסה ליום חגנו. Perhaps *as formerly*, cf. Jer. 30 20. Lam. 5 21.

M. Clermont-Ganneau (l. c.) makes a brilliant suggestion as to the meaning of the obscure expression in l. 11 ולאשתו ולאדמי. His argument is as follows: (1) The ל in these words must have a different meaning from על in the same line, i. e. these words must denote not those for whose benefit (על) Yathan-ba'al made his offering, but those to whom religious service is due, like למלקרת in ll. 9. 10. (2) In the case of the great god Melqarth the sacrifice is to be offered daily (ים מר ים), but in the second case fortnightly, every month (בחדשם וגו'). There is, therefore, a difference of dignity between the objects of religious service. (3) The words ולאשתו ולאדמי do not suggest any names of gods; but they may represent the names of some members of the Ptolemaic dynasty to whom divine honours were paid (27 2 n.), and the provision of the fortnightly sacrifice to them is in accordance with the Egyptian custom of celebrating a solemnity in honour of the reigning monarch on a fixed day over a month, called in Gk. and Rom. times 'the king's day.' The similarity of the letters in Phoen. makes it possible to read ולאשתו for בלאפתר, supposing a mason's error of ו for ר (though this is perhaps hardly necessary); and if a similar error of מ for נ may be admitted in the foll. word, we have the reading ולאדמי. Thus the whole phrase will mean *And to the legitimate offspring* (lit. *shoot of righteousness*) *of Cleopatra and to my lord*. Two sets of historical conditions may be found to account for this remarkable and significant expression. (a) The inscr. may belong to the period when Ptolemy vii (vi) Philometor was engaged in a bitter struggle for power with his brother, afterwards Ptolemy ix (vii) Euergetes ii or Physkon, a struggle

which considerably affected Cyprus¹. Their mother Cleopatra, the wife of Ptolemy v Epiphanes, was regent for her eldest son from 181 to her death in 174. Yathan-ba'al thus protests his loyalty to the claims of the eldest son, *the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra* and his lawful sovereign (לְאֲרֹנִי), Ptolemy vii (vi). The 11th year of this king will give 171-170 as the date of the inscr., and 203 B.C. as the era of Lapēthos.

(b) A later period offers an even more suitable occasion. After the death of Ptolemy ix (vii) Euergetes ii or Physkon, his wife and niece Cleopatra iii attempted to secure the succession for her younger son Alexander, but the people refused to acknowledge him. Thereupon she sent him for safety to Cyprus, and had him appointed independent king of the island (B. C. 114). Later on, his elder brother Ptolemy x (viii) Soter ii or Lathyros was expelled by an insurrection at Alexandria instigated by his mother, and took refuge in Cyprus (B. C. 107). The situation in Cyprus at this period must have been embarrassing enough, especially for public officials like the רַב אֲרִי at Lapēthos; and it may well be that political prudence suggested to Yathan-ba'al the equivocal expression *to the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra and to my lord*. In this case the 11th year of Ptolemy will be 107-106, and the era of Lapēthos will begin with 139 B.C. Cl.-Gan.'s correction and historical elucidation of the text are, of course, only conjectural; but the conjecture is a most suggestive one, and it is sufficiently supported to make it plausible.

L. 12. וּמִהֶרֶלֶת הַנְּחֹשֶׁת might mean *and from the bronze doors*; for the construction see 3 4 n. The first word, however, is uncertain. Cl.-Gan. reads הֶרֶלֶת = δέλτος *tablet*, and takes כְּקֶדֶם with this sentence; but his attempt to make sense of the passage is unsuccessful.

L. 13. At the beginning of the line Cl.-Ganneau restores [אֵשׁ בְּ] תִּבְתָּ which *I have written*. The next words he takes to be וּסְמַרְתָּ בְּקֶרֶךְ *and I have nailed on the wall*, comparing the Hebr. מִסְמֵר *nail*, Arab. مِسْمَار (prob. a loan-word from Aram., Fränkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 89). Lidzb. reads 'בְּ וּסְמַרְתָּ = בְּקֶרֶךְ וְצֶמֶד *and a yoke of oxen*, which agrees better with the donation of sacrificial animals in l. 9 f. בֶּן מִנְחַת חֲנִי Perhaps *part of the offerings of my grace*, the prep. מִן being written בֶּן before another מ, see 5 3 n. Cl.-Ganneau takes בֶּן אֵשׁ as =

¹ Thus Polybius, enlarging on Ptolemy's clemency towards his brother and rival, says ἔπειτα, δόξας ἐκπεσεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαβὼν κατ' αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ὁμολογούμενον, ἀμνησικάκητον ἐποίησατο τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πάλιν ἐπιβουλεύσαντος τῇ Κύπρῳ, κύριος γενόμενος ἐν Λαπήθῳ τοῦ σώματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κολάζειν ὥς ἐχθρόν, ὥστε καὶ δωρεὰς προσέθηκε κ.τ.λ. xl 12.

ופעלת בּוֹ
 on which (is) the offering. For מנחת see 7 i n.
 Pf. i sing. The fourth section of the inscr. begins here—the dedication of some metal object.

L. 14. The first part of the line cannot be understood. בכסף
 of silver like בנחשת of bronze in l. 7. משקל will then be in apposition to the following word denoting weight, Driver *Tenses* § 192 (1); cf. 40 i ממת לטרם משקל נחשת. The text has בר, but this is a corn or fluid measure. It is possible that בר is an abbreviation for בכר talent, CIS i 171 2. 4; but the value of 102 talents of silver by the Attic standard would amount to over £2480 of our money, too large a sum to be likely. However, we do not know the value of Phoen. weights and money sufficiently well to make us reject this explanation altogether.

L. 15. פקת Meaning unknown; *profit* has been suggested, from Aram. נפק go forth, but this is very doubtful. וּיִפְּרִי = ויסכרן
 the suff. cf. 4 תרגון 7.

L. 16. The last words give no suitable sense.

30. Tamassos. Date 363 B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 252.

1 סמל אז אש יתן ויטנ
 2 א · מנחם · בן בנחדש בן מנ
 3 חם בן ערק לאדני ל[רש]ף
 4 אליית בירח אתנם בשנת
 5 שלשם א → למלך מלכיתן · מלך
 6 כתי ואדיל · כ שמע קל · יברך

Cypriote:

*to na ti ri a ta ne to nu · e to ke ne
 ka se · o ne te ke ne · ma na se se
 o no me ni o ne · to i ti o i
 to i a pe i lo ni · to i e le i
 ta i · i tu ka i*

i. e. in Greek :

Τὸν ἀ[ν]δριά[ν]ταν τό[ν] νυ ἔδωκεν
 καὶς ὀνέθηκεν Μανασῆς
 ὁ Νωμηνίων τῶι θιῶι
 τῶι Ἀπείλωνι τῶι Ἑλεί
 ται ἐ[ν] τύχαι

This statue (is that) which Menaḥem, son of Ben-ḥodesh, son of Menaḥem, son of 'Araq, gave and set up to his lord Reshef of Eliyath, in the month Ethanim in the thirtieth year, 30, of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice : may he bless !

This inscr. was found in 1885 on the site of the ancient Tamassos, between Lapēthos and Idalion. A sanctuary of Apollo has been discovered (1889) outside the town, and recent excavations at Frángissa, some 3 miles to the west, have revealed another sanctuary of the same god ; Myres *Cypr. Mus. Catal.* 12. The inscr. may be compared with 12 and 13 from Kition, and with 23-26 from Idalion.

L. 2. מנחם Cf. 21 2 ; Cypr. *ma-na-se-se*, perhaps for *ma-na-he-se* (Menaḥem) or *m'-na-se-se* = Μνασέας, the nearest Gk. equivalent for the Phoen. Menaḥem ; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 186 f. בנחדש See 17 3 n.

L. 3. ערק Perhaps ערק like ערק &c. This pr. n. possibly may be connected with the ancient Phoen. clan 'הערק Gen. 10 17. 1 Ch. 1 15, i. e. the men of 'Arqa (Jos. *Ant.* i 6 2), at the foot of Lebanon, still called Tell 'Arqa, 12 m. N. of Tripoli. See further Schrader *COT* 104 ; Tell-el-Amarna letters 78 12.

L. 4. לרשף אליית Cypr. τῶι Ἀπείλωνι τῶι Ἑλείται *Apollo of Helos*, either Helos in Lacedaemon or a Cyprian city of the same name. Hesychius, *Lexicon* s.v. Zeus in Cyprus, quotes several forms which resemble Ἑλείται here, thus Εἰλητι : Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ. Ἐλαθυς : Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ &c. In Tam. 2 4 f. רשף אלהיתם = Cypr. Ἀπό[λ]λωνι τῶι Ἀλασιώται, a Phoen. transcription of what is prob. the name of another Gk. town. In the bilingual inscr. CIS i 89 a third designation of the god occurs, רשף מבל Cypr. τῶ Ἀπολῶνι τῶ Ἀμυκλοῖ *Apollo of Amyclae* ; see 12 3 n. 24 2 n. אתנם See 20 A 1 n.

L. 5. מלכותן See 23 1 n.

EGYPT

31. Abydos. CIS i 102. Circ. iv cent. In situ.

a

אנך פעלאבסת בן צדיתן בן גרסד הצרי ישב דכי¹
באן מצרם בפטרת בדמנקצת ה . נ .²

b

אנך בעל[י]ח[ן] בן מנקצת . יח . . .

c

אנך מגן בן בדא . הפצבעל מנפ .

d

אנך עבדאבסת בן צדיתן¹
באנהגברדצ || לירח חיר²

a

I am Pa'ala-ubast, son of Şed-yathon, son of Ger-şed, the Tyrian, dwelling here (?), in On of Egypt, after the departure (??) of Bod-MNQŞTH, the man of On (?).

b

I am Ba'al-[yahon], son of MNQŞTH . . .

c

I am Magon, son of Bodo, . Hefeş-ba'al . . .

d

I am 'Abd-ubast, son of Şed-yathon 2, in the month Hiyyar.

These inscrr. are a selection from those found on the walls of the temple of Osiris at Abydos (Egypt). Like the inscrr. on the colossus at Ipsambul (CIS i 111-113), and on the rocks beside the caravan-routes in the Sinaitic peninsula (103-109), they give the names, and occasionally the designations, of travellers.

a. L. 1. **פעלאבסת** *Bast has made*; for Bast see *d* and 20 B 6 n., and for the compound name with **פעל** cf. **פעלעשתרת** in the inscr. discovered at Memphis in 1900, given below¹, **בעלפעל** NPun. 94 2, **אלפעל** on coins from Byblus (149 B 9) and in 1 Ch. 8 11 ff.; cf. **עשהאל** 2 S. 2 18 &c. **צידיתן בן גרצר** Cf. *d* and **יתנצר** CIS i 184 4 f. **עברצר** 236 5 &c. **צר** (cf. Hebr. **צִיד** *hunting*, **צַיִד** *hunter*) is clearly the name of a deity, perhaps the god of the chase; but it is found only in compound pr. nn.² The deity was associated with Melqarth and Tanith at Carthage, e. g. **צדמלקרת** CIS i 256, **צרתנת** 249. It is possible that the originals of the Phoen. gods 'Αγρεύς and 'Αλιεύς mentioned by Philo of Bybl., *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566, were **צר וצרן** i. e. *Hunter and Fisher*. The name of the city **צרן** is perhaps related to that of the god **צר**, who is supposed by some to be the Phoen. Poseidon; see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 154. For **גרצר** cf. **גרמלקרת** 17 2 n.; Lidzb., however, reads **ברצר**. **ישב רכי** Derenbourg's rendering (*Rev. d'Assyr.* i 93), *I dwell, crushed (with grief)*, is most improbable. **רכי** has been taken as a demonstrative adv., *here*, cf. Aram. **רִכִּי**, *ille*; but in Phoen. the demonstr. is **ן**, not **ר**. The reading **רכי** is possible; this may be an adv. of place, cf. **וֹסִנְל**, and see 4 4 n., where according to Hoffmann **אר** is a demonstr. particle.

L. 2. **באן מצרם** On, Egypt. *An*, = Heliopolis in Lower Egypt; cf. Gen. 41 45 (LXX 'Ηλίου πόλεως). Eze. 30 17; it was celebrated for the worship of the sun-god, Ra. **בפטר** Possibly *after the departure*, i. e. *the decease, of B*. **פטר** has the sense *depart, escape*, e. g. 1 S. 19 10, and in post-bibl. Hebr. frequently occurs, in the Nifal, with the meaning *depart out of this life*, e. g. Talm. *Berakoth* 17 a **ונפטר**

- 1 **הממנא [ז] ימנ[את]** **אנך פעלעשתרת בן עבדמלכת בן נבעל בן עבדמלכת בן נבעל**
- 2 **בן עבדמלכת[ח] . . . על א[ז]חשמרנאלכי לרבתי לאלם אדרת אם אלם עשתרת ולאנם אש**
- 3 **אל[. יב]רך אי[חי ואית ב]נזי עבראסר ונבעל ועברשמש ופעלעשתרת ואת אמנם חנעשתרת**
- 4 **[וי]תן לם חן וחיים לען אלנם ובן אדם**

i. e. 'This erection I erected, I Pa'ala-'ashtart &c., ²son of 'Abd-malkath, to my mistress, the mighty god Isis, the god 'Ashtart, and to the (other) gods who ³are (here?). May they bless [him and his] sons, 'Abd-osir &c., and their mother Hanni-'ashtart, ⁴and give them favour and life in the eyes of the gods and the sons of men.' In l. 2 Lidzb. suggests **על אֹזח שמרנאלכי** *on account of the protection of my journey*, supposing that **נאלך** = **מהלך**; see 33 6 n.; l. 3 **אל** perhaps the fragment of an adv., like the Hebr. **הלאה**, *the restoration* **אי[חי ואית ב]** is uncertain; l. 4 cf. 3 10 n. *Rép.* i nos. 1. 58; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 152.

² The names **Θήρων** (a Tyrian, Michel 424) and **Ψητος** (gen.) in Gr. inscrr. may be the one a translation of **צר**, the other a transcription of **עברצר**; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 187-192.

בשם טוב מן העולם. The commemoration of the dead was customary at the temple of Osiris; but this explanation of בפטרת cannot be regarded as certain. The reading of the word following is doubtful; the Corp. gives עבדמנקרת; Derenbourg l.c., Lidzb. בדמנקצת, cf. מנקצת in *b*. For .ה.נ. the Corp. restores האני *the man of On*; Renan האנרכי, a gentilic noun, taking דכי from the end of l. 1.

b. .ה. i. e. prob. בעליחן, cf. יחנבעל 46 2 and חנבעל. ... יח. מנקצת. So Lidzb. The first word is uncertain and its etymology unknown; Derenbourg regards it as = בדמנקצת in *a*, and reads the next word as a gentilic form החני or החפי. Corp. מנקרתח[מ]י *Menqarth* (i. e. *Melqarth*) *protects*; cf. יְחִמִּי perhaps = יְחִמִּיה may *Yah protect* 1 Ch. 7 2; Arab. حَمَى.

c. מן Cf. 33 2 &c., a common Phoen. name. See 12 בדא 3 *n*. חפצבעל *pleasure of Ba'al*; the name of another person. מנפ may contain the name נף *Memphis*, Eze. 30 13, of *Nof* מנף. It is doubtful whether the full form was מנפי, for this would require the art., as הצרי in *a*.

d. L. 1. For the two pr. nn. cf. *a*. The text followed is that of Derenbourg l.c.

L. 2. The meaning of the first group of letters is unknown. For ירח חיר cf. 27 1 *n*.

ATTICA

32. Athens. CIS i 115. Perhaps iv cent. B. C. Athens.

Ἀντίπατρος Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσκαλ[ωνίτης]
Δομσάλως Δομανῶ Σιδώνιος ἀνέθηκε

אנך שמ. בן עבדעשתרת אשקלני

אש'טנאח אנך דעמצלח בן דעמחנא צדני

Μηθεῖς ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζέτω εἰκόνα τήνδε,
ὥς περὶ μὲν μελέων, περὶ δὲ γ' πρῶρ' (ἐ)γκτετάνυσται.

ἦλθε γὰρ εἰχθρολέων τὰμὰ θέλων σποράσαι·
ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ' ἤμυναν καί μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὔτ[η],
οὓς ἔθελον φιλέων, ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες.
φοινίκην δὲ λιπ(ὼ)ν τεῖδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυνμαι.

I am šm., son of 'Abd-'ashtart, an Ashqelonite. (This is that) which I D'om-šillaḥ, son of D'om-ḥanno, a Sidonian, set up.

This bilingual inscr. is written on a gravestone now preserved in the Κεντρικὸν Μουσεῖον in Athens. Underneath the Phoen. lines is carved a representation of the incident alluded to in the Gk. verses below. A corpse lies upon a bier; on the left a lion is leaping up to devour the body, on the right is a human figure with the prow of a ship in the place of the head and shoulders; it seems to be defending the corpse from the lion. The scene is perhaps intended for an allegory; the lion representing the god of the underworld eager to snatch the body, the prow or 'holy ship' (apparently personified) being possibly connected with funeral rites, which protect the dead from violation. See Wolters in *Mitth. Arch. Instituts*, Athenische Abth. xiii (1888) 310 ff. On account of the form of the Gk. letters the Corp. dates the inscr. in the second cent. B. C., Lidzb. in the fourth (?).

L. 1. אנך In this inscr. both the person commemorated and the donor of the memorial speak in the first person; see 16 1 n. .שמ There appears to be the fragment of a letter after ם; but the full name cannot now be read. The Gk. equivalent is Ἀντίπατρος, a name specially common in the family of Herod.

L. 2. דעמחנא בן דעמצלח Δομσάλως Δομανῶ; for the deity דעם see 8 4 n. דעמצלח cf. בעלצלח 7 2; דעמחנא cf. בעלחנא 39 1 f. In the latter name, חנא seems to be the Perf. of חנן with the suff. of 3rd m. sing. This form of the verbal suff. is usual in NPun., e.g. פעלא 57 11, רפיא 40 2. Cf. the nominal suff. in א in the frequent קלא.

33. Piraeus. Date 96 B. C. Louvre.

בִּים וְוֹלְמֶרֶזַח בִּשְׁת־וְוֹלְ לַעַם צִדֵּן תָּם בֶּד צִדְנִים בְּנֵאֶסְפַּת לַעֲטָר
אֵית שְׁמַעְבַּעַל בֶּן מָגֵן אֵשׁ נִשָּׂא הָגוּ עַל בֵּת אֱלֹם וְעַל מִבְּנַת חֲצָר
בֵּת אֱלֹם

עֲטָרַת חֶרֶץ בְּדִרְכָּנָם לְמַחַת כִּבֵּן אֵית חֲצָר בֵּת אֱלֹם וּפְעַל אֵית כָּל
אֵשׁ עֲלָתִי מִשְׁרַת אֵית רַעַת וְ לִכְתָּב הָאֲדָמָם אֵשׁ נִשָּׂאִם לֵן עַל בֵּת
אֱלֹם עֲלָת מִצְבַּת חֶרֶץ וִיטְנָאִי בְּעֶרְפַּת בֵּת אֱלֹם עֵן אֵשׁ לִכְנַת גּוֹ
עֶרֶב עֲלָת מִצְבַּת וְ יִשְׂאֵן בְּכֶסֶף אֱלֹם בְּעֶלְצִדֵּן דְּרַכְמָנָם לְמַחַת
לִכֵּן יָדַע הַצִּדְנִים כִּי יָדַע הָגוּ לְשֵׁלֶם חֲלַפַּת אֵית אֲדָמָם אֵשׁ פְּעַל
מִשְׁרַת אֵת פֶּן גּוֹ

Tò κοινὸν τῶν Σιδωνίων Διοπείθ(η)ν Σιδώνιον

On the 4th day of the Marzeah(?), in the 15th year of the people of Sidon, the community of the Sidonians resolved in assembly:—to crown ² Shama'-ba'al, son of Magon, who (has been) president of the corporation in charge of the temple and the building of the temple court, ³ with a golden crown of 20 drachmae sterling, because he built the court of the temple and did all ⁴ the service(?) he was charged with:—⁵ that the men who are our presidents in charge of the temple write this (our) intention upon a golden stele, and set it up in the portico of the temple before men's eyes:—that the corporation be designated as surety (for it). For this stele let them bring 20 drachmae sterling of the money of the god the Ba'al of Sidon: ⁷ thereby the Sidonians shall know that the

corporation knows how to requite the men who have done⁸ service before the corporation.

The Sidonian colony, settled at the port of Athens, is referred to or implied in 34. 35. CIS i 116 לעברתנת . . . הצדני, prob. also in 32. It was no doubt a community of merchants and ship-masters, maintaining in the land of their adoption the religion and organization of their native city (see 34. 35). This inscr. shows, however, that they had adapted themselves to the Greek civilization in the midst of which they lived; in characteristic Greek fashion they vote a crown and monument to a deserving officer, and they record their resolution in the recognized forms used in Greek inscrs. from the fifth cent. downwards. In fact, this inscr. almost seems to be a translation from a Greek original; see CIA ii 1 b=Michel 80; CIA ii 589=M 145; CIA ii 603=M 968; CIA ii 621=M 984.

L. 1. מרוח Generally taken to be the name of a month, but the unparalleled omission of ירח before it is noticeable. Cl.-Gan. suggests that it was the name of the annual מרוח=*a solemn festival*, perhaps lasting five days (*Rec.* ii 390 n. iv 344); see 42 16 n. לעם See 6 1 n. צרן The era of Sidon began when the city became autonomous in 111 B.C. This will give 96 B.C. as the date of the inscr., 9 years before Athens was taken by Sulla¹. תם Pf. 3 m. sing., lit. *be complete*, here *has decided, resolved*. The verb governs the infins. לעטר l. 1 and לכתב l. 4, prob. also לכנת l. 5. בר צדנים must have some such meaning as *the community of the Sidonians*. In Hebr. בְּרִים denotes *parts* of the body i. e. members (Job 18 13), or *parts* of a vine i. e. branches (Eze. 17 6). In Phoen. the sing. בר is used to describe a worshipper as a *member* of his deity, as in the pr. nn. ברעשתרת, ברמלקרת, or a stranger as a *member* of a household; see 6 2 n. It is but an extension of this usage when בר is applied not to an individual but to a community; the Sidonian μέτοικοι at the Piraeus could describe themselves as בר צדנים *the Sidonian protected aliens* (Lidzb. 134 n.). G. Hoffmann, *Über einige Phön. Inschr.* 5 f., takes בר as a prep. בְּרִי lit. *for the satisfaction of, for*; but this does not admit of a satisfactory construction for תם, nor does it give a natural explanation of בר in pr. nn. A Gk. inscr. from Delos illustrates this part of the text; ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων στεφανοῖ Πατρωνα κ.τ.λ. CIG 2271=M 998. באספת The Nif. ptc. of אסף used as a noun, *gathering*,

¹ Köhler, CIA ii Suppl. 1335 b, thinks that the Gk. form of this inscr. is much older, about the second half of the third cent. B.C.; in which case the inscr. must be dated from some Sidonian era now lost to us. If the dynasty of Eshmun-'azar ceased in 275 B.C. (p. 38), the era may have started then: *Meyer Ency. Bibl.* 3763.

assembly; it corresponds to the Gk. epigraphical formula ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ κυρίᾳ CIA ii 585=M 152. לעטר Followed by a double accus. as in Ps. 8 6. 103 4. The corresponding Gk. phrase is στεφανῶσαι (αὐτὸν) χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ . . . δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα, e. g. CIA iv 2 169 b=M 105 and often.

L. 2. שמעבעל i. e. Ba'al hears. The Gk. equivalent Διοπαίθης i. e. *obeying Zeus* is founded on a misunderstanding of the Phoen. נשא i. e. נשיא *chief*, cf. נשיאי העדה Ex. 16 22. Josh. 9 15 &c. His term of office had elapsed, and he now receives from his late colleagues this expression of their gratitude. גו is etymologically connected with the Hebr. גוי *nation*, Aram. ܓܘܝ, Sabaean 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *community*, cf. Job 30 5 יגרוּ יגרוּ יגרוּ *they are driven far from folk*, where יגרוּ should be pointed יגרוּ, unless גוי be read; in Gk. inscr. τὸ κοινόν. Cf. 5 15-18 מבנת על בת אלם. For 'א' על cf. 46 1 n. A verbal noun, *building*; in Hebr. מִבְּנָה = *structure* Eze. 40 2.

L. 3. בדרכנם The prep. is ב of material; cf. 2 Ch. 9 18 (בזהב). Ex. 38 8. דרכנם is prob. an error for דרכמנם l. 6. In both places דרכמנם must be taken to represent *drachmae*; for in Gk. inscr. of this class the sums voted are given in δραχμαί (i. e. silver drachmae), a larger sum for the crown and a smaller one for the stele. In this inscr., however, the sum specified in both cases is the same; and as 20 silver drachmae would be too small an amount either for the עטרת or for the מצבת הרץ, we must take דרכמנם to be *gold* drachmae. A gold drachma represented about 9s. 1d., a silver drachma about 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Hoffmann l. c. renders הרץ l. 5 not *gold* but *decision*; he is therefore compelled to take דרכנם l. 3 as gold drachmae and דרכמנם l. 6 as silver drachmae; but this is unnecessary and unnatural. On account of the form דרכנם, Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums* 196 f., understands *darics* to be meant; *darics*, however, do not occur in Gk. inscr. in this connexion, and it is Gk. usage (above) which is closely followed here. The fact that דרכמנם in this case is the Phoen. form of δραχμαί throws a valuable light on the disputed meaning of דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים in Ezr. 2 69. Neh. 7 70-72 and of אֲדַרְכְּמוֹנִים in 1 Ch. 29 7. Ezr. 8 27¹. Both words are generally translated *darics* (R.V.); but this inscr. shows that דרכמנם was the recognized Semitic transcription of δραχμαί, as Lucian knew, for in the passages quoted he invariably

¹ The form אֲדַרְכְּמוֹנִים is open to suspicion. In 1 Ch. 29 7 וא' רבו is prob. a gloss, for the gold offering has been mentioned just before; in Ezr. (LXX 2 Esdr.) 8 27 דרכמנם is the better reading, testified by LXX A δδονδραχμωνειν, and prob. implied by the reading of B δδονχαμνειν. In the biblical passages 'ר refers not to money but to weight; a δραχμή among the Gks. was one-hundredth part of a μνᾶ.

renders δραχμάς. Moreover, the form דרבמנים corresponds with δραχμαί and not with δαρεικοί. See Kennedy, art. Money in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible* iii 421. למחה l. 6. The context requires the meaning of *full weight*, standard current coin. The most plausible etymology of the word is that given by Hoffmann. He connects it with מחה *wipe off*, and supposes that it was used in the first place of corn-measures, 'to wipe off into the measure' i.e. 'to fill up to the full weight.' In the Babyl. dialect of the Talmud the Ethpaal of מחה is used in the sense *approved*, e.g. *Shabbath* 61 b ואיתמחי גברא ואתמחי קמיע *the man* (i.e. *the physician*) *is approved and the amulet is approved*; similarly קמיע מומחה *a tested amulet* ib. 61 a. In Syr. ܠܡܚܬ is used of *testing* a weight or measure, e.g. Epiphanius *de Mensur. et Pond.* in *Vet. Test. ab Origene recens. fragm.* ed. Lagarde p. 48, l. 32; p. 58, l. 67; p. 51, l. 7 כר ביד חרקא דברוחקא מתתמחיא ומתחקלא (cited by Hoffmann). Hence למחה will mean *by the tested weight, of full weight*; the prep. is ל of norm or standard.

L. 4. אש עלתי *which was incumbent upon him*; for על in this sense cf. Num. 7 9 עבדת הקדש עליהם. Ezr. 10 4. 12. 1 Ch. 9 27 &c. The construction of the words which follow is not very clear. In l. 8 משרת is certainly a noun, *service*, from שרת *to minister*, and possibly it may be a noun here, *all the service which was laid upon him*; so Lidzb. In such a sentence the natural order would be אש (ה)משרת אש אית כל (ה)משרת אש; but as כל in Hebr. often stands before a relative clause containing a *verb*, which is strictly its genitive (e.g. את כל אשר עשה Gen. 1 31), so here the relative clause אש עלתי מ', though it contains a *noun*, may be regarded as the genitive after כל. It must be admitted, however, that this is not easy grammar. Hoffmann takes משרת as an infin. with מן i.e. מִשְׁרַת, governing רעת ז *because (he) administered this . . .*; but the infin. would require a suffix in this case, e.g. מִדְּעָתִי Is. 48 4. If משרת be a verb, it is better to take it as a ptcip. i.e. מִשְׁרַת dependent on the suffix in עלתי, *while he administered this . . .*, an imitation of Gk. idiom, but cf. 1 K. 14 6 קול רגליה באה and Ps. 69 4 (?). אית רעת ז The word רעת may be explained in two ways. (1) It may come from the Aram. רעא *to be favourably disposed towards a person* (in Targ. רַעְיָא, Bibl. Aram. רַעִיָּת Ezr. 5 17. 7 18) = Arab. رَفِيَ *to be pleased, satisfied with* = Hebr. רצה; and we may render *this (our) good pleasure*. It is not necessary, however, to assume such a strong Aramaism here; for (2) רעת may come from the same root as the Arab. رَعَى *to watch, regard, be mindful of* = Syr. ܠܚܐ *to observe, concern oneself with* (ܠܚܐܢܐ, ܠܚܐܢܐ meditation, thought; Targ. רַעֵי *desire*, Ps. 107 30) = Hebr. רעה, cf. Ps. 37 3. Pr. 15 14. Hos. 12 2 (?)

and רעות in Qoh. 1 14 &c. Hence רעת may be rendered *intention*, *wish*, either governed by the preceding משרת, or placed for emphasis before its verb לכתב¹. To connect 'ר with לכתב is in accordance with the Gk. formula ἀναγράφαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα, e. g. CIA ii 311=M 124, CIA ii 176=M 109 and often, but it involves an unusual construction for משרת כל (supr.). The infin. is governed by תם l. 1 and האדמם is its subject. Its object must be understood, 'this decree,' if אית רעת ז be taken with משרת. נשאם לן על ב' א' i. e. the present curators of the temple. These officials may be compared with the νεωποῖαι in Asiatic sanctuaries, e. g. CIG 2656=M 453 (Halicarnassus), M 835 (ib.), CIG 2671=M 462 (Iasus).

L. 5. מצבת חרץ *a pillar of gold*, i. e. prob. a gilded stele, cf. 24 1 n. On the Gk. inscr. it is always ἐν στήλει λιθίνει, e. g. CIA ii 613=M 977 and often; but here, contrary to Gk. practice, the same amount is voted both for the stele and the crown, and as the latter is specified as golden (l. 3), so the stele is to be golden (or prob. gilded) too. It is true that we do not hear of a gilded מצבת elsewhere, but such an object is not impossible in itself, and the language of the inscr. seems to demand it. Hoffmann takes חרץ as = *decision, decree* (cf. חרין Joel 4 14. נחרצה Is. 10 23 &c.), and as the object of לכתב. If חרץ does not mean *gold* it is simpler to give it the primary meaning of *engraving*, and to take it as the genit. after מצבת, *a stele of engraving* i. e. an inscribed stele (cf. 3 4. 5?). Ifil impf. 3 plur. with suff. 3 fem. sing. i. e. ויטנאי. ערפת *portico*, see 3 6 n. It corresponds to the πρόστωιον (CIA ii 613=M 977) or open pillared hall at the entrance of the temple. The custom was to place these monuments ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ θεοῦ M 977, or πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ M 982, or ἐν τῷ προνάῳ M 546, ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ M 985, ἐν τῷ ἐπιστάντι προπύλῳ τῷ τοῦ τεμένους M 476 &c. לעיני איש = ען אש; for the accus. instead of the prep. ל cf. פנת אלם 42 13. 43 8. The corresponding Gk. phrase is ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοπῳ M 992, or ἐν ἱερῷ ᾧ ἂν αὐτοῖς φαίνεται M 468. לכנת גו ערב *to designate the corporation as surety (for it)*. לכנת Piel inf., governed prob. by תם l. 1, and followed by two accusatives. כנה lit. *give a title or cognomen* as in Aram. כנא, Arab. كنى, Hebr. Is. 45 4; so in a general sense *to*

¹ The above characterization of the root רעה = רחל = רעי is based upon Barth's study in *Wurzeluntersuchungen* (1902) 46 ff. He suggests that the primitive meaning was *to keep (sheep)*. It must be noted, however, that the origin of the sense which רעה has in Ps. 37 3 &c. is far from clear. Besides the two roots above, Barth distinguishes a third, viz. رعو (ع') *to bind together, attach*, whence Hebr. רע *friend*.

designate. The infin. of כֵּן *to be* is לֵכֵן 10 10, not לִכְנַת, for which there is no analogy in ע' verbs.

L. 6. עֶרֶב A noun, prob. of participial form, *surety*. In Hebr. the vb. עֶרֶב *be surety for* is followed by the accus. (Gen. 43 9. 44 32. Ps. 119 122), once by ל (Pr. 6 1); so it is better to take עֶלְתָּ מִצְבַּת ז' as dependent, not on עֶרֶב, but on the verb which follows; and this is more in accordance with the Gk. formula Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι . . . M 118 and often. יִשְׂאֵן i. e. יִשְׂאֵן, the subj. being the members of the corporation. For נִשָּׂא in the sense of *bringing* (an offering) cf. in Pun. CIS i 411 3 אִשׁ נִשָּׂא עֲבָדָאֲשָׁמֵן, and Ps. 96 8. 1 Ch. 16 29; hence מִשְׂאָתָּא *payment, tax* 42 3. 43 1 &c. בְּכֶסֶף The prep. ב = Gk. ἀπό; it is not ב of material as in בְּדִרְכָנָם l. 3. אֵלִים This is a clear instance of the plur. of אֵל being used to denote *god*, like the Heb. אֱלֹהִים; we may conclude that אֵלִים ll. 2. 5 is also sing. in meaning. Cf. 35 2 אֵלִים נִרְגָּל. 59 A 4 אֵלִים הַקִּידֵשׁ, and the inscr. lately found at Memphis אֵלִים אֲדֵרֶת אִם אֵלִים (p. 91 n. 1), where אֵלִים is connected with a female deity, and even with a fem. adj.; the plur. אֲדֵרֶת is used similarly, 49 3 n. In the following cases, אֵלִים 42 13. 43 8, עֲבָדָאֲלִים, CIS i 194 1 f. (cf. 406 3), גִּלְבֵּי אֵלִים 257 4 &c., אֲמַת אֵלִים 378 3, the sing. meaning is most probable. Contrast the use of אֱלֹהִים *gods*; see 3 10 n. The plur. אֵלִים denotes a more abstract conception than the sing. אֵל, *godhead* as distinct from *god*: it sums up the various characteristics of the particular אֵל (Hoffm.); cf. the abstract plurals זְקֻנִּים, נְעֻרִים, חַיִּים (Ges. § 124 d). For the Ba'al of Sidon see 5 18. The order to defray the cost out of the temple treasury finds several parallels in the Gk. inscr., e. g. τὰν δὲ γενομένην δαπάναν εἰς τὰν ἀναγραφὰν τεισάντω τοὶ ναποῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς θεοῖς χρημάτων M 1003; εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δότω ὁ ἄρχων Ἀδείμαντος Δ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων M 968.

L. 7. לְכֵן *accordingly*. יִדַּע i. e. יִדַּע. לְשֵׁלֵם חֲלַפְתָּ אֵיתָ א' For the two accusatives after שֵׁלֵם cf. 1 S. 24 20. Pr. 13 21. חֲלַפְתָּ *equivalent, return*, χάριτας ἀξίας, cf. Num. 18 21. 31 חֲלַף עֲבָדָתָם; in Aram. the verb has the meaning *substitute* (lit. *change*), e. g. *Julian Ap.* ed. Hoffm. 105 25 חֲלַף, and the frequent חֲלַף *instead of*.

L. 8. מִשְׂרָתָּא Here a noun, *service*, cf. πᾶσαν λειτουργίαν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτετελεκότα CIG 2786. אֵיתָ אֲתָּא i. e. אֵיתָ אֲתָּא lit. *with the presence, before*; אֲתָּא is the prep. *with*, cf. Gen. 19 27. 1 S. 2 18 מִשְׂרָתָּא אֲתָּא &c. The last two lines correspond closely with the Gk. inscr., e. g. ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες, ὅτι ἐπίστανται Πειραιεῖς χάριτας ἀξίας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις εἰς αὐτούς M 145 and often.

34. Piraeus. CIS i 118. Date prob. ii-i cent. B. C. Piraeus.

מוֹזֶבַח זֶ אֵשׁ יְנָה בְּנִחְדֶּשׁ בֶּן בַּעֲלִיתָן הַשֹּׁפֵט. בֶּן עֲבְדֵּאשְׁמוֹן
הַחֹתֵם. לְאַסְכֵּן אֲדָר. יְבָרַךְ

This altar (is that) which Ben-ḥodesh, son of Ba'al-yathon the judge, son of 'Abd-eshmun the sealer, erected to Askunadar. May he bless!

מוֹזֶבַח Cf. 3 4. 12 2. 28 4. הַפִּיחַ Ifil pf. of נוֹחַ = Hebr. הַפִּיחַ
2 K. 17 29; in Gk. ἀναθεῖναι. הַשֹּׁפֵט See 17 3 n. בְּנִחְדֶּשׁ
i. e. the head of the Phoenician colony at the Piraeus, corresponding to
our 'consul,' not *suffete* in the Carthaginian sense, 42 1 n. הַחֹתֵם
Either a maker of seals, or an official who seals. אֲסָכֵן No doubt
the same as סָכֵן, the deity who appears in the pr. nn. Σαγχοῦνιάθων =
סַכְנִית Hadr. 8 (Euting *Carth.*, Anhang Taf. 6), עֲבְדֵּאשְׁמוֹן CIS i 112 a.
46. גְּרַסְכֵּן 52 4 f. The name was pronounced *Sakun*, as the form
אֲסָכֵן implies, or *Sakkun* (Secchun CIL viii 5099), and means 'one
who cares for' (cf. Assy. *sakānu*, Tell-el-Am. 179 38. 180 13 &c.),
the 'friend' or 'helper' of men; cf. the sense of סָכֵן in Hebr., *profit*,
benefit, e. g. Job 15 3. 22 2. 34 9 &c. and 1 K. 1 2. 4. Sakun was
the Phoen. counterpart to the Gk. Hermes (Schröder 197 n.); the
two Gk. inscr. found near to this, one containing a dedication to
Hermes, the other to Δὲ σωτήρι, apparently refer to this altar. אֲדָר
is prob. an epithet, *glorious* 5 9 n.; cf. the pr. nn. אֲדָרְבַּעַל CIS i 157
1 &c., אֲדָרְמֶלֶךְ on a coin of Byblus, Babelon *Pers. Ach.* 1354, רִשְׁאֲדָר
the name of a town, Rusadir, also on coins (Lidzb. 370). There is
not sufficient evidence that אֲדָר was the name of a deity.

35. Piraeus. CIS i 119. Prob. iii cent. B. C. Piraeus.

Ἀσεπτὰ Ἐστυμσελήμου Σιδωνία

אֲנִי אֲסַפְתָּ בַּת אֲשַׁמְנֶשֶׁלֶם צִדְנַת אֵשׁ יִטְנָא לִי 1

יִתְנַבֵּל בֶּן אֲשַׁמְנֶצֶלָה רַב כְּהֵנָם אֱלֹם נִרְגַּל 2

I am Asepta, daughter of Eshmun-shillem, a Sidonian.
(This is that) which Yathan-bel, son of Eshmun-šilleḥ, chief-
priest of the god Nergal, set up to me.

For this form of inscr., in which the deceased speaks in the first person and the monument is set up by some one else, cf. 32.

L. 1. אספת Perhaps the fem. of אסף, with a segholate termination אסףת, pronounced אסףת, as the transcription shows. אשמנשלם Cf. בעלשלם 28 3 n. In the Gk. Ἐσυσσελήμου the reduplication of the intensive stem (שלם) is not marked, cf. Δομσάλως and Δομανῶ 32; but Βασιλλήχ = בעלשלך 38 6, Balsillec CIL viii 1249. צדנית i.e. צדנת. For the omission of the art. cf. אשקלני 32.

L. 2. יתנבעל = יתנבל (?); the ע is frequently dropped in NPun. pr. nn., e.g. מתנבל NPun. 22 3. יעורבל ib. 13 1 f. אדנבל ib. 102 2. Perhaps, however, בל is the Babyl. *bel*, not the Phoen. *ba'al*; cf. עברבל CIS i 287, and נרגל below. אשמנצל See 7 2 n. ארchiepύς, cf. 45 8 (Carthage), a title almost equivalent to a pr. n., and therefore apparently רבכהנם is not in the constr. st. before the following gen.; see König *Syntax* § 285 h. The usage is, however, hardly paralleled elsewhere; it may be due partly to carelessness, and partly to the unconscious recollection of the title ἀρχιερεύς in current Gk. speech. Contrast the constructions כהן שבעלשמם CIS i 379, and כהן לאל עליון Gen. 14 18. אלם בעלצדן Cf. 33 6 n. It is remarkable to find the Assy. god Nergal (see 2 K. 17 30 and Zimmern *KAT*³ 414), the god of battle and pestilence and the dead, worshipped by Phoenicians at the Piraeus. The Phoen. colony there was evidently eclectic in its tastes; in 34 the worship of אסכנ is referred to; and in the pr. nn. we find devotees of the Arabian (?) D'om (32), the Babylonian Shamash and Bel, and the Carthaginian Tanith (CIS i 116 לעברדתנת). (בן עברדשמ).

PHOENICIAN: PUNIC

MALTA

36. **Malta.** CIS i 122. Date ii cent. B. C. Louvre.

לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר אש נדר 1
עבדך עבדאסר ואחי אסרשמר 2
שן בן אסרשמר בן עבדאסר כ שמע 3
קלם יברכם 4

Διονύσιος καὶ Σαραπίων οἱ
Σαραπίωνος Τύριοι
Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει

To our lord Melqarth, the Ba'al of Tyre, which thy servant 'Abd-osir and his brother Osir-shamar, the two sons of Osir-shamar, son of 'Abd-osir, vowed, because he heard their voice. May he bless them !

This inscr. is repeated in the same words on two pedestals, one at Valetta, the other in the Louvre, each supporting a small pillar. The two pillars dedicated to Melqarth (Herakles) recall the *στήλαι δύο* which Herodotus saw in the temple of Herakles at Tyre (ii 44); cf. also Philo Byb., who says that at Tyre *ἀνιερώσαι δὲ δύο στήλας πυρὶ καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι*, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566. The letters of this inscr. resemble the Tyrian and Sidonian type.

L. 1. *לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר* See 23 3 *n.*; similarly in Sabaeen inscr., *אלמקה בעל אום* 'Ilmaqqaḥ, lord of Awwam' CIS iv 126 16, cf. 155 5. 240 5. *עתתר בעל מזבא* 276 4. *תאלב רימם בעל שצרם* 160 3 &c. *רמן בעל עלמן* 140 2 f.; and see 3 2 *n.* With the Gk. equivalent, *Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει*, cf. an inscr. from Delos, dated at the beginning of the second cent. B.C., where the *σύννοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων* use a similar designation of Herakles, *ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχοντος* (CIG 2271 = M 998).

L. 2. עברך עבראסר The same words in CIS i 9; for עבראסר see 14 2 n. The Gk. equivalent is Διονύσιος, implying that Osiris was regarded as the counterpart of Διόνυσος. The Gk. name of אסרשמר was Σαραπίων; in this case Osiris is confused with Serapis (= Osiris-Apis), in Aram. written אסר' חפ' 72 (from Memphis). It is said that about 180 B.C., in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, the name of Serapis was first accepted for Osiris (CIG 2753 n.).

L. 3. שני בְּנֵי שֵׁן בן i.e. שְׁנֵי בְנֵי; see 23 6 n.

37. Malta. CIS i 123 a. Date uncertain. Malta.

1 נצב מלכ
2 בעל אש ש
3 ם נחם לב
4 על חמן א
5 דן כ שמע
6 קל דברי

Pillar of Milk-Ba'al, which Naḥum placed to Ba'al-ḥammān (the) lord, because he heard the voice of his words.

The letters are of an archaic type; the W and W| ll. 1. 3. 5 (but 4| 1. 4) resemble the forms in 1. 11. 41. Lidzbarski (p. 177) considers that this points to a date before the sixth cent.; but in an isolated colony the writing may have kept a rude and undeveloped character, and therefore furnishes no sure criterion of early date.

L. 1. נצב *cippus* or *pillar*, cf. Gen. 19 26 נציב מלח. The word occurs in the companion inscr. CIS i 123 b נצב מלכאסר, in 39 (Sardinia), נצב מלכבעל לאדן לבעל חמן ... כ שמע קל [רב]ר[י] 147, נצבם 194 and 380 (Carthage), נ' מלכבעל (Hadrumetum 9, Euting *Carth. Anhang* T. 6); in Old Aram. 61 i. 14. 62 i. 20 (with שם); and in Sabaean, e.g. Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Denkm.* 95. The word is identical with the Arab. أَنْصَاب pl. نَصَب, an idol-stone to which worship was paid, e.g. *Qur.* v 92; see Wellhausen

Reste Arab. Heident. 101 f. The נצב in Phoen. was something of this kind, here a pillar of Milk-Ba'al, whose name occurs after נצב in each of the examples just given (except 39)¹; it is thus distinguished from מצבת, which as a rule is a funeral monument. מלכבעל A deity formed out of the attributes of Milk and Ba'al in combination, cf. מלכאסר CIS i 123 b, מלכעשתרת 10 3 n.; the Palm. מלכבל 112 4 Μαλάχβηλος, Malagbelus, is a different name. It is curious that the pillar of one deity should be dedicated to another; but Milk-ba'al and Ba'al-hammān were prob. only different aspects of the same god.

L. 2. שם Cf. Gen. 28 22. 2 K. 21 7. Jer. 7 30.

L. 4. בעל חמן In the formula לרבח לתנת פן בעל ולאדן לבעל חמן this title of Ba'al occurs more than 2000 times on the votive tablets from Carthage; see also the inscr. quoted above on l. 1. It corresponds to Hammoni J(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) on a Lat. inscr. from Mauretania Caesariensis, CIL viii 9018. לחמן is found alone in CIS i 404. 405, prob. for לבעל חמן; cf. עבדחמן NPun. 67 (Schröder p. 271), Ἀβδήμωνος Jos. c. Ap. i 17. The signification of the title is uncertain, but חמן is prob. a derivative of חם *be hot*, whence חמה *heat, sun* Is. 24 23. Ps. 19 7. Analogy is in favour of taking חמן as a noun in the genit.; but it can hardly be the name of a place, for the deity of Ḥammon (אל חמן) is Milk-'ashtart (CIS i 8) or 'Ashtart (10 4), nor a 'sun-pillar,' for the O. T. חמנים are best explained as images of Ba'al-hammān². Hence, as no suitable meaning can be obtained from a genit. noun, it is probable that חמן is an adj., *the glowing Ba'al*, cf. בעל מרפא *the healing B.* (CIS i 41), the article which Hebr. would require being dispensed with in Phoen. (see 3 2 n.). The title, thus explained, does not necessarily imply that Ba'al was regarded as a sun-god—a doubtful hypothesis (see Robertson Smith, art. Baal in *Ency. Bibl.*), but it describes him as the god of fertilizing warmth, an attribute which is quite in accordance with his usual character. אדן is in a very unusual position; cf. NPun. 31 לבעל חמן אלם.

L. 6. קל דברי Cf. Dt. 5 25. Dan. 10 9. דברי i. e. דְּבָרִי (ו), following the Hebr. form; or possibly דְּבָרִי, after the Aram. מְלִכּוּתִי = מְלִכּוּתִי, מַלְכּוּתִי; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 159. Cf. קרני 42 5.

¹ Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Νίσιβις . . . Σημαίνει δέ, ὡς φησι Φίλων, Νάσιβις τὰς στήλας, ὡς δὲ Οὐράνιος, νέσιβις, φησί, σημαίνει τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ λίθοι συγκείμενοι καὶ συμφορητοί *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 526.

² In the Palm. inscr. 136 we find a חמנא dedicated to שמש the sun-god. But this instance can hardly decide the original meaning of the ancient חמנים of the O. T. The Ἀμμονεῖς of the Phoen. temples, mentioned by Philo Byb. as inscribed ἀποκρύφοις γράμμασι (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 564), were probably חמנים.

38. Malta (Gaulus-Gozo). CIS i 132. iii–ii cent. Malta.

- 1 פעל וחדש עם גול אית שלש ...
 2 מקדש בת צדמבעל ואית מ[קדש] ...
 3 מקדש בת עשתרת ואית מקד[ש] ...
 4 בעת ר אדר ערכת ארש בן יאל ...
 5 שפט בן זיבקם בן עבדאשמן בן יא[ל] ...
 6 זבח בעלשלך בן חנא בן עבדאשמ[ן] ...
 7 בלא בן כלם בן יעזר שמר מחצב י ...
 8 עם גול

The people of Gaulus made and renovated the three(?)...²the sanctuary of the temple of Ṣadam-ba'al, and the sa[nctuary]...³the sanctuary of the temple of 'Ashtart, and the sanctu[ary]...⁴in the time of (our) l(ord) of noble worth (?), Arish, son of Ya'el...⁵judge (?), son of Zibaqam, son of 'Abd-eshmun, son of Ya'e[1...⁶sacrificer Ba'al-shillek, son of Hanno, son of 'Abd-eshmu[n...⁷BL', son of KLM, son of Ya'azor, keeper of the quarry...⁸(of) the people of Gaulus.

The inscr., though found at Malta, was prob. carried there from the neighbouring island of Gaulus, now Gozo. The writing is clear and well formed, and Carthaginian in character. The date of the inscr. is uncertain, because we do not know the era, prob. referred to in the missing portion of l. 7, from which the independence of Gaulus was reckoned. The date can hardly be later than 150 B. C., and may be earlier.

L. 1. חדש See 23 2 n. גול Plebs Gaulitana, CIL x 7508 f. גול was pronounced with a diphthong; in Gk. Γαῦδος. שלש As the stone is broken off at this point, and it is uncertain how much of the lines is missing, we cannot tell what שלש refers to, or whether the word is complete. There are four, not three, sanctuaries mentioned in ll. 2–3.

L. 2. מקדש The inner sanctuary of the temple (בת, cf. 5 15 f.); cf. 29 3. 7. Eze. 48 21. Jer. 51 51. צדמבעל is generally taken as

= צלמבעל *likeness of Ba'al*, cf. פן בעל 48 1 &c., שם בעל 5 18, a goddess known to the Greeks as Σαλαμβώ or Σαλάμβας, in Lat. Salambo, and identified with Aphrodite¹, who had a temple in Gaulus, the remains of which still exist. For צדם = צלם cf. Γαῦδος = Gaulus, e.g. Strabo p. 230 ed. Müll. There is more probability, however, in the view of Hoffmann (*ZA* xi 244 f.) that צלם was a male deity whose name appears in the inscr. from Têma 69 3 ff. 70 3, perhaps the deity of the planet Saturn, *kakkubu Šalmu* 'the dark' (ظلم), Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB.* 569. Hoffmann considers that צלם was associated with the sun-god among Phoenicians, and only by Greeks identified with 'Ashtart-Aphrodite. Possibly צלם, a village near Edessa, contains the name of the deity, P. Smith *Thes.* col. 3410.

L. 4. ר בעת Cf. 42 1. ר is an abbreviation of רב or רבן; cf. הרב in CIS i 229-235 and רב ארץ 29 2. 6. The reference here, as in the case of the other officials mentioned in ll. 5? 6. 7, is not to a definite year named after the chief magistrate (... בשת שפטם 40 2 n.), but to the period (עת) when these persons were engaged in the active duties of their office; so Lidzb. 113 n. אדר ערכת Meaning uncertain. In 5 9. 10 6 אדר = *great, powerful*; ערכת has been explained by the Hebr. עֲרֶכֶת a *valuation* paid for a commuted vow or due, Lev. 27 2 ff.; hence אדר ערכת is taken by the Corp. to denote *chief of the taxes, or assessments*, a revenue officer, or 'superintendent of public works,' cf. Aram. and Rabb. עֲרֶכְאָה *magistracy* (Wright *ZDMG* xxviii 143). But אדר is not a suitable word to be used as a noun for *chief*; and ערכת may be taken as a gen. of quality, in a figurative sense, *of noble worth*; for the construction cf. רב חכם לבב ואמין כח Job 9 4. רב חסד ואמת Ex. 34 6 &c. It must be admitted, however, that an expression of this kind is not customary in Phoen. inscr. Note that ערכת is fem., while in Hebr. עֶרֶךְ is mas., and not used in the plural. ארש See 21 1 n. יאל is a divine name, as appears from יאלפעל Altib. 2 2². Etymologically it may be identified with the Arab. وَائِل lit. *asylum* from وَالَ, *take refuge*, the god of the Arab tribe Bakr-Wâil; Wellhausen *Reste Arab. Heidentums* 64. This name occurs in Nabat. and Sin. as a pr. n. in the form ואלו and ואלת, e.g. CIS ii 214 2. 80 1. 90 2. 105, and often; in Gk. inscr. from Ḥauran Οὐάελος &c. Wadd. 2496³;

¹ Σαλαμβώ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους, Hesych. *Lex.* s. v.; Σαλάμβας ἡ δαίμων [ἡ] ... περιέρχεται θρηνοῦσα τὸν Ἀδωνιν, *Etym. magn.*; Salambonem omni planctu et jactatione syriaci cultus exhibuit (Heliogabalus), Lamprid. *vit. Heliog.* vii in *Scr. Hist. Aug.*

² Berger *JA* ix (1887) 466 ff.

³ In Polybius Ἰόλαος; the treaty between Hannibal and Philip was ratified

in Himyar. **יאל** CIS iv 159 *n.*; cf. also the name of a N. Arabian king Ya'lû on Asarhaddon's cylinder, col. iii 19, Schrader *COT* 25. 208. On Edessene coins (163-167 A.D.) **יאל** is the name of a king of Edessa; CIS ii p. 179. Perhaps the O.T. **יאל** is to be explained in this way, though the above names belong to Arab. rather than to Hebr. See Rob. Smith *Kinship* 194. 301; Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 153; Driver *Studia Bibl.* i 5 *n.*

L. 5. **שפט** Either another official (*the*) judge, supposing that l. 4 contained *son of . . . the*, or a pr. n. *Shafat*, common in N. Africa. **זיבקם** The name occurs in Punic and Neo-Punic, e. g. CIS i 251. 423 &c. and 22 2 *n.*; perhaps it is of Libyan or Numidian, rather than Phoen. origin, and equivalent to Syphax (on coins **ספס**). The rest of the line prob. ran *and in the time of . . . the*.

L. 6. **זבח** The chief officiating priest, *ιεροθύτης* CIG 5752 = Mich. 554, a Maltese inscr. circa 210 B.C. For the year, or period, dated by the name of this official cf. 55 5 **שת בלל הזבח** (from Alti-burus). **בעלשלך** Transcribed *Βασιλλήχ*, *balsillec* CIL viii 1249; see 35 1 *n.* The significance of **שלך**, found also in the name **אשמנשלך** CIS i 50 1. 197 4, is obscure. It is not probable that **שלך** = **שלה**, for **ח** is a soft guttural in Phoen., and therefore not interchangeable with **ך**; see 40 1 *n.* Cl.-Gan. explains **שלך** by the vulgar Arab. **سلك**, which in the dialect of Algiers = *save, deliver*, *Rec.* i 165 f. **חנא** 39 2 and often; perhaps shortened from **חנבעל** or **חנחנא**.

L. 7. **בלא . . כלם** *ἀ. λ.* These names belong either to the genealogy of **זבח** (ה), or to another official whose name stood in the missing part of l. 6. **יעור בעל** Short for **יעור בעל שמר** Qal ptc., *manager, overseer*, *ἐπιμελητής*; the third, or, if **שפט** = *judge* l. 5, the fourth official named. **מחצב** The form of the noun points to the meaning *quarry*; cf. **הצבם** 2 4. 6. 1 K. 5 29. It is conjectured that the end of the line furnished the date from which the **עם גול** (cf. 9 5 f. 27 2 &c.) reckoned their independence. The date is unknown; but in the second Punic war Malta, and presumably Gaulus too, severed its connexion with Carthage, Livy xxi 51.

ἐναντίον δαίμονος Καρχηδονίων καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἰολάου vii 9. 2; cf. also Diod. Sic. iv 29. Perhaps the pr. nn. *Ialnoati* CIL viii 280, *Iolitana* ib. 9341, *Iolitan(us)* ib. 9767 contain the name of the god; Nöld. *ZDMG* xlii 471.

SARDINIA

39. Caralis (Cagliari). CIS i 139. iii–ii cent. B.C. Cagliari.

לארן לבעשמם באינצם נצבם וחנוטם שנים || אש נדר בע ¹
 לחנא שבדמלקרת בן חנא בן אשמנעמם בן מהרבעל ²
 בן אתש ³

To the lord Ba'a(l)-shamem in the Isle of Hawks: (these are the) pillars and two ² ? which Ba'al-hanno, (son) of Bod-melqarth, son of Hanno, son of Eshmun-'amas, son of Mahar-ba'al, son of Athash, vowed.

L. 1. בעשמם i.e. בעלשמם, see 9 1 n. For the quiescence of ל cf. in Nab. בעשמין CIS ii 163, לבעשמן ib. 176, in Palm. בונא 112 2 n., and in Pun. בעחנא CIS i 869 2, 'Αννίβα-s=הנבעל, Bomilcar=בעלמלקרת, Μάκαρ=מלקרת &c.; see Schröder 100. The construction לבעשמם as in 24 2 n. אינצם=Ιεράκων νῆσος, mentioned by Ptolemaeus in his description of the islands round Sardinia, *Geogr.* iii 3, ed. Müll. p. 387; in the LXX ἱέραξ is the usual rendering of נץ, e.g. Lev. 11 16 b. Dt. 14 14 a. Job 39 26. The Phoen. name is preserved by Pliny, Habet (Sardinia) et a Gorditano promontorio duas insulas, quae vocantur Herculis: a Sulcensi, Enosin: a Caralitano, Ficariam, *Hist. Nat.* iii 13. The island is now called San Pietro. נצבם See 37 1 n. וחנוטם Meaning obscure; but evidently objects connected with the cult of the deity. In Hebr. חנַט means *to embalm*, but this gives no suitable sense here. Renan (in *Corp.*) explains the word by the Gk. χωνευτά, used in the LXX for *molten images*, מַסִּכּוֹת, e.g. 1 K. 14 9 A θεοὺς ἐτέροις χωνευτά.

L. 2. בעלחנא 47, cf. מלקרתחנא, דעמחנא 32 2 n. שבדמלקרת The rel. ש is here used, like של in late Hebr. and ד in Aram., to express the genitival relation, in this case instead of בן; cf. 41 2 f. רש שנגר. For ש elsewhere in Phoen. see 40 1? 41 3. 52. CIS i 133 ארש 316. ארש בן שמננם (see 64 1 n.). 315 שערבעל בן מסלח 133. שערבעלמלקרת 317 (similarly). 379 כהן שבעלשמם. It is worth noticing that the form אש occurs along with ש in many of these inscrs. referred to; see 45 4 n. אשמנעמם *Eshmun carries*, cf. בעלעמם CIS i 169, and עמסיה 2 Ch. 17 16; see 5 6 n. מהרבעל A common

Pun. name, in Gk. Μέρβαλος a Tyrian king, Jos. c. Ap. i 21. מֶהֶר is generally explained as *gift*, Hebr. מֶהֶר the purchase *price* of a wife, Gen. 34 12 &c.; this explanation, however, is not convincing.

40. Pauli Gerrei (Santuiaci). CIS i 143. ii cent. B. C.
Turin Mus.

*Cleon salari(us) soc(iorum) s(ervus) Aescolapio Merre
donum dedit lubens merito merente.*

Ἀσκληπίῳ Μηρρῇ ἀνάθεμα βωμὸν ἔστησε Κλέων ὁ ἐπὶ
τῶν ἁλῶν κατὰ πρόσταγμα.

לאדן לאשמן מארח מזבח נחשת משקל לטרם מאת א אש 1
נדר אבלין שחסגם אש בממלהת שמ[ע]
2 [ק]לא רפ'א בשת שפטם חמלכת ועבדאשמן בן חמלך

To the lord Eshmun Merre:—the altar of bronze, in weight a hundred 100 pounds, which Cleon of ḤSGM, who is over the salt-mines (?), vowed; he heard his voice (and) healed him. In the year of the suffetes Ḥimilkath and 'Abd-eshmun, son of Ḥimilk.

L. 1. לאשמן See 5 17 n. There is a mineral spring near to the place where the inscr. was found. מארח A title of Eshmun, explained by Nöldeke as the Piel ptcp. מֵאָרַח (note the doubled 2nd radical in the transcriptions *merre*, *μηρρη*) of ארח *wander, travel*, with the meaning *leader, guide*, cf. Eth. warēḥa *lead*; ZDMG xlii 472. Lidzbarski, p. 305, suggests the Ifil ptcp. of רִוַח, cf. Hebr. 1 S. 16 23 ורוח לשאול. Job 32 20; in Aram. (Ethpa.) *alleviatus est*, e. g. 2 Macc. 13 11 = ἀναψύχῃσθαι, *convalluit a morbo*; so מארח *he who alleviates, healer*, a suitable epithet for Eshmun-Aesculapius. In this case, however, the א is difficult to account for, unless it be merely euphonic. Hoffmann, ZA xi 238, takes מארח *Merre* as a diminutive of מלקרת, which sometimes takes the form of מר, מרי, Μαρκω, Μαρvas &c.; see 19 3 n. The Corp. regards מארח as = מארך scil. חיים, but in Phoen. ח is not a strong guttural, as appears from the transcriptions מארח

merre, חמלכת *himilco*, *imilco*, חתמלך *otmilc*, חנבעל *hannibal* &c.; see 38 6. On the whole the first explanation seems to be the most plausible. מוזה See 28 4 n. משקל See 29 14 n. לטרם Plur. of the Gk. weight λίτρα. The form of the symbol for 100 may be contrasted with that in 9 4 f. 29 14. 42 6. אכלין = Cleon, with א prosthetic, as often in foreign names; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 45 f. שחסגם The ש is perhaps the rel. particle introducing the genit., either *son of* (see 39 2 n.), or possibly *servant of* (so Corp.). The significance of חסגם is unknown; it may be a (Sardinian) pr. n., or the title of an office; possibly a transliteration of *servus sociorum*, Hoffmann l.c. Cf. 59 B 4. אש בממלהת ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλῶν, *who is over the salt mines*, though strictly this requires על instead of ב; the Corp. therefore renders *who is in the salt business*. ממלהת must be a dialectical form of ממלחת; for מ' cf. מחצב 38 7.

L. 2. קלא i.e. קולו; for the form of suff. cf. 48 5 and often. רפא Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. = רפאו; cf. תברכא 48 5 and often. The רפא is here treated as ל'ה, the י of the root being retained before the suff., as occasionally in Hebr., e.g. הַיְיָי K. 20 35. חַיְיָי Hab. 3 2, more frequently in the pausal forms חַיְיָי Dt. 32 37. יַאֲתָי Job 16 22 (Ges. § 75 u, mm). בשת שפטם For the year reckoned by the suffetes cf. 42 1 n. (Marseilles-Carthage). CIS i 170 (Carthage). 45 5 f. (ib.). 46 1 (ib.). 55 5 f. (Altiburus). חמלכ... חמלך For אח', see 11 n., and l. 1 n. above. It has been proposed to read בן as בְּנֵי, making the suffetes brothers, and providing both with a brief genealogy; but this is improbable and unnecessary (see 45 5). The inscr. dates from after the first Punic war, when Sardinia was severed from Carthage and passed under the rule of Rome. The suffetes, therefore, were not Carthaginian; they belonged prob. to Caralis (39), the chief city in the neighbourhood. The form of the Latin letters is said to point to a date about 180 B.C.

41. Nora (Pula). CIS i 144. ? vi cent. Cagliari.

[מצ] 1

בת רש ש 2

נגד שהא 3

בשרדן ש 4

למה אש ל 5

6 נצבא מ

7 לכתן בן ר

8 ש בן נגר

9 לפסי

Pillar of Rosh, (son) of Nagid, who (dwelt) in Sardinia ; Milk-(ya)thon, son of Rosh, son of Nagid, (the) Liphsite, completed it(?), (even that) which (was required) for setting it up.

The character is of an archaic type, which perhaps points to a date not later than the sixth cent. (Lidzb. 177); cf. 37 n. The ancient form of ת, X, occurs here.

L. 2. רש Perhaps = ראש. In Gen. 46 21 this pr. n. is corrupt. See 39 2 n. ש נגר

L. 3. נגר Prob. a pr. n.; so in Aram. CIS ii 112 (? נגר).

L. 4. שהוא בשרדן It is uncommon to find the dwelling-place mentioned; cf. 31 a ישב רכי באן מצרים. Euting *Sin. Inschr.* 551 פ' די עמר באילת.

L. 5. שלמה Piel pf. 3 sing. mas. The ה' is possibly the suff. 3 sing. fem., anticipating the object in the relat. clause; to refer it to מצבת makes the construction more difficult. The subject of the vb. is מלכתן l. 6 f. שלם complete, perhaps with the thought of fulfilling a vow.

L. 6. לנצבא appears to be the inf. with suff. 3 sing. fem. of נצב; cf. Old Aram. 61 10 לנצב, Nab. 99 2 נצב pf., also in Palm. מלכתן For 12 2 &c.

L. 9. לפסי A gentilic form of the name of a city (unknown).

L. 10. Stelle = Bedeutung der phöniz. Inschr. p. 10 ff.

1 ברתא אש

2 נצבא הא

3 ברתא דן אש

4 אש הא אש

5 מלכתא מ

6 אש מלכתא

7 אש מלכתא

8 אש מלכתא

In Tarsis wurde verfertigt. Auf der Tarsis stehenden. Es ist eine Verfertigung. Durch eine Tarsis ist die Tarsis in die Tarsis zurück der Tarsis am Eingang des Hauses.

GAUL

42. Marseilles. CIS i 165. Circ. iv cent. B. C. Marseilles Museum.

- 1 בת בעל[. . .] ב[עת המש]אתת אש טנ[א האשם ש על המשא]תת
 2 עת [ר חלצ]בעל השפט בן בדתנת בן בד[אשמן וחלצבעל]
 3 השפט בן בדאשמן בן חלצבעל וח[ברנם]
 4 באלף כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף עשרת — באחד
 5 ובכלל יכן לם עלת פן המשאת ז ש[אר משקל שלשת מאת III שג]
 6 ובצועת קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבים והפעמים ואחרי השאר
 7 לבעל הזבח
 8 בעגל אש קרני למבמחסר באטומטא אם באיל כלל אם צו[עת] אם
 9 שלם כלל לכהנם כסף חמשת II III באחד ובכלל יכן לם על
 10 ת פן המשאת ז שאר משקל מאת וחמש שג זז — ובצועת קצרת
 11 ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבים והפע[מם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח]
 12 ביבל אם בעז כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף שקל I זר II
 13 באחד ובצועת יכ[ן לם עלת פן המשאת ז קצרת]
 14 ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבים והפעמים ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח
 15 באמר אם בגדא אם בצרב איל כלל אם צועת אם שלם כל[ל]
 16 לכהנם כסף רבע שלשת זר . . . [באחד ובצועת יכן לם על]
 17 ת[פן המשאת ז קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבים והפעמים ואחרי
 18 השאר לבעל] הזבח
 19 בצ[פר אגנן אם צץ שלם כל[ל] אם שצף אם חזות לכהנם כסף רבע
 20 שלשת זר II באחד וכן הש[אר לבעל הזבח]
 21 ע[ל צפר אם קדמת קדשת אם זבח צד אם זבח שמן לכהנם כסף
 22 א[גרת] — לבאחד
 23 ב[כל צועת אש יעמם פנת אלם יכן לכהנם קצרת ויצלת
 24 ו[ב]צועת

14 [ע]ל בלל ועל חלב ועל חלב ועל כל זבח אש אדם לו
במנח[ת] י

15 בכל זבח אש יזבח דל מקנא אם דל צפר בל יכן לכהנ[ם מנח]

16 כל מזרח וכל שפח וכל מרוח אלם וכל אדמם אש יזבח . .

17 האדמם המת משאת על זבח אחר כמדת שת בכתב[ת] . . .

18 [כ]ל משאת אש איבל שת בפס ז ונתן לפי הכתבת אש [כתב]

האשם אש על המשאת עת ר חלצבעל בן בדתנ[

19 ת וחלצבעל בן בראשמן וחברנם

20 כל כהן אש יקה משאת ברץ לאש שת בפס ז ונענ[ש]

21 פל בעל זבח אש איבל יתן את כ . . [ע]ל המשאת א[ש] . . .

Temple of Ba'al-[]. Ta[riff of pay]ments e[rected] by the overseers of pay]ments in the time of [the lord Hilleš-]ba'al the suffete, son of Bod-tanith, son of Bod-[eshmun, and of Hilleš-ba'al] ² the suffete, son of Bod-eshmun, son of Hilleš-ba'al, and their col[leagues].

³ For an ox, whole-offering or prayer-offering (?) or whole thank-offering, the priests shall have ten 10 silver (shekels) for each; and for a whole-offering they shall have, besides this payment, f[lesh weighing three hundred 300 (shekels)]; ⁴ and for a prayer-offering (?), the ? and the ?; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁵ For a calf whose horns are wanting (?) ?, or for a hart, whole-offering or pray[er]-offering (?) or whole thank-offering, the priests shall have five [5] silver (shekels) [for each; and for a whole-offering they shall have, besid]es this payment, flesh weighing a hundred and fifty 150 (shekels); and for a prayer-offering (?) the ? and the ?; but the skin and ? and the fe[et and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice].

⁷ For a ram or for a goat, a whole-offering or a prayer-offering (?) or a whole thank-offering, the priests shall have

1 silver shekel 2 *zars* for each; and for a prayer-offering (?) they shall h[ave, besides this payment, the ?] ⁸ and the ?; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁹ For a lamb or for a kid or for the young of a (?) hart, a whole-offering or a prayer-offering (?) or a whole thank-offering, the priests (shall have) three quarters of a silver (shekel) . . . *zars* [for each, and for a prayer-offering (?) they shall have, besides] ¹⁰ this payment, the ? and the ?; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering [the sacrifice].

¹¹ For a bird, domestic (?) or wild (?), a whole thank-offering or a ? or a ?, the priests (shall have) three quarters of a silver (shekel) 2 *zars* for each; but the fle[sh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice].

¹² For a bird (?) or sacred first-fruits or sacrifice of game (?) or sacrifice of oil, the priests (shall have) 10 silver *a*[*gōrāhs* (?)] for each

¹³ In every prayer-offering (?), which is carried before the gods, the priests shall have the ? and the ?; and for a prayer-offering (?)

¹⁴ For a cake, for milk and for fat and for every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice for a meal-offering, . . . shall . . .

¹⁵ For every sacrifice which a man may sacrifice who is poor in cattle or in birds, the priests shall have nothing [of them].

¹⁶ Every *mizrah* and every ? and every religious guild, and all men who shall sacrifice, ¹⁷ such men (shall give) a payment for each sacrifice, according as is set down in the document

¹⁸ Every payment which is not set down on this table shall be given according to the document which [. . . the overseers of payments drew up in the time of the lord Hilleš-ba'al, son of Bod-tan¹⁹ith, and of Hilleš-ba'al, son of Bod-eshmun, and their colleagues.

²⁰ Every priest who shall receive a payment other (?) than that which is set down on this tablet, shall be fin[ed . . .].

²¹ Every person offering a sacrifice, who shall not give . . . for the payment which¹.

The stone, though found at Marseilles, must have come originally from the quarries near Carthage, as its geological formation shows. In style and contents the inscr. closely resembles the group 43. 44. CIS i 170, which belongs to Carthage; so it is probable, but not certain, that the stone was already inscribed before it travelled to Marseilles.

L. 1. **בת בעל** The Corp. conjectures **צפן** after **בעל**, cf. **עברצפן** CIS i 265. **בדצפן** 108. **אתת** [בעת המש] Cf. 43 1. CIS i 171 7. The missing parts of the inscr. may be restored from 43, and from other lines of the inscr. itself. The context shows that **בעת** = *tariff*, but the etymology is doubtful. The word may be explained by the Arab. **باع** *make a covenant, stipulate*, **مُبَايَعَة** *contract for buying or selling*, **بَيْع** *buying or selling*, and the meaning be *agreement*; or the meaning *demand* may be obtained from the Arab. **بَغَى**, Aram. **בעא** *seek*. **משאתת** = Hebr. **משאת** *dues, taxes*, 2 Ch. 24 6. 9. Eze. 20 40. **43 1, טנא** usually of *setting up* a statue on a pedestal (13 2 n.), or *fixing* a pillar in the ground (16 2 &c.). **הא' ש על המ'** Cf. 46 1. 33 2. 55 5. **עת ר** Cf. CIS i 170 1 and 38 4. **הלצבעל** i. e. *B. delivers* (piel); cf. **אשמנחלץ** CIS i 168 2. **777 5 &c. השפט** Even if the inscr. did not come originally from Carthage, it gives us some information about the Carthaginian constitution, for the colony at Marseilles would be organized on the model of the mother-state. (1) At the head of the state in Carthage were two *suffetes* (ll. 1–2. 18–19) or chief magistrates; cf. 45 5. 6. 46 1 (?). CIS i 170 1. 179 6 f. 196 4 f. By Gk. and Lat. writers they are called *βασιλεις* and *reges*, and they are generally given as two, being compared with the Roman consuls². Similarly in Lat. inscr. from N. African cities two are named, CIL viii 797. 5306; in the NPun. inscr. from Altiburus and Maktar there are three, 55 5 f. 59 B 4 ff. (2) The *suffetes* give their names to the period (**עת** CIS i 170, cf. 38 4), or more usually to the year (**46 1, שת**),

¹ The above translation is based upon that given by Dr. Driver in *Authority and Archaeology* 77 f.

² Livy xxx 7 5 *Senatum itaque sufetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. Nepos Hann. vii 4 Ut enim Romae consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur.* In historical narratives, it is true, one 'king' is generally mentioned; but perhaps one was often away on distant duties, or one of the two may have been in some sense inferior to the other. At any rate, the comparison with the consuls is decisive.

cf. 40 2), during which they held office. As the expression **בשח שפסם** suggests, the appointment was an annual one (see 45 5 n.)¹; the series of votive tablets, CIS i 199–228, were dedicated by suffetes prob. during their year of office. These tablets show that although the office was not hereditary, yet it tended to become associated with a limited number of families, of long-descended and honourable race². (3) The name **שפס** implies that the office was magisterial, not hierarchical; thus in 45 8 the ‘chief priest’ is mentioned beside the suffetes; cf. 55 6 f. (4) Connected with the two chief magistrates were the **חברם** *colleagues*, who formed their council (ll. 2. 19, cf. 55 4 and **חבר היהודים** 149 C). Whether these *colleagues* correspond to the *γερονσία* of 100 (or 104), the ‘centum iudices,’ or to the executive committee of 30 chosen from the 100, we cannot tell. It may be assumed that the two suffetes presided over this senate (but see 45 6 n.); they certainly summoned it and conducted its business³. (5) The office and title of *suffete* were characteristic of Carthage and of the Carth. colonies. In the latter, of course, the suffetes would not have the same importance, and prob. not exactly the same functions, as in the mother-state; they would be little more than local magistrates. They are met with in Sardinia 40, Sicily CIS i 135, Malta ib. 124, Altiburus 55, and in a number of N. African cities, CIL viii 7. 765. 797. 5306. 10525. The title *Judices*, given to governors or petty kings in Spain and Sardinia (Cagliari) in the Middle Ages, may be a survival from Punic times; see Ducange s. v. At the Piraeus there was a **שפס**, but prob. not in the Carth. sense, 34 n., and cf. 8 3 n. 17 2. The chief of a Phoen. city in Phoenicia itself, or in Cyprus, was called not **שפס** but **מלך**, e.g. 3 1. 4 1. 5 1. 12 2 &c.

¹ Nepos l. c.; Zonaras, *Annal.* viii 8 τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα ἑαυτοῖς κλησὶν ἐτησίῳ ἀρχῆς ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ χρονίῳ δυναστείᾳ προὔβαλλοντο. Aristotle, *Pol.* ii 11, in his parallel with the Spartan kings, who ruled for life, does not notice this point of difference; perhaps he did not believe in it. Cicero, *Rep.* ii 23, seems to imply that the Carth. *reges* were elected for life (‘perpetua potestas’).

² From any family of full civic rights, not, as in Sparta, from one family and by hereditary dignity, Aristotle l. c.; but the text is uncertain.

³ E.g. Polybius iii 33 3. Beside the *γερονσία*, Polyb. mentions the *σύγκλητος*, x 18 1; xxxvi 2 6. The latter was probably a general assembly of the people (vi 51 6), who took a real share in the government, Arist. l. c. The *γερονσία* of Arist. is perhaps to be identified with the *σύγκλητος* of Polyb.; see Henderson *Journ. Phil.* xxiv (1896) 119 ff. Under special circumstances a military command seems to have been bestowed upon a suffete by decree of the senate, but this was exceptional; the *βασιλεία* and the *στρατηγία* are distinguished by Arist. The word *ἡσὺ judex* is in itself ambiguous; for the 104 were also called *iudices*.

Ll. 3-14. A Table of Sacrifices and Dues. It appears that the sacrificial institutions of the Phoenicians had a good deal in common with those of the Hebrews, and gave expression to the same general religious ideas. Thus the chief types of sacrifice in both systems are analogous, the whole-offering, the thank-offering, the meal-offering. The Hebr. חטאת and אשם *sin-* and *guilt-offering*, however, are absent, unless something of the kind was intended by the obscure צועת, which is doubtful. The materials of sacrifice are generally alike, but in some respects the details differ: the Hebrews sacrificed domestic animals only, but the Phoenicians offered as well deer (איל), young (?) deer (צרב איל), wild-birds (ציץ?), game (צר), and included milk (חלב) and fat (חלב) in the מנחה. It is to be noticed that in this inscr. oxen, sheep and goats, birds, produce are mentioned in the same order as in Lev. 1-2. Certain parts of the sacrifice are assigned to the priests and to the worshipper, as in Lev. 6 19. 7 8. 15-19. 31-34. Dt. 18 3. 4 &c.; while the relief allowed to the poor man (l. 15) may be illustrated by Lev. 5 7. 11. 12 8. 14 21 (אם דל הוא). The resemblance, however, between the two systems is a general one. Many of the sacrificial terms in Phoenician are obscure in meaning, and those which are identical with the Hebr. (e.g. כלל, שלם) may have denoted different things; at any rate they acquired different shades of meaning in the course of their separate history. See Driver *Authority and Archaeology* 78 f.

L. 3. באלף The prep. here is *beth* of reference; cf. the use of في in Arab. (Wright *Ar. Gr.*³ ii § 55 c); there is no exact parallel in Hebr. אלף *ox*, as in Assy. *alpu*; in Hebr. the word is rare, and only used in the plur., e.g. Pr. 14 4. Is. 30 24. Ps. 8 8. Dt. 7 13. 28 4 ff. כלל 43 5 prob. = כָּלִיל *holocaust*, a word which in Hebr. hardly belongs to the ordinary terminology of sacrifice. It is used as a descriptive synonym of עולה, Dt. 33 10. 1 S. 7 9. Ps. 51 21; twice of the priests' מנחה, Lev. 6 15 f.; and figuratively in Dt. 13 17. Among the Phoenicians כלל was apparently the equivalent of the O.T. עולה. It was not wholly burned upon the altar¹, because part of the flesh was assigned to the priests. אם . . . אם See 5 7 n. צועת 43 4 f. may be connected with the same root as the Eth. ጸዐ: (צוע) *cry out, invoke*, hence צועת was perhaps a sacrifice accompanied by *prayer*; it is highly precarious to make the Ethiopic root correspond to צוה, שׁוּע, as Wright does, *Comp. Gr.* 60. The Eth. ጸዐ: (שׁע),

¹ Cf. Ex. 20 24, which orders the עולה to be slaughtered (וַיִּזְבְּחֶהָ) upon the altar, but says nothing about its being wholly burned upon it; Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 358 n.

whence **שׁוּמְרִי**: *sacrifice*, is again prob. a different root. **שׁוּמְרִי** may be rendered 'a **שׁוּמְרִי** of (i. e. *accompanying*) a **שׁוּמְרִי**' or 'a whole **שׁוּמְרִי**.' It is probably incorrect to regard the 'ש' כ' as a third kind of sacrifice, for in the second part of each direction only the **שׁוּמְרִי** and the **שׁוּמְרִי** are repeated. This implies that two, and not three, distinct species of sacrifice are contemplated, in which case the 'ש' כ' will be a subordinate kind of **שׁוּמְרִי**. Robertson Smith regards it as an ordinary sacrifice accompanying a **שׁוּמְרִי**, *Rel. of Sem.* 219 n. It must remain uncertain what exactly the 'ש' כ' was. The word **שׁוּמְרִי** is of course the same as the Hebr. for *thank- or peace-offering*. **שׁוּמְרִי** For the order cf. 2 S. 24 24. Neh. 5 15. 1 Ch. 22 13; **שׁוּמְרִי** is in apposition to **שׁוּמְרִי** understood, cf. Gen. 20 16. 37 28 &c., and nominative to **שׁוּמְרִי** which must be supplied before **שׁוּמְרִי**; see Driver *Tenses* § 192 (1), König *Syntax* § 314 h. The money payments to the priests may be illustrated by CIL vi 820 pro sanguine . . et corium . . si holocaustum XX. **שׁוּמְרִי** lit. *over*, here *over and above, besides*; similarly perhaps Ex. 20 3 **שׁוּמְרִי** lit. *flesh, a weight of 300 (shekels)*; see Driver l. c.; **שׁוּמְרִי** is in apposition to **שׁוּמְרִי**, and prob. in the constr. state, as in 1 Ch. 21 25 **שׁוּמְרִי**; for **שׁוּמְרִי** understood after **שׁוּמְרִי** cf. Num. 7 13 ff. The restoration is based on l. 6, the amount for an ox would be double of that for a calf. For **שׁוּמְרִי** = Hebr. **שׁוּמְרִי** see 3 4 n.

L. 4. **שׁוּמְרִי** 43 8 evidently certain parts of the victim assigned to the worshipper, as the **שׁוּמְרִי** was to the priests. The practice is illustrated by Lev. 7 15-19. 19 6 &c., and by a Gk. inscr. from Miletus (end of the fourth cent. B. C.) λαμβάνειν δὲ τὰ δέρματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γέρεα· ἣν ἐν θύηται, λάψεται γλωσσάν, ἐσφύν, δασέαν, ὠρήν κ.τ.λ. Michel 726. The meaning of **שׁוּמְרִי** is unknown. **שׁוּמְרִי** has been rendered *cuttings, prosecta*, from **שׁוּמְרִי** *cut*; **שׁוּמְרִי** may be connected with the root **שׁוּמְרִי**, and the Hebr. **שׁוּמְרִי** *joints*. The breast and right shoulder were the perquisites of the priests in the Levitical law, Lev. 7 31 f. **שׁוּמְרִי** ll. 6. 8. 10 f. 43 4 bis. 5. Here we have an instance of the waw conversive in Phoen. It is used with the perfect to introduce the predicate, as it is in Hebr. (Driver *Tenses* §§ 122. 123 α), i. when the subject follows the verb and intervenes between it and the clause introduced by **שׁוּמְרִי** (**שׁוּמְרִי**); if the subject does not intervene the simple imperfect occurs, **שׁוּמְרִי** ll. 3. 7. **שׁוּמְרִי** 13. 15: ii. when the subject precedes the verb, the sentence having commenced with the casus pendens, l. 18 **שׁוּמְרִי** . . . **שׁוּמְרִי**. 43 11. l. 20 **שׁוּמְרִי** . . . **שׁוּמְרִי**. So far as is known at present, the idiom is found only in the small group of related inscr., 42. 43 and

CIS i 170 (rest.). The sister idiom, the imperfect with waw conversive, has not been discovered in Phoenician; 5 ויספננם 19 cannot safely be taken as an instance. The normal tense for continuing a narrative of finished acts is the perf. with weak waw, e. g. יתן ויטנא 13 2 &c. פעל וחדש 38 1. 46 1; and this construction occurs where in Hebr. the impf. with strong waw would be natural, e. g. 3 8. 5 16. 17 וישבני 17 . . בנן. 23 5 ופקר 29 13. 14. 33 3. The material is very limited both in extent and character, but, so far as it goes, it suggests the conclusion that the waw conversive was not used in ordinary Phoen. speech and writing. Yet it was not entirely unknown, and the few instances of its occurrence with the perf., preserved in the Carthaginian dialect, are perhaps survivals of what was once more common. The later biblical and post-biblical Hebr. shows that there was a tendency to drop the use of the waw conv., and that at last it was abandoned altogether. The same thing may have happened in Phoen., though it is not likely that at any period the idiom reached such a full development in Phoen. as in Hebrew. הערת

43 2 f., i. e. הערת. In Hebr. עור is mas. with a fem. ending in the plur. The עור העלה is given to the priests in Lev. 7 8; in the case of the sin-offering it was burned, Ex. 29 14. Lev. 8 17. Num. 19 5. In 43 4 and CIS i 170 2 אשלבם, *fatty parts*, cf.

מסלכא (only in the glossaries) *the fat of the hinder parts of birds*. In 1 K. 7 28 f. שְׁלָבִים may = *cross-bars, ribs*; the exact meaning is obscure. CIS i 170 2; see 3 4 n. אחרי prob. =

Hebr. אחרית; see 10 9 n. בעל הזבח 43 2 f., lit. *owner of the sacrifice*; for בעל as a noun of relation cf. 45 9 בעל חרש, and in Hebr. Gen. 37 19 החלמות ב'. 2 K. 1 8. Gen. 14 13 בעלי ברית 2 S. 1 6 &c.

L. 5. קרני i. e. קִרְנֵי (ו); see 37 6 n. למבמחסר lit. *yet in want*, cf. Dt. 15 8. Jud. 18 10 &c.; for the accumulated preps. see 16 2 n. (of time). This is simpler than to take למ as = לו, an isolated example of this form of the sing. suff. (König *Lehrg.* ii 446 n. 2). באטומטא is obviously a foreign word, Gk. or Berber. Its meaning is unknown. The Corp. suggests ἀτομητός for ἀτμητός *not castrated*.

איל Perhaps אֵיל *hart* rather than אֵיל *ram*, because the latter belongs to the class specified further on, l. 7. The sacrifice of wild animals is surprising, but it seems to be implied in this Table (p. 117). The restoration of the number is based on l. 3.

L. 6. משקל שאר See l. 3 n. For the form of the symbol for 100 see 40 1 n.

L. 7. יבל i. e. יָבֵל *ram*; in the O.T. only of the ram's-horn trumpet

and of the 'year of the ram('s horn),' Ex. 19 13. Josh. 6 5. Lev. 25 13 &c. זר 43 7 a small coin, less than the quarter of a shekel l. 11. The Hebr. זר *border moulding* Ex. 25 11 ff., lit. 'that which presses, binds,' Aram. זַרְזָן *necklace*, זִרְא *crown*, may possibly be connected; the √ זור = lit. *press down*.

L. 9. אמר *lamb*, Aram. אִמְרָא, Palm. אמריא (plur.) 147 ii a 41, Arab. اِمْر from the Aram., Fränkel *Ar. Fremdw.* 107 f. גרא = Hebr. גרי. איל 43 5. צרב = Aram. צַרְבָא *sheep*, Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl (1886) 737; cf. pr. n. צרבם CIS i 380 4. The context refers to the young of sheep and goats, so צרב is prob. the young of deer, איל l. 5. A gazelle could be sacrificed by heathen Arabs, but only as a poor substitute for a sheep; Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heidenth.* 115.

L. 11. מן העוף Cf. Lev. 1 14. 43 7 meaning very uncertain. אננן is rendered *enclosure*, cf. גַּנָּה &c., √ גנן *surround, protect*; so *birds of enclosure* i. e. domestic birds. צין may = ציין *wing*, Jer. 48 9 (? text), Targ. ציין Dt. 14 9. 10. Ps. 139 9 &c., Sam. Targ. Gen. 15 9 צוין = גוול; so perhaps *birds of wing*, i. e. wild birds. According to Athenaeus ix 47 the quail was offered to the Tyrian Baal¹. The Hebrews as a rule offered doves and pigeons for the עולה (Lev. 1 14 cf. Gen. 15 9 JE), and חטאת (Lev. 12 6. 8), or 'birds,' of a kind not specified (Vulg. *passeres*), for purification from leprosy (Lev. 14 4). שצף, חזת Two species of sacrifice; but of what nature is unknown. שצף cannot be explained by Is. 54 8 (see Duhm or Marti in loc.); possibly חזת may have been a sacrifice in connexion with auspices, חזה, חזות *vision*, cf. Is. 28 15. 18 (perhaps of a *vision* by necromancy). See Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 202.

L. 12. על צפר The repetition of צפר and the change of preposition are to be noted; contrast 43 7-8. Perhaps צפר here means some other kind of bird than צפר l. 11 or it may = צפיר *he-goat*, Ezr. 8 35. Dan. 8 5 &c.; or the words צפר אם may be due to a sculptor's error. קרמת קרשת 43 9. 44 3 = Hebr. ראשית, בכורים Lev. 2 12 f. Num. 18 12 and Dt. 18 4 &c. צר 43 9 = Hebr. ציד *hunting* Gen. 10 9, *game* Gen. 25 28, or *food* Josh. 9 5. 14. Neh. 13 15. The latter may be intended here. זבח 43 9. זבח שמן, properly

¹ So far as date goes, there is no reason why the common domestic fowl should not have been sanctified at Carthage. It was first introduced into W. Asia by the Persians, too late to be included in the sacrificial lists of Lev. 1; but it may have reached N. Africa by the fourth or third cent. Egyptian wall-paintings represent only ducks and geese among domesticated poultry (Peters *New World* viii 36). צפר, in Phoen. 'birds for sacrifice,' has a wider sense than in Hebr. and Aram.; cf. זל צפר l. 15.

slaughter, has here the general sense of *offering*. For oil with the first-fruits see Lev. 2 14 ff.; in the Jewish system it was mingled with flour for the מנחה, but not offered separately, Lev. 2 4-6. [גרת] א Cf. 1 S. 2 36 לַאֲגֹרָה בַּסֶּף LXX ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου. The *agōrāh* (= מֶעָא Targ. 1 S. 2 36) was perhaps the same as the *gērah*, the 20th part of a shekel Ex. 30 13 &c., identified by Targ. and Talm. with the מֶעָא *obol*, ὀβολός LXX. לבאחר Cf. למבמחסר l. 5 n.

L. 13. יעמם 43 8, Nif. impf., see 5 6 n. פנת אלם 43 8 i.e. לפני אללים. For אלם see 33 6 n.

L. 14. בלל 44 2. 7 lit. *mixed* offering in connexion with the מנחה, so *cakes* or flour mixed with oil, as in the Hebr. מנחה, Ex. 29 2. Lev. 2 4. 7 10 &c. חלב .. חלב i.e. חֶלֶב .. חֶלֶב *milk .. fat*. Neither of these formed an element in the Hebr. meal-offering; the fat was sacrificed (Ex. 23 18 JE) and burned (1 S. 2 15 f. Lev. 3 3 ff. &c.); milk was not offered at all. Among the Arabs milk was poured as a libation: Wellhausen *supr.* 114; Rob. Smith *supr.* 203. In 43 10 only חלב occurs. אש אדם לזבח A striking case of similarity with Hebr. idiom, e.g. Hos. 9 13. Is. 10 32 &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 204. This construction, in which the inf. with ל forms the sole predicate, is freely used in later Hebr., e.g. *Aboth* 4 22 הילודים למות והמתים; cf. the Syriac usage after ܠܐ e.g. ܠܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ they can give nothing: Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 194; Nöldeke *Syr. Gr.*² 216. במנחת 43 10 the ב as in בכלל l. 3, בצועת l. 4 &c.

L. 15. דל מקנא 43 6, cf. 45 2. 46 1; for דל see note above p. 117. הַמִּסְכֵּן תְּרוּמָה is an accus. of limitation, *poor in respect of cattle*, like תְּרוּמָה Is. 40 20. קְרוֹעַ בְּתִנְתּוֹ 2 S. 15 32. After verbs of fullness and want the accus. is usual in Hebr.; Ewald *Synt.* §§ 281 b 2. 284 c. [מנם] From 43 6; see 5 add. note.

L. 16. The regulations here pass from individuals (דל l. 14. אדם l. 15) to classes of men (כל אדם l. 16. האדם המת l. 17); hence it is prob. that the difficult words 'מזרח וגו' are to be interpreted as collectives. מזרח may be connected with the Hebr. אֶזְרָח lit. *one arising* (זרח) *from the soil*, so *native*, 'a free tribesman,' here a *clan*, *society of freemen*, cf. 55 4, where וחברנם המזבח is to be read 'וח' רב המזרח 16. המזרח .. אש בנא 59 A 1 שפה belongs to the same root as the Hebr. משפחה, and may be rendered *family*. מרוח אלם Prob. *a festal gathering in honour of the gods*, θιάσος; cf. the Athenian sacred *symposia*. The √רוח apparently means *cry aloud*, and the noun מְרוֹחַ is used in Hebr. of noisy revelry (Am. 6 7) or grief (Jer. 16 5, LXX θιάσον), and in Rabbinic of a banquet,

esp. one in honour of a false god¹; perhaps מרוח in 33 1 may denote the period of the annual *συσσιτία*. An interesting parallel to the מרוח of Jer. 16 5 (though the sense is different) has been found recently in the mosaic of Mâdebâ; a place called Βητομαρσεα ἡ καὶ Μαίουμας² is mentioned on the E. of the Dead Sea, no doubt a transcription of מ' ב' מ', and the scene of licentious festivals; Cl.-Gan. Rec. iv 276. 339-345 = PEFQS (1901) 239. 369. 372 f. The word occurs also in Palm., בני מרוחא *members of the thiasus* 140 A 2.

L. 17. במדת See 5 19 n. למדת. 43 11, ptc. pass., cf. in Hebr. מול *circumcised*, לוּטָה 1 S. 21 10; König *Lehrg.* i 445.

L. 18. איבל l. 21. 43 11 a negative compounded of אי (4 4 n.) and בל l. 15. פס l. 20. 43 11 *tablet*, from פסס *expand*; in the Talm. פס = *plank, palisade* (Schröder 23 n. 3); here it is the stone which bears the inscription. ונתן Nif. pf. 3 sing. mas. of יתן with waw conv. (see l. 4 n.). לפי *according to the tenor of*, ל of norm; cf. in Hebr. Num. 26 54 איש לפי פקדיו &c. כתבת A different document from the פס bearing the inscription. The remainder of the line is restored from l. 1.

L. 20. ברץ Meaning unknown; ב is prob. the prep., with דץ cf. the Arab. دَارِ turn aside; so ברץ perhaps *in deviation from*, Ball *Light from the East* 253. ונענש Nif. perf. with waw conv. (see l. 4 n.); cf. Ex. 21 22 E. Dt. 22 19.

L. 21. פל An error for כל. אית Usually את; see 3 3 n. על above, beyond; cf. Ex. 16 5. In l. 3 עלת פן 3.

¹ A good illustration is found in *Siphre* ed. Friedmann 47 b; the context speaks of the daughters of Moab tempting the apostate Israelites להם לעשות להם באחרונה הוורו לעשות להם; Midr. Rab. *Esther* 4 זה ורשע זה מרויחים והיו קוראים להם ואוכלים בית המקדש הרב ורשע זה (of Ahasuerus).

² Lit. *the house of the Marzeah* (i. e. orgiastic festival) *which is also the Majumas-feast*. The Gk. word Μαίουμας occurs several times in the Midrashim as מְיוּמָס a *great feast*, so called after the feast held by the pagan inhabitants of the city Majuma in Syria; Levy *NHWW* iii 99. It has been suggested that Betomarsea-Majumas was the traditional scene of the event recorded in Num. 25 1 ff.; *Rev. Bibl.* xi (1902) 150. For מרוח see further Berger *Grande inscr. dédic. à Maktar* (1899) 16 ff.; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 47. 343 f.

NORTH AFRICA

43. Carthage. CIS i 167. iv-iii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room no. 490.

- 1 בעת המשאתת אש טנא [האשם אש על המשאתת]
 2 [באלף כללם אם צועת וכן הע]רת לכהנם ותברת לבעל
 הזבח
 3 [בעגל כללם אם צועת וכן ה]ערת לכהנם ותברת לבעל הזבח
 א
 4 [ביבל אם בעז כללם אם] צועת וכן ערת העזם לכהנם וכן האשל[בם
 והפעמם].
 5 [באמר אם בגדא אם ב]צרב איל כללם אם צועת וכן הערת
 לכה[נם]
 6 [בכל זבח אש יזב]ח דל מקנא בל יכן לכהן מנם
 7 [בצפר אגנן אם] בצין כסף זר ו על אחד
 8 [בכל צועת א]ש יעמם בנת אלם כן לכהן קצרת ו[יצלת
 9 [על כל קדמת] קדשת ועל זבח צד ועל זבח שמן
 10 [על בלל ו]על חלב ועל זבח במנחת ועל [כל זבח אש אדם
 לזבח
 11 [כל משאת אש] איבל שת בפס ז ונת[ן

Tariff of payments erected by [the overseers of payments].

² [For an ox, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the ? shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

³ [For a calf, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the ? shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁴ [For a ram or for a goat, whole-offerings or] prayer-

offering (?), the skin of the goats shall go to the priests, but the ? [and the feet] shall go

⁵ [For a lamb or for a kid or for] the young (?) of a hart, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go to the pries[ts].

⁶ [For every sacrifice which one may sacrific]e who is poor in cattle, nothing of them shall go to the priest.

⁷ [For a bird, a domestic (?) or] for a wild (?) one, 2 silver *zars* for each.

⁸ [For every prayer-offering (?) wh]ich is carried before the gods there goes to the priest the ? and [the ?

⁹ [For all] sacred [first-fruits], and for a sacrifice of game (?) and for a sacrifice of oil

¹⁰ [For a cake and] for milk and for a sacrifice for a meal-offering, and for [every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice

¹¹ [Every payment which] is not set down on this table shall be give[n

The lacunae are supplied from 42, which this inscr. closely resembles. An excellent facsimile is given by Ball, *Light from the East*, opp. p. 250.

L. 1. See 42 1.

L. 2. See 42 3 f. In contrast to 42 the שלם כלל is not mentioned here; and, instead of a money payment, the skin, which in 42 goes to the worshipper, is assigned to the priests, cf. Lev. 7 8. תברת l. 3 some part of the victim, ? cuttings, cf. the Arab. هَبَّرَ cut up, بَرَّ cut out.

L. 3. See 42 5 f.

L. 4. See 42 7 f. 42 2. צועת 42 4. וכן So אשלבם
CIS i 170 2; cf. 42 4.

L. 5. See 42 9 f. כלל Plur.; in 42 always כלל.

L. 6. See 42 15.

L. 7. See 42 11. כסף In apposition to זר (42 7), cf. 1 Ch. 22 13 אלה כברים מאה אלף; see 42 3 n.

L. 8. See 42 13. בנת An error for פנת. כן For the usual
וכן or יכן. 42 4. קצרת

L. 9. See 42 12.

L. 10. See 42 14. אש על זבח במנחת An abbreviated form of
אדם לזבח במנחת.

L. 11. See 42 18.

44. Carthage. CIS i 166. iv–iii cent. B. C.

ים הארבעי	1
שח פר יא הקדש	2
הקדש בחדרת ולחם קט[רת]	3
הקדשת יבן הלחם הא ורב	4
ותין יא לבן לקחת תשקר	5
וקטרת לבנת דקת שבע כמ	6
ים החמשי	7
לשת עלת החדרת נפת ע	8
בנם מאתם וכס	9
ט חמשת	10
1	The fourth day.
2 [cak]es	plants of fair fruit, the sacred . .
3 first-fruits	the sacred, in the chamber, and bread, inc[ense]
4 veil (?) upon (?)	the sacred, that bread shall be, and
5 which is fair and rich	and figs, fair (and) white, thou shalt be careful to fetch . . .
6 fine linen and a covering be[low ?]	and incense, fine frankincense, seven
7 cakes and first-fruits.	The fifth day.
8	to set upon (?) the chamber, honey (?)
9	? two hundred, and
10	. . . . . five

An obscure and fragmentary list of religious offerings for the days of the week, perhaps during the spring festival (קדמת &c.). It may be compared with the sacrificial calendar from Cos, M. 716–718 (iii cent. B.C.); see Hicks *Journ. Hell. St.* ix (1888) 323 ff.

L. 1. ים הארבעי Cf. Hebr. יום הששי Gen. 1 31; Driver *Tenses* § 209.

L. 2. בלל See 42 14 n. שח Prob. = Hebr. שִׁיחַ *shrub* Gen.

2 5 &c. פִּרִי = פִּרִי 5 12; cf. Lev. 23 40. יֵא 1. 5 = Aram.

יֵאִי *fitting, fair*, Targ. Gen. 39 6 בְּהִינֹא יֵאִי. Pesh. Ps. 33 1 גִּלְגִּל = נֶאֱוָה.

In Jer. 10 7 לֹא יֵאֲתָה is an Aramaism. הקרש 1. 3. הקרשת 1. 4.

These forms can hardly be verbs in (H)ifil, for the (H)if. of קרש in Phoen. is יקרש 28 4. They must be adjs. with the art.; but their construction is not apparent.

L. 3. קרמת See 42 12 n. חדרת 1. 8 *the chamber*, i.e. of the temple, like the Hebr. רביר, קרש הקרשים; cf. 47 לרבת לבעלת החדרת and CIS i 124 1 חדר *a sepulchral chamber*. The Hebr. חֶדֶר has neither of these special meanings. ולחם קמרת Either ἀσυνδέτως, *bread (and) incense*, or *bread of incense* (Corp.), incense in the form of a wafer. קמרת lit. *smoke* of offerings made by fire, then the *incense-offering* (Ex. 30 8), and then, as here, the material used in this offering (Lev. 10 1 &c.). The word occurs again in CIS i 334 מכר אקמרת *the seller of incense*. Various substances used for incense are mentioned in Sabaeen inscr.; see Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Inscr.* 78. 81 f.

L. 4. סוית Meaning uncertain; סוֹיִת? *curtain, veil* = Hebr. מִסְוָה Ex. 34 34 P.

עלת Perhaps prep. *upon* 1. 8. The rendering of the Corp. *upper chamber*, i.e. עֶלְתָּ (Dan. 6 11) = עֲלִיָּה, is not probable. הקרשת 1. 2 n. 42 12 n. The adj. here is fem., sing. or plur.

L. 5. מח *fat*, מֶחָח, whence Hebr. מֶחָח (plur. only) Is. 5 17. Ps. 66 15. In Talm. מִיָּחָא is used figuratively of *choice flour*. תין Perhaps = Arab. تَيْن, Hebr. תֵּינָה. *White figs* are mentioned in Jer. Talm. *Terumoth* 43 תאינים שחורות. לקחת תשקר For this use of the inf. with ל cf. Is. 5 2 ויקו לעשות; Driver *Tenses* § 207. The inf. of לקח takes the same form in Phoen. as in Hebr.; for other parts of the vb. cf. 20 B 7 לקח. 42 20 יקה. שקר lit. *watch, be wakeful*, Jer. 1 12. 31 27 &c.

L. 6. בויז *byssus*, fine Egyptian linen, written *plene* because a foreign word. In Hebr. the word is met with only in late literature; its origin is uncertain. מכסא Acc. to Corp. = מכסה (cf. 42 15 מקנה = מקנא) *covering*; cf. كِسْوَةٌ the *covering* of the Ka'aba at Mekka. תח Possibly to be completed תח[ת] לבנת λίβανος, so called from its *white* appearance. For דקת cf. Lev. 16 12 קתר סמים דקה. כמ. is restored by Corp. כמרם *priests*, 55 7 and (Aram.) 64 1. 69 23 (rest.).

L. 8. לשית i.e. לְשִׁית. The significance of the prep. עלת is not clear in this context. נפת = Hebr. נֶפֶת Pr. 24 13.

L. 9. בנמ may mean *among them* 5 9; '200 sons' for sacrifice (!) could not be mentioned in this way.

45. Carthage. iii–ii cent. B. C. Discovered 1898. Carthage Mus.

1 לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבנן מקדשם חדשם כם כל אש בנ
 2 והחרטית אש במקדשם אל ודל מלכת החרץ ודל כל מנם א[ש]
 3 ודל כל מנם במאזנם המקדשם אל ודל העלם אש על פן המקדש[ם]
 אל ...
 4 אש יבא עלת החרו שמקדשם אל כמש חגר השמרת להר הא
 5 אדרנם ועד צערנם למבירח חיר שפטם עבדמלקרת ו
 6 י שפטם שפט וחנא בן אדנבעל ורב עבדמלקרת בן מגן ב[ן]
 7 תן בן עבדלאי בן בעליתן בן אשמנפלם ועבדארש בן עבד
 8 נ עבדמלקרת הרב ורב כהנם עזרבעל בן שפט רב כה[נ]ם
 9 לשלך רב כהנם ובעל חרש עכברם הפלם בן חנבעל

To the ladies 'Ashtart and Tanith in Lebanon. New sanctuaries as well as all that . . . built (?) . . .² and the sculptures which are in these sanctuaries and ? the gold-work, and ? all vessels wh[ich] ?³ and ? all vessels in ? these sanctuaries, and ? the ? which is over against [these] sanctuaries⁴ which approaches the ? of these sanctuaries; as also the fence enclosing (?) that hill⁵ the greatest of them even to the least of them: from the month Hiyar, the suffetes (being) 'Abd-melqarth and⁶ the suffetes (being) Shafat and Hanno, son of Idniba'al, and the Rab (being) 'Abd-melqarth, son of Magon, so[n . . . Ba'al-ya]⁷thon, son of 'Abd-lai, son of Ba'al-yathon, son of Eshmunpilles, and 'Abd-arish, son of 'Abd- . . . [so]⁸n of 'Abd-melqarth the Rab, and the chief-priest (being) 'Azru-ba'al, son of Shafat the chief-prie[st . . . Ba'al]-⁹shillek the chief-priest; and the master-workman (was) 'Akboram the surveyor, son of Hanni-ba'al.

L. 1. לרבת Sing. or plur.; see 3 2 n. לעשתרת ולתנת The combination is remarkable. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iii 186 ff., considers that

it points to a mythological connexion between the two goddesses, borrowed from the cult of Demeter and Persephone. It is possible that Tanith was associated with this cult (47. 48); but 'Ashtart, usually identified with Aphrodite (4 1 n.), seems at first sight foreign to it. 'Ashtart, however, absorbed a great variety of local types, and at Carthage she may have assumed the characteristics of Demeter. In later times a temple dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine appears to have stood on or near the site of these sanctuaries¹; but this later dedication hardly proves Cl.-Ganneau's view, for it may have been due merely to a reminiscence of the earlier sanctuaries of 'Ashtart and Tanith.

בלבנן Not the Lebanon in Syria, but an eminence in Carthage, prob. so called from the *white* colour of its stone (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 21); cf. the name Λεῦκος given to the city of Τύνης (Tunis) in Diod. xx 8. For the place-name with ב see 24 2 n. כם כל אש

Prob.=כמאש (כמו אש) + כל, cf. כמש l. 4 and 3 7 n. כן either they built or [ם] בנ in them. Cl.-Gan., l. c. § 2, adopting the latter, continues with פעל עם קרת חדשת, as 38 1.

L. 2. הרטית Prob. plur., חֲרָטִית or חֲרָטִית; √חרט=cut, carve, Aram. חֲרָט, Arab. حَرَطَ peel off, in modern usage turn wood. Here prob. the meaning is sculptures. אל See 5 22 n. دل Meaning un-

certain. Cl.-Gan.'s translation *conjunctim, item, lit. depending*, rests upon a questionable application of the √דלה, Arab. نَلَّ hang down. Lidzb., l. c., renders with more probability *that which is damaged*, lit. *weak, poor*, supposing that repairs as well as new buildings are commemorated (38. 46); this may be the meaning of دل פעמם 46 1 ruinous as to its steps; elsewhere, however, in Phoen. (42 15) and in Hebr. دل is used of persons. מלכת For מלאכת 20 A 6. חרץ Perhaps trench, cf. חרוץ Dan. 9 25 (? text) and חריץ in Mishnah; so Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* ix (1901) 79 ff. מנם See 4 5 n.

L. 3. מאנם Meaning unknown; *armoury* lit. *place of weapons* has been proposed (*Rép.* i 16), connecting the word with און (√און) *implements* Dt. 23 14; cf. Targ. אונים in בית אונים quiver Is. 49 2, און weapons (√און). But the construction is not evident, and נם may be the suff. with מאן (? sense), or a ptcpl. plur. העלם Some fixed object in front of על פן (3 5) the temple; Cl.-Gan. renders *steps*, cf. עולות Eze. 40 26.

L. 4. יבא Sing. or plur. If העלם is the subj., יבא עלת may mean *comes (up) upon, ascends*, cf. Ex. 18 23. 2 Ch. 20 24. החרז Possibly connected with חרז string together, חרוזים strings of beads Cant. 1 10; here perhaps the circle round the precincts; so Halévy. כמש=

¹ Delattre *Bull. et mém. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* lviii (1899) 1-26.

כמאש l. 1, as in 10 9 introducing a further item of the dedication. In this inscr. ש is the relat. with the noun, אש with the predicate; חנר therefore must be a noun, not a verb. It means perhaps *enclosure*; the $\sqrt{\text{חנר}}$ = *restrain, gird*, in Arab. حَنْزَرٌ *the wall enclosing the Ka'aba*, Assy. *igaru* 'wall.' שִׁמְרַת Perhaps *watch-tower, or defence*. Lidzb. suggests a connexion with שִׁמְרִית, شَمْزَة *thorn-hedge*, in which case חנר השמרת will be the *fence hedging* the sanctuaries. לבנן להר הא i. e. l. 1. Cf. 2 Ch. 33 14. After הא Halévy proposes [יקדש מ] *they have consecrated*.

L. 5. אדרנם ועד צערנם Cf. Jer. 14 3. Jon. 3 5. The suffixes refer to the temples and their furnishings. למבירה חיר *during or from the month Hiyyar*, cf. 16 2 למבחי 42 5 (Lidzb.); for חיר see 27 1 n. Cl.-Gan. is prob. right in explaining the double mention of the reigning suffetes as an indication of a twofold date: 'when 'Abd-melqarth and . . . were suffetes [the work was begun, and lasted to the month . . .] when Shafat and Hanno were suffetes.' The suffetes (42 1 n.) are mentioned without full genealogies, as in 40 2 n. CIS i 135 6. 179 6 f.

L. 6. The י at the beginning is prob. the last letter of the name of the month, the missing sentence prob. being in the same form as the preceding one. ארנבעל is transcribed Idnibal in 60. The constitutional position of the רב at Carthage is unknown. In 42 1 (restored from CIS i 170) ר i. e. רַבְנִי is merely a title of the suffete; but in this inscr. רב, who comes after the שפמם, is a distinct official; the same must be the case with הרב in CIS i 229–235 &c. An inscr. from Tyre, lately discovered, reads עבדבעל רב מאת (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 294 ff.); but whatever this may have meant at Tyre, it does not imply that the Rab was president of the 100 at Carthage (42 1 n. (4)). May the title have been given to an ex-suffete when his term of office was over, or to the members of the executive cabinet of 30 chosen from the 100? In 7 1 f. (Sidon). 29 2. 6 (Cyprus). 38 4 (Gaulus) the office was that of a district governor.

L. 7. עבדלאי In form resembles the Aram. אמת-אלהי = אמתלאי the mother of Abraham, *Baba Bathra* 91 a; but the Western and Punic עבדלאי cannot = עבד-אלהי (Lidzb.). It may be a Numidian or Berber name. ועבדארש Apparently another official; his title and the name of his colleague prob. stood at the end of l. 6. עבדארש occurs in CIS i 537. 805, cf. 52 2 עבארש. The prefixed עבד seems to imply that ארש was a deity, ? Ἀρῆς; for the name ארש see 21 1.

L. 8. רב כהנם Cf. 35 2 (Piraeus); evidently the office was hereditary.

L. 9. ובעל חרש Prob. *master of the workmen* (coll.), *contractor*.

As in the foregoing lines the office precedes the name. With בעל cf. עכבר i.e. *mouse*, cf. עכבר 42 4; חרש 20 A 13. CIS i 178. 239 &c. Gen. 36 38 &c. הפלס i.e. *leveller*, i.e. *surveyor, architect*; cf. Lat. *librator*. The פלס=lit. weigh (piel); so אשמנפלס l. 7 *whom E. weighs*; in the O. T. of *levelling* a path, e.g. Ps. 78 50. Is. 26 7.

46. Carthage. CIS i 175. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

חדש ופעל אית המטבח ז דל פעמם עשרת האשם אש על המקדשם
אש כן בשת ש
גרסכן וגרעשתרת בן יחנבעל בן עזרבעל בן שפט וברעשתרת בן

The Decemvirs in charge of the sanctuaries renovated and made this slaughter-house (?) ? steps : which was in the year of the s[uffetes] Ger-sakun and Ger-'ashtart, son of Yaḥon-ba'al, son of 'Azru-ba'al, son of Shafaṭ, and Bod-'ashtart, son

L. 1. חדש ופעל Plur.; cf. 38 1. 23 2. מטבח Possibly the place where animals were slaughtered before they were sacrificed; cf. the title הטבח CIS i 237 ff. 376. The word occurs in Is. 14 21 מטבח. דל פעמם Possibly *ruinous as to (its) steps*; see 45 2 n. The words might mean *twice* (i.e. פַּעַמַּיִם) *ruined*, G. Hoffmann quot. by Lidzb. *Eph.* i 22 n. אש כן Cf. 55 5. 42 1. הא' א' על המ' The name of the first of the suffetes is lost; the second is Ger-'ashtart, and apparently Bod-'ashtart is the third (Corp.). But this would be very unusual (42 1 n. (1)); possibly Bod-'ashtart had a different title, given at the end of the line.

L. 2. גרסכן See 17 2 n. 34 n. יחנבעל Again Euting *Carth.* 230 5 f. &c.; usually חנבעל; cf. עזרבעל and יעזרבל, in Hebr. פדיה and יפדיה. ברעשתרת See 6 3 n.

47. Carthage. CIS i 177.

לרבת לאמא ולרבת לבעלת החדרת אש פעל המלר בן בעלחנא

To the lady Amma, and to the lady, mistress of the inner shrine (?): which HMLR, son of Ba'al-ḥanno, made.

The mention of two goddesses is significant; see 45 1 n. אִמָּא is evidently the title of a deity worshipped as *Mother*, such as Rhea or Demeter; cf. Hesychius *Etym. magn.* s.v. Ἀμμάς . . . καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ ἡ Πέα, καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ. Demeter, rather than Rhea, is prob. to be looked for here, for the worship of Demeter and Persephone was introduced μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος into Carthage from Sicily as a reparation for the pillaging of their temple by Himilco during his disastrous campaign in 396 B.C.; Diodorus xiv 77. The Carthaginians would naturally adapt the new worship to their own religion, and it seems likely that the Carth. goddess Tanith (48 1) assumed some of the attributes of Demeter; at any rate she is called *mother* in CIS i 195 לאם לרבת לתנת and 380 לאם לרבת. Perhaps this accounts for the head of Demeter (= Tanith?) figured on the coins of Carthage; see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 149 ff. For the form אִמָּא cf. Plaut. *Poen.* iii 22 amma = אִמָּ; in 14 3 'Ashtart (?) is called *mother*. If אִמָּא is Demeter, the other goddess is prob. Persephone, who was certainly worshipped at Carthage; a characteristic figure of her surmounts the inscr. CIS i 176, though she is not mentioned by name. The exact meaning of בעלת החדרת is obscure (see 44 3 n.), possibly *mistress of the inner shrine*; cf. לאלן אקדש *to the god of the sanctuary* Costa 31 (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 39). It is prob. that חדרת corresponds to the Gk. μέγαρον *adytum* = מערה *cave*; the 'dark inner chamber, found in many temples both among the Semites and in Greece, was almost certainly in its origin a cave' (Rob. Smith *R. of S.* 183); and in the worship of Demeter and Persephone the μέγαρα had a special significance. The title מערת given to Sed-tanith in CIS i 249 עבר בת צדתנת מערת, though it is generally explained as a topographical title *Megarensis*, may well denote the goddess of the sacred cave. For בעלת see 3 2 n. חמלר Cf. חמלרת CIS i 597. 787, for חמלך, חמלכת = אח-מ' 40 2 n.; either an error or a peculiarity of spelling. בעלחנא See 39 2 n.

48. Carthage. CIS i 181. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

- 1 לרבת לתנת פן בעל
- 2 ולאדן לבעל חמן אש
- 3 נדר בדמלקרת בן עבר
- 4 מלקרת בן חמלכת כ שמ
- 5 ע קלא יברכא

To the lady Tanith, Face of Ba'al, and to the lord Ba'al-
hammān: which Bod-melqarth, son of 'Abd-melqarth, son of
Hamilkath, vowed, because he heard his voice: may he
bless him!

More than 2000 votive tablets of this character have been un-
earthed on the site of ancient Carthage, in the neighbourhood of what
was once the citadel (Byrsa). The stones are often inscribed with
symbols of the two deities, and the formula of dedication is in nearly
all cases the same. Judging from the style of the letters, the earliest
tablets belong to the same period as the sacrificial tariffs 42-44; the
latest of them must have been inscribed before the destruction of
Carthage by the Romans in 146 B. C. They cover, therefore, a period
of about 200 years.

L. 1. לרבת See 3 2 n.; in CIS i 401 ff. לארן (possibly by acci-
dent). תנת A female deity, as appears from the title אנת which is
found occasionally (p. 131). The vast number of these tablets proves
that her worship was popular, though not necessarily predominant, at
Carthage; it is to be noted that she always takes precedence of Ba'al-
hammān in the formula of dedication¹; but we cannot say for certain
that she was the chief deity of Carthage, the δαίμων Καρχηδονίων (Polyb.
vii 9 2). The etymology of the name is unknown; prob. it is to be
looked for in Libyan or N. African, rather than in Phoenician. Nor is
the pronunciation certain; *Tanith* is on the whole most likely², but it
may have been *Tun(i)th* if Τύνης, the town near Carthage, was named
after the goddess. Outside Carthage and its dependencies in N. Africa
she is not found; the Sidonian called עברתנת in an inscr. from Athens
(CIS i 116) prob. had some connexion with Carthage. Tanith
is never mentioned alone: in 45 1 בלבנן follows, elsewhere פן בעל.
The latter title is generally taken to mean *the face of Ba'al*, a mythic
phrase perhaps denoting the self-revelation of the divine nature, cf.
פני Ex. 33 14 and מלאך פניו Is. 63 9; the *manifestation* of Ba'al, we
may suppose, came to be regarded as a distinct deity, cf. שם בעל
5 18 n. On the other hand, Rob. Smith explains *Tanith with the*
Ba'al face, i. e. the bearded, androgynous goddess, and quotes in
support the title לארן beside לרבת noticed above (*R. of S.* 459).
The combinations Milk-'ashtart, Eshmun-'ashtart, Šed-tanith may

¹ In several inscr. from Cirta (Constantine), e. g. those given in Corp. pp. 296
and 365 and in Lidzb. *Eph.* i pp. 40 f., Ba'al-hammān comes before Tanith.

² Cf. ΤΑΙΝΤΙΑ, said to have been found on a stone at Carthage, Corp. p. 288.

imply the same idea¹. The character and attributes of Tanith are obscure. Some of the symbols on these tablets seem to connect her with 'Ashtart, the crescent surmounting the full moon (very common), the star, the dove, the dolphin. Two tablets (CIS i 398. 419) show the figure of a sheep, which was sacred to 'Ashtart. The commonest symbol of all, the triangle crowned by a circle with horns bent outwards, may belong either to Tanith or to Ba'al-hammān; Rob. Smith (l. c.) thinks that the horns are sheep-horns, pointing to 'Ashtart again². We have seen that Tanith is occasionally called *Mother*, and that she was prob. assimilated to Demeter (47 n.); but Cl.-Ganneau seems to go too far when he alleges, on this ground, that the worship of Tanith was of foreign and Sicilian origin (*Ét.* i 149 ff.). Tanith, it is true, was rarely used in the composition of pr. names; צרתנת 42 ברתנת CIS i 247-249. עברתנת ib. 116 are almost all the instances; and she has not yet been found in Carth. names transcribed into Gk. and Lat.; but this does not necessarily imply that her cult was foreign. The evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that Tanith was a native, possibly a pre-Carthaginian, deity, who, in the process of religious syncretism, so characteristic of the Semitic genius, was identified with various goddesses according to circumstances, with 'Ashtart, with Demeter, and with Artemis (CIS i 116 עברתנת = Ἀρτεμίδωρος, from Athens). After the overthrow of Carthage, the Romans introduced the worship of Juno Coelestis (Virgo Coelestis, Coelestis) into the ruined city; but we do not know that they intended thereby to identify Juno or Coelestis with Tanith³; see 4 i n.

L. 2. בעל חמן Prob. *the glowing B.*, see 37 4 n. In these inscr. he is always the πάρεδρος of Tanith.

L. 5. קלא יברכא For the suff. 3 sing. m. cf. 40 2 n.

¹ Meyer, *Ency. Bibl.* 3747, after Halévy, explains פן בעל as the name of a place, like פנואל in Gen. 32 32, 'TNT of Pne-ba'al,' and supports his view by CIS i 380 לאם לרבה פן בעל 'to the mother, the mistress of Pne-ba'al' (see p. 131). But the instance of פנואל seems to be too isolated to justify the inference, and analogy favours treating פן בעל as in appos. to לרבה, rather than as a genit. On the whole the first explanation given above is to be preferred provisionally.

² Cf. Sanchuniathon ap. Phil. Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568 Κρόνος δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ Ἀστάρτης θυγατέρες ἐπὶ τὰ Τιτανίδες (? Τανιτίδες) ἢ Ἀρτέμιδες. The Persian or Babyl. Ἀναίτις mentioned by Strabo pp. 439. 456 (codd. Ταναῖδος). 479 &c. ed. Müll., by Berosus *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 498, and other writers, was prob. the Babyl. Anatum rather than the Carth. Tanith.

³ In CIL viii 999 *Dianae cael. aug.* the Virgo Coelestis is identified with Diana, cf. Tanith-Artemis; in iii 993 *Caelesti Augustae et Aesculapio Augusto et genio Carthagini et genio Daciarum*, she is distinguished from the *genius* of Carthage, if that was Tanith.

49. Carthage. CIS i 269. Bibl. Nat., Paris.

לרבת לתנת פן בעל ולאדן 1
 לבעל חמן אש נדר בעלה 2
 נא אש צדן בר אדני בר 3
 אשמניתן 4
 עם קרתחדשת 5

Render ll. 2-5 'which Ba'al-hanno of Sidon, client of his lord, client of Eshmun-yathon, vowed. The people of Carthage.'

Twenty-four inscr. of this type are given in the Corp., nos. 269-287. 288-293.

L. 2. בעלחנא As a rule the usual genealogy of the donor is not given in these inscr., except in 271. '3 f. '7. '87. '91, where the father is mentioned. It appears that among the Semites, as among the Greeks and Romans, a slave was not allowed to have a genealogy, e.g. CIS i 236 'עבר פ' and 'בר חרי פ' *freed-man*, *-woman* in Nab. and Palm. inscr. (147 ii b 12; p. 250 n. 1), cf. 'עבר אין לו חיים Talm. B. *Qiddushin* 69 a; the same must have been the case with the 'dependent foreigner' (בר אדני) of these inscr.; Lidzb. 133 f.

L. 3. אש צדן Not אש but the relat. אש, because in four inscr. (273. '9. '80. '81) a woman dedicates the tablet. All the tablets of this group are offered by Sidonians, who prob. occupied a subordinate position in Carth. households. For בר see 6 2 n. אדני With suff. 3 sing. m.; in 276. 293 אדנם, which must be the honorific plur. (cf. 33 6 n.), as only one 'lord' is mentioned.

L. 5. The expression 'people of Carthage,' occurring here without any verbal connexion, is to be accounted for by the full term לם יעמם ע'ק' which is found elsewhere in this group, 270 ff. The meaning of the phrase is not certain, but it may be rendered 'let not the people of Carthage carry (it, i.e. the stone) away'—for building purposes. For the prohibitive לם cf. 5 21, and for יעמם *carry* cf. 5 6. Another explanation is suggested by Cl.-Gan., who renders ἀτελής i.e. 'free from public burdens,' cf. *immunis perpetuus* CIL viii 2714, taking יעמם as pass.; *Rec.* iii 2. This certainly suits such a case as 274 שפט אחרש אש צדן למיעמם בן שצפם i.e. 'Shafaṭ the artisan, the Sidonian, tax-free (?), the son of Shiṣifam.'

50. Carthage. iii–ii cent. B.C. Discovered 1899.

1 רבת חות אלת מלכת שיסכהא
 2 אתך אנכי מצלה אית אמע[ש]תרת
 3 ואית עמרת ואית כל אש לא כא
 4 עלצא עלתי בכסף (אש) אברחת שלם
 5 אם אית כל אדם אש עלץ עלתי
 6 בר. ת הכסף ז כמ? ת יסך אעפרת

O ladies Hawwath, Elath, Milkath . . ! ² I, Maṣṣiah, bind Am-‘ashtart ³ and ‘MRTH and all who belong to her; for ⁴ she exulted (?) over me in the matter of the money which I discharged (??) in full; ⁵ or every man who has exulted (?) over me ⁶ in . . . of this money, according to . . . the lead.

This inscr., found in the necropolis of Duimes at Carthage in 1899, is written on a small sheet of lead. It was intended, like the Gk. and Roman *tabellae devotionis*¹, to be a missive to the gods of the underworld, and to act as a spell or imprecation against the writer’s enemies. These *tabellae* were rolled up and dropped down a tube, which was used also for libations to the *dii inferi*, into the sepulchre below. See Berger *CR* (1899) 173. 179–186; *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* iii 304–319; iv 87–97; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 26–34 (with facsimile); *Rép.* i no. 18. See also Deissmann *Bible Studies* 273 ff. for a Jewish-Greek specimen of the third cent. A.D.

L. 1. חות Cf. O.T. חַוָּה *Eve*, which according to Nöldeke and Wellhausen (see *Oxf. Hebr. Lex.* s.v.) meant originally *serpent*, cf. Arab. هَوَاءٌ, a suitable name for the goddess of the underworld. אלת (see 60 3 n.) and מלכת (in pr. nn., e.g. חמלכת, עבדמ’ &c.) may be the names of infernal deities, forming with חות a triad; so *Cl.-Gan., Rec.* iv 90, who compares the *triple* Hecate. Lidzb. takes אלת מלכת as epithets of חות, *goddess, queen*, and רבת as sing. שיסכהא After

¹ See Wünsch *Defixionum tabellae atticae* (1897) in CIA appendix, and Michel nos. 1319–1325. The foll. is a specimen: Φερένικος πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην χθονίαν καταδεδέσθω· Γαλήνην, ἥτις Φερενίκωι, καταδέω πρὸς Ἑρμῆν χθονικὸν καὶ Ἑκάτην χθονίαν καταδέω· καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ βόλυβδος ἄτιμος καὶ ψυχρός, οὕτω ἐκένος καὶ τὰ ἐκένου ἄτιμα καὶ ψυχρὰ ἔστω καὶ τοῖς μετ’ ἐκένου ἅ περὶ ἐμῷ λέγοιεν καὶ βολενοίατο, Wünsch 107 = Michel 1324. Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* ii 69.

51. Cirta (*Constantine*). Costa 8.

1 לאדן לבעל חמן ולרבת לתנת פען בעל

2 נדר אש נדר חמלכת בן בעשתרת

3 בן נבל מלך אדם בשערם בתם

4 כ שמע קלא ברכיא

The inscriptions from Cirta, now Constantine, date from the period before the Roman occupation. The writing belongs to the stage of transition from the Punic to the Neo-Punic script, and many words begin to assume forms which are characteristic of the later language. Thus the quiescent letters come into use, but not to such an extent as in Neo-Punic, e. g. פן ב' for פנ בעל in Neo-Punic, e. g. כ = כי sometimes written כא or כה. A preference is shown for strong gutturals, e. g. שמח beside שמה. The form of the suff. 3 m. sing. is undecided, thus מלכי Costa 18 for מלכא, קלא for קלה, ברכיא for ברכא, ברעשתרת is written בעש' תנת sometimes תינת i. e. Tainith or Têneith. Specimens of these inscrr. are given in the Corp. p. 365, by Berger *Actes du 11^{me} congrès des Or.* (1897) § 4, 273–294, and by Lidzb. 433 f., *Eph.* i 38 ff. In general form they resemble the Carth. votive tablets, but differ from them mainly in two respects: the formula of dedication is not so stereotyped², Ba'al-ḥammān generally takes precedence of Tanith, and often is named alone; notices of time and place are introduced more frequently.

L. 3. מלך אדם is evidently the title of a petty king or local chieftain; cf. Costa 100 מלך אדם בשערם. The year of the king's reign is sometimes given, e. g. Costa 18 מתנבעל... עזרבעל; Villefosse 69 בחמשם [שנת] למלכי 98; ib. בחמש ארבעם שנת למלכי. In some inscrr. מלך אדם is the title, not of the king, but of the deity, e. g. Costa 93 לאדן לבעל; Villefosse 69 לאדן לבעל מלך אדם בשערם בתם; Altiburus 2 (JA viii t. 9. 467) לאדן ל[בעל מלך אדם]. The meaning of אדם is obscure. It can hardly be 'lord,' a variant of אדון, because

¹ Costa 75 לחון לבעל חמן אש נדר על[כש] ² בן חמלכת בן מ[ת]ן בחרכא ³ ושמה קלה

² Note the variations in Costa 31 לאדן לבעל חמן 16; לאדן לאדן אקדש בעל חמן; לאדן לבעל חמן 22; לאדן לבעל חמן 33 are not different deities, but divine names regarded as equivalents of בעל חמן. Berger l. c. 282.

this word occurs previously in the dedication. Perhaps מ' = מ' אדם, 'king of the land'; so Lidzb. l. c. בשערם בתם is clearly the name of a place, perhaps of Cirta, as the inscrr. come from there, or of a city dependent on Cirta; besides the inscrr. quoted above, cf. Costa 17 לבעל חמן בשרם בתם. A group of 13 inscrr. from Carthage, CIS i 294–306, contains the expression in various forms, בשערם בתם, בשערם, בשער, בשר, &c., used apparently of a native of Cirta (?) resident in Carthage, but what the words exactly mean is not known. The name שערם possibly = שַׁעְרִים *gates*¹, and may refer to the ravines and passes of the hills in the neighbourhood of Cirta, which stood on the S. of the range which stretches across the country west of Carthage. This country was known to the Romans as the land of the Massylii, a Numidian kingdom, one of whose kings, Massinissa, figured prominently in the Second Punic War (218–201 B. C.), and died (148 B. C.) just before the destruction of Carthage. The seat of his kingdom was Cirta²; but that the מלך אדם of these inscrr. was a predecessor of his we cannot say.

L. 4. An interesting variation of the formula occurs in Costa 6 3 f. כ שמע קלא ברכא בים⁴ נעם [אש] בים ברך i. e. 'because he heard his voice (and) blessed him on a good day, on the day when he blessed'; cf. Is. 49 8.

52. Thugga. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room nos. 494–495.

- 1 [מ]צבת . שאטבן . בן . יפמטת . בן . פלו
- 2 הבנם . שאבנם עבארש . בן . עבדשתרת
- 3 זמר . בן אטבן . בן . יפמטת . בן . פלו .
- 4 מנגי . בן . ורסכן
- 5 ובאזרת . שלא זוי . וטמן . ורסכן
- 6 החרשם . שיר . מסרל . . . ננבסן . ואנכן . . . אשי
- 7 הנסכם שברזל . שפט . בן . בלל . ופפי . בן . בבי

¹ In a Lat. inscr. of 48–49 A. D. lately excavated at Thugga the sentence occurs: huic senatus et plebs ob merita patris omnium *portarum* sententis ornam(enta) sufetis gratis decrevit. Possibly the Pun. for *portae* would be שערם, as in these inscrr. from Cirta. Cl.-Gan. Rec. iii 325 n.; Lidzb. Eph. i 52.

² Strabo p. 706 ed. Müll. Κίρτα τέ ἐστὶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τὸ Μασανάσσου καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς διαδόχων βασίλειον, πόλις εὐερκεστάτη καὶ κατεσκευασμένη καλῶς τοῖς πᾶσι, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Μικίψα κ.τ.λ. Polyb. xxxvii 3.

This inscr. is bilingual, Punic and Berber. It was written on the E. side of a mausoleum discovered among the ruins of the ancient city of Tucca (Thugga) in Eastern Numidia; see Schröd. 257. The Pun. characters closely resemble those of 38. The monument was built evidently for a Numidian person of consequence, and the inscr. gives the names of the masons, carpenters (?), and iron-founders who erected it.

L. 1. מצבת שאטבן For the relat. in this connexion cf. מעשן עצמם *the urn of the bones of Y.* Lidzb. 435; and in Palm. cf. 141 שיחנמלך. The use of the relat. ש in this inscr. is remarkable; it has quite taken the place of the genit.; see 39 2 n. אטבן. This and the other pr. nn. in the inscr. (exc. in ll. 2. 7) are Berber; their pronunciation and significance are unknown.

L. 2. הבנם שאבנם *the builders of the stones*, cf. 20 A 4. Three chief masons are mentioned in ll. 2-4 and their assistants in l. 5. עבדעשתרת for עבארש . . . עבדשתרת (45 7).

L. 4. ורסבן The prefix as in 55 7.

L. 5. ובאזרת Prob. for ובעזרת *and with the help of*, cf. אם האזרת. 14 3 n. (?) שלא The first letter is prob. the relat.

L. 6. החרשם *the workmen*, cf. 20 A 13. שיר Possibly = שיער *of wood*; cf. St. Aug. on Ps. 123 'quod Punici dicunt *iar*, non lignum, sed quando dubitant'; see Schröd. 19.

L. 7. הנסכם שברזל *the melters, founders, of iron*, cf. CIS i 67 4 f. נסך החרץ, and ib. 327 ff. נסך ברזל. בלל Pr. n., as in 55 5.

PHOENICIAN: NEO-PUNIC

The Neo-Punic inscrr. belong to the period extending from the destruction of Carthage (146 B. C.) prob. down to the first cent. A. D. They come from ancient sites in Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, countries which were formerly under the dominion of Carthage or in alliance with her. The change from the Pun. to the NPun. writing began, no doubt, in Carthage itself; it was accelerated when the Pun. characters were adopted by neighbouring populations of a different race (e. g. the Numidians). Outside N. Africa, NPun. inscrr. have been found in Sardinia (60) and Sicily (CIS i 134). In appearance they are very different from the Punic inscrr. of the preceding age; the character of the writing and language shows how great had been the break with the past. So long as Carthage stood, national instinct cherished the preservation of the Phoen. mother-tongue; but under the domination of Rome there was not the same interest in keeping up the old tradition. A more cursive form of writing was adopted for greater ease and rapidity. A few letters, like ט, ס, ע, פ, are little changed; ב, ד, כ are as a rule indistinguishable, being represented by mere strokes; ג, נ, ת are generally much alike; while א, ה, ח, מ, ש become greatly debased. Thus the reading of these inscrr. is often uncertain and difficult, and the difficulty is increased by the arbitrary and irregular nature of the spelling. The use of א and ע as vowel-letters is a characteristic feature, ע = *ā*, and א often = *ō* or *ū*, e. g. שענאת 53 2; these letters often take the place of ה and ח, e. g. אקבר for הקבר, עוע for חוא 53 7. 3; while there seems to have been a preference for ע over א, e. g. עבן for אבן, עוע for חוא, טענע for מענא 58, but אשרם for עשרם ib. The only inscr. which throws much light on contemporary history is that of Micipsa (57). How long the NPun. speech lasted is not exactly known; it was spoken by the common people in the time of St. Augustine (see Schröd. 36); but long before that Latin had taken its place for purposes of writing.

TUNIS

53. Tunis. NPun. 123. CIL viii 793. Berlin.

*Dis manib[us] sacr[um]. Gadaeus Felicis fil[ius] pius
vix[it] annis LXVI hic sit[us] est.*

*Secunda Secundi fil[ia] v[ixit] a[nnis]
Saturio et Gadaeus patri piissimo posuerunt.*

- גע[ר]ע' בן פלכש בן פחלען אקילא 1
 עוה שענא[ת] ש[אש]ם ושאש ושהקנר 2
 ע בת שקנדע אש[ת]י עוע שענת 3
 פהלא לאבענהם מת קבר שעטרי וגרעי 4
 ע. תזבעבדמונ. אאפהעמטרעק. .אאתם 5
 בתהנמפהלאנגצתג עוע שת הנמ. .ובדמשיח 6
 הע. .ע. .שעטר. .אקבר בשלם 7

Gadai, son of Felix, son of FHL'N Aquila (?), ² lived sixty and six years. And Secunda, daughter of Secunda, his wife, lived years. ⁴ Saturio and Gadai made it, a grave for their father deceased (?). ⁵ . . . ⁶ . . . lived . . . ⁷ . . . Saturio . . . the grave, in peace.

L. 1. גע[ר]ע' Restored from the Latin; cf. the Pun. name גדי CIS i 300 5. פלכש Again CIS i 151 (Sardinia, NPun.). Cl.-Gan. reads פלכס, cf. 54 2 n.

L. 2. שענא[ת] = שנת plur.; see 6 1 n.

L. 3. עוע Pf. 3 sing. m. = חוה. The number of years is left a blank, intended to be filled up after the mother's death.

L. 4. פהלא = פעלו, Euting *ZDMG* xxix (1875) 235 f. The termination of the 3 plur., however, is not usually written, and the א may be the suff. 3 sing. m., cf. 55 1. נדרא 57 11. רפא 40 2 &c.; the suffix will then anticipate the obj. קבר. לאבענהם is apparently a unique form for the usual לאבנם; cf. the 3 plur. m. suff. with the verb

in Mandaic, לנאמינהון; Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* § 203. May be ptcp. of מות, but the reading is perhaps מן.

L. 6. Euting l. c. reads at the beginning ביהנם פהלא *their house* (i. e. grave) *they made*; but ה'נ may be read ה.

54. Tunis. NPun. 66.

1 טנא אבן ז לאחתמילכת בת בעמלק
2 רת אשת יעצאתען בן שעלדיא בעל
3 המכתערם וחוא שנת ששם וחמש
4 הנכת עבנת תחת אבן זת קברת

This stone is set up to Aḥath-milkath, daughter of Bo'-melqarth, wife of Y'S'TH'N, son of She'lidi, the citizen of Makta'rim: and she lived sixty and five years. She is laid to rest (?) ? under this stone she is buried (?).

This is one of four inscr., NPun. 66. 67. 68. 69, which follow the same type. They are given by Schröd. 271 f.

L. 1. טנא Qal ptcp. pass. אחתמילכת Again in NPun. 68 1; cf. the forms חתמלכת, חמלכת, and see 40 2 n. בעמלקרת for ברמ'; so in Pun., Euting *Carth.* no. 15, cf. במ' NPun. 86 (Schröd. 267).

L. 2. יעצאתען Cf. יעסחתען 55 4. According to the facsimile, the א here is not quite in the usual form; it may be ב, in which case יעצכתען will be the same name as יעשכתען in NPun. 68 and the bilingual 69 = IASVCTA in the Lat. transcription. שעלדיא So NPun. 69, transcribed SELIDIV (genit.); in 59 B 2 f. סלדיא. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iii 333 n., reads ש here and ז in זת l. 4 as ס. בעל המכתערם So in NPun. 67. 69. For בעל *citizen* see 10 3 n. Under the Romans Maktar (now مكثر) appears as Colonia (or civitas) Aelia Aurelia Mactaris or Mactaritanorum, cf. CIL viii 677 (as rest.) &c. Maktar is in the neighbourhood of Thugga (52), and has yielded a good many NPun. inscr., see 59, and Schröd. 65 f.

L. 3. וחוא וגו' Cf. 53 2. 3.

L. 4. The words of this line are repeated with unimportant variations in each of the inscr. of this group. Their precise meaning is not clear. If the forms הנכת עבנת . . . קברת are verbs, they may be pass. perf. 2 sing. fem. It is possible that הנכת may be connected with

✓ נוח *rest*, cf. נחת 16 2; the interchange of ח with כ, though questionable in Phoen. (38 6 n.), is less unlikely in NPun.; Schröd., 203, thus renders *thou art laid to rest* (הַנִּבְחָה Hof.). עבנת in NPun. would naturally be a variation of אבנת; Schröd. suggests that it is a denominative from אבן, *thou art covered with a stone* (עֲבִנְתָּ Pual). Another interpretation (Ewald) is *thou art shrouded, covered*, cf. the Arab. خَبِنَ *fold or hide in a garment*, so خَبِنَتْهُ خَبُونٌ *he is dead*. This is very uncertain. קברת is explained as = קִבְרָתָהּ; but in each case it is doubtful how the form is to be taken. אבן ז or סת Contrast אבן ז l. 1, and see p. 26, add. note ii.

ALGIERS

55. Altiburus (Medéina). NPun. 124. Louvre.

- 1 לאדן בעל חמן באלתברש נדר אש נדרא עבדמלקרת כנש בן
כנסאען . . .
- 2 מעריש בן תברסן ושטמן בן יכסלתן ומסהבא בן לילעי וגגם בן שסיעת ו
3 מאגמע בן תברסן ויעצמוגר בן סבג ואדנבעל בן ילל וגור בן כנורמן
ומעריש
- 4 בן לבוא וזעלגם בן שטוען ויעסתאן בן מסהבא וחברנם המזבח ו
5 נסמרן בנאת ואיספן עלת מקדשם בירה כרר שת בלל הזבח בן
.. גטען ב
- 6 שפטם מסהבא בן יזרם ועזרבעל בן ברך וס. כסלן בן זעזבל ומביו
הצפ. אש
- 7 על כמר ניעטמן וכהן לבעל חמן ורוסן בן ארש כא שמע קלם ברכם
8 אש העלא [כ]א עלת או מ[נ]חת במקדש
9 אש [עבד]מלך [שם] נדרא

To the lord Ba'al-ḥammān in Altiburus: the vow made by 'Abd-melqarth KNŠ, son of KNS'N . . . ² Ma'rish, son of TBRSN, and ŠTMN, son of YKSLTHN, and MSHB', son of LIL'I, and GGM, son of ŠSI'TH, and ³ M'GM', son of TBRSN, and Y'ŠMZGR, son of SBG, and Idni-ba'al, son of YLL, and GZR, son of KNZRMN, and Ma'rish, ⁴ son of LBU', and Z'LGM, son of ŠTW'N, and Y'ST'N, son of MSHB', and their colleagues—the [miz[r]ah]; and ⁵ NSMRN (?), son of 'TH (?), and 'ISFN were over the sanctuaries; in the month KRR, the year of Balal the sacrificer, son of . . . GṬ'N, under (?) ⁶ the suffetes MSHB', son of YZRM, and 'Azru-ba'al, son of Barik, and S. KSLN, son of Z'ZBL, and MBIU the augur, who ⁷ was over the priests of Neitman (?); and the priest of Ba'al-ḥammān (being) WRWSN, son of Arish; because he heard their voice and blessed them.

L. 1. בעל חמן באלתברש See 24 2 *n.*, and cf. בעל חמן בשרם בתם Costa 17 (from Cirta). Altiburus is now Medéïna, where the inscr. was found. The name occurs in different forms on Lat. monuments from the same place, e.g. municipium Althiburitanum, Altuburos &c. כנש coming between the pr. n. and the patronymic, is perhaps an official designation; cf. l. 5. 34. 45 9. Cl.-Gan. suggests a transcription of the Lat. CENS. = *censor*, though the title would be unusual; or an equivalent for *princeps (gentis)*, *magister (pagi)*, local officers mentioned in N. African inscr. (CIL viii p. 1100 f.); *Rec.* iii 31 *n.* In CIS i 417 כנש ? = כנו is a pr. n.; and it may be only a surname here. כנסאען This and most of the pr. nn. which follow are Libyan (Berber); their vocalization is unknown. Most of them end in ן (? *ân*), cf. 57 מכפון 1. For צ, formerly read in this inscr., we ought to write ס, which hitherto has not been identified in NPun. In the newly discovered inscr. from Maktar (59), however, the two letters are clearly distinct, ן = ס, ן = צ, and in this inscr. the letter is nearer to the first than to the second of these forms. So Cl.-Gan. l. c. 333 *n.*

L. 2. מעריש l. 3, cf. מרש CIS i 390, perhaps = *Marissa* in Lat. inscr. from Numidia, CIL viii p. 1028; Berger *Journ. As.* (1887) 462. מסהבא In Lat. *Massiva*. לילעי ? = Lat. *Laelius*.

L. 3. אדנבעל See 60 1. סבנ Prob. same name as זיבקם, זיבקם 38 5 *n.*, זיוג CIS i 341. כנורמן looks like a name from Arabia, if כנו is the same as קנו Gen. 36 11. 15. 42, and רמן is the Arabian (Sabaean) deity *Rammānu* (Hommel *Süd-Ar. Chrest.* 60), CIS iv p. 203.

L. 4. לבוא Cf. לבא CIS i 147 5 and (?) Λεββαῖος Mt. 10 3; Sin. לבאי Eut. 421. וחברנם See 42 1 *n.* The *colleagues* in this case, however, are different from the חברים who formed the council of the suffetes at Carthage; here they have no connexion with suffetes (l. 6). המזבה gives a sense which is impossible in this context; we must read המזרה (42 16. 59 A 1. 16), in appos. to the suff. in חברנם (Cl.-Gan.). The מזרה was an institution, prob. of pre-Roman and native origin, peculiar to N. Africa. Its character is not exactly known; most likely it partook of the nature of a religious confraternity or administrative council, possibly of an industrial guild. Cl.-Gan. thinks its Roman equivalent was *curia*, frequently alluded to in N. African inscr. At any rate there is ample evidence that Altiburus had a municipal organization under the Romans (CIL viii 1824 municipium althiburitanum), and the מזרה may have had something to do with it. Twelve members are mentioned here by name, the

first with a title or special designation (כנש). These may correspond to the African *undecim primi*¹, with a president; it is clear that the members of the מזרח were superior to the חברם, who made up the rest of the corporation.

L. 5. ונסמרן בנאת ואיספן It is uncertain whether these are the names (בן את = בנאת) of the commissioners in charge of the sanctuaries (cf. 46 1. 42 1), or verbs stating the manner in which the vow (l. 1) was carried out, e. g. by the restoration or embellishment of the temples. In the latter case, איספן may be Hif. (cf. איכרמא 59 A 13), and have the same meaning as the Hebr. ספן 1 K. 7 7. Jer. 22 14; no meaning suggests itself for the other words. בלל בירה כרר Cf. 26 2.

Perhaps rather ילל 1. 3, Cl.-Gan. הזבח For the year reckoned by the name of the *sacrificer* cf. 38 6 n. and Costa 105 בן בנת אזבחה ('son of Kenath the sacrificer'), Lidzb. Eph. i 40. At the end of the line, ב may be taken with שפטם, although the usual construction is 'ש' 40 2. 46 1, or שפטם 45 5; perhaps it is the last letter of the preceding name. It is worth noticing that *three* suffetes are mentioned here, as in 59 B 4 ff.; see 42 1 n.

L. 6. ברך Often in Pun. inscr., e. g. CIS i 444 4. 597 4 &c. 59 B 2; in Lat. *baric*, *baricas*, *baricio* &c. CIL viii p. 1020 d. הצפ or הצף According to Berger l. c. *the seer, augur* = Hebr. צפה *watchman*. Cl.-Gan. proposes [ר] הספ *the scribe*. There is a space between פ and the foll. א; no trace of a letter appears in the facsimile given by Euting ZDMG xxix (1875) 237.

L. 7. אש על כמר ניעטמן may be rendered *who was over the priests of Neitman*, i. e. the Egyptian goddess Neith or Nît, a manifestation of Isis; כמר plur. constr. *priests*, as in Old Aram. 64 1 n., in Hebr. 2 K. 23 5 &c. The reading, however, is not certain, and the letters may be grouped differently. Cl.-Gan. proposes כם בן יעטמן for the last two words, thus providing the patronymic of מביו after the name of his office (l. 1 n.), but suggests no definite sense for אש על כם (l. c. 32 n.). כי = כא The prefix 'ור as in 52 4. ורסכן

L. 8. This and the foll. line are written carelessly and in another hand; their connexion with the foregoing is not clear. אש העלא Prob. *who offered up*, Hif. pf. 3 sing. m. עלה = עלת 'a burnt-offering or a meal-offering (42 14 &c.) in the sanctuary.'

L. 9. Apparently 'which Abd-milk vowed there.' נדרא Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. 3 sing. f.

¹ The functions of the *xi primi* (CIL viii p. 1101) are obscure. See for the above suggestions Cl.-Gan. l. c. 34 f.

39 1. Derenbourg explains חשבר as = Ἑσπέρα, which he supposes was the name of a small island in the lake Tritonis with a temple of Aphrodite upon it, near the harbour of Hesperides in Cyrene, mentioned by Strabo p. 710, ed. Müll. לטהרת *for the cleansing* (Derenb.); but this meaning is doubtful. נכתבת, like ונשמרא l. 5 and הנשכבת l. 6, appears to be a Nif. form.

L. 5. Derenb. reads ונשמרא ראת מי קנא and translates *and she is kept from seeing the waters of Qana*; but ראת is uncertain, and קנא מי קנא may = מקנה (Lidzb.). עשרת Meaning doubtful: *ten* does not suit the context.

L. 6. הנשכבת Cf. משכב of the *grave*, 5 4 n. שנת is sing., שנת l. 4 plur.; see 6 i n.

57. Jol (Shershel 2). Louvre.

- 1 מִיִּקְדֵּשׁ קִנְאָם חֵי חַיִּים מִכְפּוֹן מֶלֶךְ מִשְׁלִיִּים
- 2 הַמִּלֵּל מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֶרֶץ רַבַּת מִמְּלֶכֶת חֶשֶׁב נֶעַם
- 3 לֹא טָנָא תִּהְיֶה מֵאֵשׁ זֹת . . הָאֲחֻבְעֵלָא קִבְרָא יַעֲזֹם
- 4 בֶּן יִשְׁגֹּזֶן בֶּן בְּגָאֵת בֶּן מִזְנוֹן מִיָּקָם אֵלֶם
- 5 זִכִּי כֹרֶךְ עֲלֻגְמָא . . . תִּמָּא אֲדֻרָאֲנִמָּאֵת כִּנָּם
- 6 וְתִּהְיֶה אֵשׁ עֲלֵמִים כֹּלָא נְעֻזְכֵּלָא לְמַח[יָא]
- 7 תִּנָּם עֲלֵם עֵבֶל . . תִּלָּח . . אֲ . . לְהִרְעֵת שְׁלֹא . . .
- 8 וְשַׁעֲוֹתָם . . בַּעַל . . ל . . א . . מָא הַשֵּׁם
- 9 רִבָּא שְׁלֹא בְּכָל חוֹת בְּנָא . [מ]טֵעָא . . .
- 10 רִצְאָתָהּ הַמַּחֲקָתָה שְׁלֹא תִבְנֶם רַב . . .
- 11 פַּעֲלָא אֶרֶץ בֶּן עֲבָדָא . . .

L. 1. מִיִּקְדֵּשׁ קִנְאָם *sanctuary of QN'M*; cf. the beginning of 42. פַּעֲלָא . מעקר הרעין לקנאם . occurs again in NPun. 2 (Lidzb. 434) . מוֹקָרָא מוֹקָרָא *the sculptor (?) made (this) for QN'M and for his brothers (or life?)*. Berger suggests that קנאם is the Egypt. deity *Hnúm* (*Inscr. néop. de Cherchell* (1889) 3 f.); but the opinion of Egyptologists is against the identification. חֵי חַיִּים *the life of*

life; cf. לענת עז חים 28 1. מכפון מלך משליים *Mikipzan, king of the Massilians*, i. e. of Numidia; for the pr. n. in ך' *dn* see 55 1 n. This can be none other than the Micipsa who appears in the history of the Roman occupation of Carthage. He was the third son of Massinissa (51 3 n.), and succeeded to the kingdom after the premature death of his two elder brothers. An illegitimate son of his was the notorious Jugurtha (John of Antioch *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 560; Diod. Sic. xxxiv 35). The seat of his kingdom was Cirta, but he was buried at or near Jol¹, where this inscr. was found; it must have been set up shortly after his death in 118 B.C. This reference to a historical personage, whose date can be fixed, is unique among the NPun. inscrr. at present known. A specimen of Numidian coinage of this period, in the British Museum, bears on the obverse the letters מן, on the reverse הת, i. e. possibly מכפון הממלכת *Mikipzan the king*²; so Berger, l. c. 10, who gives an illustration of the coin.

L. 2. המילל Lit. *who is to be extolled*, an epithet of the king, probably Pual ptcp. מילל. In Hebr. ילל is used in Hif. *to howl*. מישר א' ר' *sovereign of broad lands*; Piel ptcp. of ישר, or perhaps from שרר. ממלכת = מלכא *prince*; see 3 2 n. חשב נעם *who devises good*; cf. the Gk. title Εὐμένης.

L. 3. The previous clause from מכפון is a casus pendens, resumed by לו = לא : *Mikipzan . . . to him Ya'azam set up this statue*. אית = 56 1 n. מאש Cf. 60 4, where the Lat. version gives *statuam*. מאא CIS i 151 2 is apparently the same word; the etymology is unknown. קברא *his grave*. The three letters preceding are עלא ? *over him*. The erection of a statue (if the rendering be correct) over a grave was unusual; Berger compares CIL viii 211 30 *statuam posuit* (over a mausoleum), but notices that the stone which bears the inscr. does not look as if it had once formed the base of a statue.

L. 4. מונן Possibly the Pun. form of the name Massinissa, written משתננן on coins. מיקם אלם A title found in CIS i 227. 260–262 &c. and in a new Carth. inscr., *Rép.* i no. 13; it is prob. the equivalent of *praetor sacrorum, praefectus sacrorum* in Lat. inscrr.

L. 5. In this and the foll. lines only a word here and there can be translated. תמא may = אתמא which seems to be a pr. n. in CIS i 151 3.

¹ The burial-place of the Numidian princes was in the neighbourhood of Jol; Pomponius Mela i 6 30–1 Iol ad mare aliquando ignobilis, nunc quia Iubae regia fuit et quod Caesarea vocitatur illustris . . . ultra monumentum commune regiae gentis.

² Cf. the legend on coins of Juba הממלכת or יובעי הממלכת, of Bocchus הממלכת, and of Syphax הממלכת (Berger l. c.).

L. 6. ואת הבהנים = ות אבהנים. לִמְחִיָּא. בִּי לוֹ = ? בלא. *during his life-time* (Berger); but the form is uncertain.

L. 7. עלם ? *eternity*. להרעת Cf. 56 3 n., ? *for the good pleasure which was his*; see 33 4.

L. 9. רבא ? *his chief*. בנא ? *during all the life of his son* (Berger).

L. 10. המחקת ? *the inscriptions*, from חקק.

L. 11. The name of the artist who *made it*.

58. Gelma. NPun. 24. Louvre.

1 עבן ז טענע לש
2 בלת בת מעלל עו
3 ע שענת אש
4 רם ועמש א
5 שת משיכעתן ב[ן ?]
6 בנריעל

This stone is set up to ŠBLTH, daughter of Ma'lal; she lived twenty-five years; wife of MŠIK'THN, son (?) of BNRI'L.

L. 1. עבן = אבן, see p. 140. טענע = טענא Qal. ptc. pass.

L. 2. שבלת Perhaps = *ear of wheat*, Gen. 41 5 ff. הוא = עוע, cf. 53 3.

L. 4. עשרם וחמש = אשרם ועמש.

L. 5. משיכעתן ב[ן] So Lidzb.; but Schröder p. 270 reads משיכעתח and shows ח in the facsimile, xvii 8.

L. 6. בנריעל If Schröder's reading is followed, this will be בן ריעל.

59. Maktar. Discovered 1892.

A

i

1 המזרח אש לדרת אש בנא מקדש חצרת
2 פחנת קדשם מחזות שתעת אל עמת

- 3 עטרת אדראת לא ולעמא ישב אדמת
4 לאלם הקירש לשאת אחת שמם בסוב
5 מלך חטר מיסכר רזן ימם בעל חרדת
6 על גברתם כעתבתי יתנתי שבעת

ii

- 7 סמל מרנ... חסיד תם . לתא עלם עבר
8 ירד בעמק הלח ואחרסת... תעת אדרת
9 ראשא צלק אתם ליטא . דל עק . צב חפערת
10 ש חרין דערכן ולנאחן יתן נכתחת
11 כילן באשרלב פעלן ביתן שבעת

iii

- 12 שמאת המזרח אש
13 איכרמא תהמנחת
14 קרא לם מעלא מתא
15 למדתת . מעזרת

v

iv

- 16 רב מזרח סהלכני בן מאנומער
17 מעסיר בן פלבעי 20 סהלכני בן יסתען
18 בעלשמע בן מעסקלת 21 שעפרגם בן דבער
19 קערטא בן סלסמין 22 מתנבעל בן ברכבעל

vi

- 23 רופא בן מעסתיבער
24 מתנבעל בן בעות
25 בעליתן בן בובע .
26 יעסכתען בן בע... ל .

viii	vii
כעשא בן בעליתן 33	יערכני בן ארש 27
לקי בן געלגסת 34	מתנבעל בן סלכני 28
עבדמלקרת בן בעליתן 35	ראסת'יטטא בן ר... 29
שעפרגם בן ברכבעל 36	אי. נע בן מערשמא 30
בעסא בן אדרבעל 37	סלכני בן מעסקלת 31
רולני בן מעסיסען 38	א... בן ארשא 32
x	ix
ראגעטא בן הכהנת 45	ברכבעל בן דבער 39
אורמען בן יסתענת 46	כס. פנל בן בעלשלך 40
עומזגוער בן מעסירחן 47	יסכתען בן בעליתן 41
	בעלשמע בן מערוסא 42
	מעסקלת 43
	ברכבעל בן געגירת 44

i

The *mizrah* of . . . which built sanctuary, courts, ² also a chamber (?) for the holy things, lights (?), these columns (?) at the side of (?) ³ a rich cornice (?), for themselves and their people (?) who dwell in the land :—⁴ To the holy god

⁵ Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar, prince of the seas (?), lord of terror.

⁶ Upon . . . I, Yathan- . . wrote it . . .

ii

.

iii

¹² Names of the *mizrah* which ¹³ defrayed the offering.
¹⁴ Read them from top to bottom (?) ¹⁵ help.

This and the two following inscr., B and C, were discovered in 1892 on the walls of a temple at Maktar (54 2). They were first published by Berger *Mémoire sur la grande inscription dédicatoire* . . .

à *Maktar* (1899); they have been treated also by Lidzbarski *Eph.* i 45-52 (1900), by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 57 and § 3 (1900), and by Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* ix (1901) 268-287. The great inscription (A) consists of ten columns, and falls into two parts: (1) Coll. i and ii, the dedication of the temple and its appurtenances, (2) Coll. iii-x, the names of those who took part in the dedication. The writing of this inscr. is, on the whole, clear and well preserved; but the meaning of Coll. i and ii is exceedingly obscure. It is noteworthy that the letters ב, ד, ר are written almost in their ancient form. Inscr. A probably belongs to an earlier date than B and C.

L. 1. המזרח ll. 12. 16. C 1. The word has been met with already in 42 16. 55 4. From this inscr. it is clear that the *mizrah* or *mazrah* was some kind of local council or association, in this case consisting of 32 members, including a president (רב מזרח l. 16). It was certainly a native institution, no doubt tolerated under the Roman domination; Cl.-Gan. suggests that its nearest equivalent in Latin would be *curia* or *ordo decurionum*, terms which occur in the inscr. from N. Africa, l. c. § 3. In each instance the *mizrah* is mentioned in connexion with some religious act; so it may have been a religious rather than a secular association. אש לדרת of *DRTH*, perhaps a technical term describing the *mizrah*, ? of the *habitations*, cf. Arab. *ḥawṣ* house, Is. 38 12. If דרת were the name of a place (Lidzb. l. c., cf. דאר 5 19), we should expect the simple prep. ב rather than ל אש; cf. 24 2 n. חצרת Prob. plur. abs. To construe חצרת as a genit. after מקדש would not make good sense; the two words are to be taken ἀσυνδέτως. Cf. חצר 33 2 f.

L. 2. פחנת Lidzb. suggests that פ=אף, as ש=אש, and ת=אית in NPun. Then חנת (cf. p. 337) may=חניות, חניות cells Jer. 37 16, as having an *arched* or *curved* roof; cf. Aram. *ḥanā* vaulted room, חנה = lit. bend, curve. Hence חנת קדשם may mean a vaulted chamber for the sacred vessels. מחזת Perhaps = מחנה light, window 1 K. 7 4 f. As the previous words seem to denote parts of the sanctuary, Cl.-Gan. renders שתעת pillars, Hebr. שְׁחוֹת, and אלעמת porches, propyla, cf. Hebr. אֵיִלִּים. In the case of the last word, however, the rendering is made doubtful by the fact that there is a space on the stone before and after אל (facsimile in Berger l. c.); hence Lidzb. renders מחזת שתעת אל עמת a place for the auspices (?) of Tat, the god of the community. He takes תעת as = תנת rather than the Egypt. Thoṭh (Berger), and for עמת compares CIS i 263 עשתרת [= איש] 264 אש בעם אש. It may be doubted whether תעת could be substituted for

the familiar תנת. Taking שתעת as = *pillars*, it is possible that אל = *these* and עמת = *beside*, Hebr. לַעֲמַת, cf. Ex. 25 27. 1 K. 7 20. Eze. 40 18. The deity to whom the dedication is made does not appear till l. 4.

L. 3. עטרת אוראת *a crown of splendour* or *a splendid cornice*; cf. 'cum ornamentis suis' in Lat. inscr. from this region. לא ולעמא The suffixes may refer to המורה, *for themselves and their people*, cf. 'ad ornandam patriam' in N. African inscr., or to תעת אל עמת if these words contain the name of a goddess. ארץ ארמת In this connexion might be expected.

L. 4. לאלם הקידש *to the holy god* = לֵאלֹהִים הַקָּדוֹשׁ; *the god of the sanctuary* would be אלן המקדש, cf. אלן אקדש Costa³¹ (Constantine) in *Eph.* i p. 39; see 33 6 n. No certain meaning can be given to the words which follow. שמם may = *heaven*. The last word of the line is prob. בסוב. The distinction between ס and צ (חצרת l. 1. 1. 9. חרץ l. 10) is clear in this inscr.; see 55 1 n.

L. 5. מלך חטר מיסכר The name of the deity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated. The deity seems to have been a compound one (cf. מלכעשתרת 10 3), formed out of Punic and Egyptian elements, *Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar*. The temple of חטר מסכר is mentioned in CIS i 253 f. חטר is the Egypt. god Hathor, and מסכר is either an Egypt. word or Punic; see 7 1 n. The epithets of the deity describe him as רון ימם i. e. *ruler of the seas* or *days* (רון Jud. 5 3. Ps. 2 2 &c.) and בעל חרדת i. e. *lord of terror(s)*. A Lat. dedication to Saturn has been found in the temple near to this inscr.; and it is not unlikely that Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar was a deity with the same character and attributes as Saturn. A number of votive steles to Ba'al-ḥammān, found at Maktar, exhibit the fish in various forms, pointing to the worship of a marine deity.

L. 6. על גברתם ? meaning. After ג a letter has been erased on the stone. The words which follow may be a remark of the mason: שבעת, as שבעת prob. = כְּתִבְתִּי; יתנ . . . (יתנתי ?) is perhaps a pr. n. in l. 11, is separated by a space; its meaning is not apparent. Lidzb. suggests בעת + ש *agreement, order*; see 42 1 n.

Column ii is exceedingly obscure. It seems to specify the dedication of an image of the god.

L. 7. The first word is clearly סמל *image, statue*; Cl.-Gan., however, suggests that it = שמאל *on the left*. . . . מרנ Cf. the pr. nn. beginning with מר, מרברך, מריחי 19 3 n. The next two words possibly = עלם הקסיד *kind, perfect*, a description of the god, to which אעלם, *of the world*, may also belong. עבר is perhaps the first part

of a pr. n.; there seems to be a trace of letters after it in the facsimile. Lidzb. thinks that the particulars of the dedication of the סמל begin here; Cl.-Gan. reads על מעבר *on the west*.

L. 8. ירר Perhaps a verb, *brought down* (Ifil); בעמק *in the valley*; הלח = הלח = הלח tablets of stone (Ex. 34 1 &c.), or planks of wood (Ex. 27 8 &c.), or plates of metal (1 K. 7 36), in a collective sense. Cl.-Gan. takes ירר as Qal ptc., and, following out his view of the general sense, thinks that ירר בעמק refers to a part of the temple which 'descended into the valley.' He makes a new clause begin with הלח. ואחרסת ? the same word as the obscure חרן 45 4, which is some part of a temple. שתעת א' = ? תעת אדרת (l. 2) *splendid pillars* (?).

L. 9. ראשא *his or her head, or capital* ?

L. 10. Cl.-Gan. reads חף ערת ש חרין, and supposes that the words refer to 'overlaying with gold.' He compares the biblical חפה 2 Ch. 3 5 ff., and ערת in 3 5. ח' דערבן The rendering *gold of the daric*, cf. דרבנן (for דרבנן) 33 3, i.e. gold of standard quality, is pronounced impossible by experts in ancient coinage; see Lidzb. *Eph.* i 177.

L. 11. פועלן . . . כילן ? *we have finished* (Piel) . . . *we have made*; Halévy renders 'we have finished our work with happiness of heart (בְּאַשְׁרָ לֵב). By Yathon. Shib'ath.' בית The word *house* is not written with the vowel letter in Pun. שבעת l. 6 n.

L. 13. איכרמא Berger explains by the Arab. أكرم *largiri, they paid the cost of*; this makes good sense. אית המנחת i.e. תהמנחת.

L. 14. קרא Prob. imperat. למ i.e. שמאת l. 12; Hal. takes למ as = למה *what*. מעלא מתא Lit. *upwards, downwards* (?), מתא ? = Hebr. מטה; cf. 5 11 f. According to Hal. מתא = מאתא; he renders the line, 'Read what has been adduced (lit. brought) above.'

L. 15. למרת Lit. *according to the measure* (?). מעורת Apparently a noun from עזר *help*.

Columns iv-x. A list of the members of the *mizrah*, headed by the president (l. 16). The names are mostly Numidian; some are Punic, some Latin. The Latin names, it will be noticed, belong to the sons, the native ones to the fathers. This no doubt indicates that the younger generation was fast becoming latinized, a process which has become complete in other NPun. inscr. from Maktar, where the Latin names are followed by a Latin genealogy, e.g. Marcus son of Gaius Canuleius, Publius son of Valerius Nobilis; these last belong, therefore, to a later age. With regard to the Numidian names, the pronunciation of which is in most cases

unknown, the sibilant \mathfrak{D} is characteristic, and the endings *ān* and *ath*; the latter are not sounded in the Latin transcriptions, e. g. Jasuktan = Jasucta, Galgusath = Gulussa, &c. In the Punic forms of the Latin names *a* is represented by \mathfrak{C} , *e* and *o* by \mathfrak{N} ; the ending *us* becomes \mathfrak{N} , *ius* is dropped (Berger 36).

L. 17. פלכעי Cl.-Gan. conjectures *Felicus*, *Felicio*, *Felicius*.

L. 19. קערטא = *Quartus*; or קעפטא = *Capito*.

L. 20. יסתען ? = *Istantius* (Algerian). Cl.-Gan. reads יסתענת l. 46.

L. 23. רופא = *Rufus*.

L. 26. יעסכתען Transcribed in Lat. *Jasucta* (NPun. 69, Schröd. p. 272).

L. 29. ראסתיתטא = *Restitutus*.

L. 30. מרשמע = מערשמא.

L. 31. מעסקלת ? *Maskulath*, cf. *Masculus*.

L. 32. For ארשא Cl.-Gan. reads ארשם.

L. 33. בעשא ? = *Cassus*.

L. 34. לקי ? = *Lucius*. געלגסת Transcr. *Gulussa*.

L. 45. ראגעטא = *Rogatus*. הכהנת ? *the priestess*.

B

- 1 נבנא [כ]א המקדש ס לעטר מסכר
- 2 בניא יפתען בן יפשר וברך בן סלדי
- 3 א ומתנבעל בן ברך ומתנבעל בן בעליתן
- 4 חסגן ש המקם שפטם עומזגוער
- 5 בן תתעי ומנדסען בן שבעטן מסולי
- 6 ומסיגרען בן קפסי שמע קלם

This sanctuary was built here to 'Aṭar-miskar. It was built by Ift'an, son of Ifshar, and Barik, son of Selidi', and Muttun-ba'al, son of Barik, and Muttun-ba'al, son of Ba'al-yathon ? . of the place; the suffetes being 'Umzgu'ar, son of Tat'ai, and Mnds'an, son of Shb'aṭn, ? and Msigr'an, son of Qfsi heard their voice.

L. 1. נבנא is not distinct in the facsimile. עטר מסכר = ז. Cf. A 5.

L. 2. בניא Pf. 3 pl. with suff.; cf. 52 2. ברך See 55 6 n. שערדיא = סלדיא *Selidiv* NPun. 69 1 (Schröd. p. 272).

L. 4. חסנן Cf. חסנן 40 1 where it is possibly a transliteration of *sociorum*. שפטם Three suffetes are mentioned here, as in

55 6. עומזנוער Cf. A 47.

L. 5. מסולי Berger suggests that this is an ethnic form, meaning 'a man of Mascula' (in Numidia) CIL viii 2568 &c.; cf. השלני 60 2. אשקלני 32 1 &c.

C

המזרח אם 1

גד הימם נדער נדרא אש ל 2

שלא תתהא לאב ברכת מל[כ] 3

הנדער קלא שלא עזר 4

The *mizrah* to Gad of the heavens (?) vowed their vow which his ? to the father of blessing, king (?) the vow ; his voice helped

L. 1. המזרח A 1. אש=?אם.

L. 2. גר הימם Perhaps rather גר השמם ; for גר see 27 3 n. השמם corresponds with the N. African *Caelestis*. The whole expression finds a remarkable parallel in *Fortunae Caelestis sacrum* CIL viii 6943 from Cirta (Lidzb.). נדער נדרא The first is a verb, the second a noun with suff. 3 sing. m. agreeing with המזרח.

SARDINIA

60. Sulci. CIS i 149. Museum of Cagliari.

*Himilconi Idnibalis . . . quei hanc aedem ex s[enatus]
c[onsulto] fac[iundam] coeravit Himilco f[ilius] statuam
[dedit].*

1 [ח]מלכת בן . אדנבעל . בן . חמלכת
2 הפרט על . מי . טבארשא . השלכי
3 לבנאת . תהמקדש זת . להרבת לאלת
4 טינא תהמאש זת . בנא . חמלכת

Himilkath, son of Idni-ba'al, son of Himilkath to
build this sanctuary to the lady Elath: his son Himilkath
dedicated this statue.

This inscr. probably belongs to the first cent. B. C.; it is among the
earliest NPun. inscrs. known.

L. 1. חמלכת See 40 2 n. אדנבעל 45 6. 55 3, pronounced
Idnibal (Lat. transcr.).

L. 2. The first four words prob. correspond to *qui ex senatus
consulto curavit* in the Lat. version; but their exact meaning is
unknown. טבארשא has a certain resemblance to *τοπαρχία*. השלכי
Prob. *Sulcitanus*, the man of Sulci, cf. CIL 7518. The final letter
is most likely י; for the form cf. הלוכי the man of Lycia CIS i 45, and
the names בונתי *Buζάντιον*, כתי *Κίτιον*.

L. 3. לבנות=לבנאת, implying some word meaning *curavit* in
l. 2. אלת Cf. להרבת 56 3 n.; for רבת see 3 2 n.
Cf. 50 1 n. CIS i 243. 244 אלת ; כהן אלת ; in Aram. *Ilāt* or *Allāt*, see in
Nab. 80 4 n. The Phoen. form אלת is the fem. of אל, or perhaps
rather of אלן; in the latter case the vowel of the second syllable may
have been long (Nöldeke *ZDMG* xlii 472)¹.

L. 4. טינא looks like the Piel of טנא, cf. כילן (?) 59 A 11. מאש
The Lat. version shows that this must mean *statue*; cf. 57 3. בנא=
בנו.

¹ The identification of אלת with 'Ελλωτία—ἡ Εὐρώπη τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο, ὅτι οἱ
Φοίνικες τὴν Παρθένον 'Ελλωτίαν καλοῦσι *Etym. Magn.* col. 332; 'Ελλωτίς 'Αθηνᾶ
οὕτω καλουμένη, ἐτιμᾶτο ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ ἑορτὴ 'Ελλωτία *ib.* 333—is rejected by
Nöldeke l. c. The forms 'Ελλωτίς, 'Ελλωτία are prob. genuine Greek.

ARAMAIC

NORTH SYRIA

61. Zenjirli : Hadad. First half of viii cent. B. C. Berlin.

- 1 אנך פנמו · בר · קרל · מלך · יאדי · זי · הקמת · נצב · זן · להדר · בעלמי
 2 קמו · עמי · אלהו · הדר · ואל · ורשף · ורכבאל · ושמש · ונתן · בידי ·
 הדר · ואל ·
 3 ורכבאל · ושמש · ורשף · חטר · חלבבה · וקם · עמי · רשף · פמו · אחז ·
 4 ביד ·...· הא · פלח ·...· ומו · אשא[ל · מן] · אלהי · יתנו · לי · ושנם · חויו ·
 5 ל ·...· ארק · שערי · האל ·
 6 ארק · חטי · וארק שמי ·
 7 וארק ·...· אז · ב · רת ·...· ימי ·...· י · יעברו · ארק · וברם ·
 8 שם · יש[ב] ·...· פנמו · גם · ישבת · על · משב · אבי · ונתן ·
 הדר · בידי ·
 9 חטר · חל[בבה] ·...· ת · חרב · ולשן · מן · בית · אבי · ובימי · גם ·
 אכל · ושתא · יאדי ·
 10 ובימי · יתמר ·...· קי · לנצב · קירת · ולנצב · זורי · ולבני · כפירי ·
 חלבבו ·...· יקח ·
 11 אש · רעיה · ויתר · הדר · [ו]אל · ורכבאל · ושמש · וארקרשף · וכברו ·
 נתנה · לי · ואמן · כרת ·
 12 בי · ובימי · חלבת ·...· ת · יהב · לאלהי · ומת · יקחו · מן · ידי · ומה ·
 אשאל · מן · אלהי · מת · יתר ·
 13 לי · וארקו ·...· קרל · אלהי · מת · פלו · נתן · הדר · מת · ל ·...· תי ·
 קרני · לבנא · ובחלבבתי ·
 14 נתן · מת · הדר[ד ·...· ל] · בנא · פבנית · מת · [ו]ה[קמת · נצב · הדר · זן ·
 ומקם · פנמו · בר · קרל · מלך ·

- 15 יאדי · עם · נצב · חד .. מן מן · בני · יאחז[חט] · ר · וישב · על · משבי ·
ויסעד · אברו · ויזבח ·
- 16 הדר · זן .. י .. י .. נשי · ויזבח .. א .. א יזבח · הדר · ויזכר ·
אשם · הדר · או ·
- 17 א · פא · יאמר · [תאכ] · ל · נבש · פנמו · עמך · ותש[תי · נ] · בש · פנמו
עמך · עד · יזכר · נבש · פנמו · עם ·
- 18 [ה] · ד · י .. זבחה · זא · פתכ .. [י] · רקי · בה · שי · להדר · ולאל ·
ולרכבאל · ולשמש ·
- 19 .. נ .. [פ] · נמו .. ב .. י · ק · זא · פב .. ה · והושבת · בה ·
אלהי · ובחלבבתה · חנאת ·
- 20 נתנו · לי · זרע · חבא .. י .. אמ .. בני · יאחז · חטר ·
וישב · על · משבי · מלך ·
- 21 על · יאדי · ויסעד · אברו · ויזבח · [הדר · זן · ויזכ] · ר · אשם · פנמו ·
יאמר · תאכל · נבש פ[נ] · מ[ו] ·
- 22 עם · הדר · ותשתי · נבש · פנמו · עם · ה[ד] · ד · הא .. חהן ·
זבחה · ואל · ירקי · בה · ומו ·
- 23 ישאל · אל · יתן · לה · הדר · והדר · חרא · ליתכה ..
אל · יתן · לה · לאכל · ברגו ·
- 24 ושנה · למנע · מנה · בלילא · ודלח · נתן · לה .. י .. איח ..
מודדי · מומת .. תי ·
- 25 יאחז · חטר · ביאד[י] · וישב · על · משבי · וימל[ך] .. וישל[ח] · ידה ·
בחרב · ב .. תי · או ·
- 26 חמס .. אל · יהרג · או · ברגו · או · על · א .. א .. ל .. י ·
מומת · או · על · קשתה · או · על · אמרתה ·
- 27 חה .. ירשי · שחת · באשר · חד · איחיה · או ·
באשר · חד · מודדיה · או · באשר ·

- 28 חדה · איחת]ה ירשי · שחת · יגנב איחיה · זכרי · ויקם ·
ותה · במצעה · מת · נשה
- 29 יאמר · אחכם · השחת · והנ א · ידיה · לאלה · אבה · נשה ·
יאמר · הן · אם · שמת · אמרת · אל · בפם ·
- 30 זר · אמר · קם · עיני · או · דלח · או י · בפם · אנשי צרי · פהנו ·
זכר · הא · לתגמרו · איחה
- 31 זכרו · פלכתשה · באבני · והנו ר רן · איחתה פלכתשנה ·
באבני · והנו · לו · שחת ·
- 32 באשרה · ותלעי · עינך · בא · בב על · קשתה או · על ·
גברתה · או · על · אמרתה ·
- 33 או · על · נרבה · את · פא · ישרה · ב ו · תהרגה ·
בחמ · [או ·] בחמא · או ·
- 34 תחק · עליה · או · תאלב · אש · זר להרגה · י
מו

I am Panammu, son of QRL, king of Ya'di, who have set up this statue to Hadad in my ? ² There stood by me the god (?) Hadad and El and Reshef and Rekub-el and Shamash, and Hadad and El ³ and Rekub-el and Shamash gave into my hand the sceptre of ?; and Reshef stood by me; and whatsoever I take ⁴ in hand . . . and whatsoever I as[k of] the gods they give me, and ?? ⁵ a land of barley ? ⁶ a land of wheat and a land of garlic, ⁷ and a land they till the land and vineyards; ⁸ there dwel[t] . . . of Panammu. Moreover I sat upon the seat of my father, and Hadad gave into my hand ⁹ the sceptre of ? . . . sword and slander from my father's house. And in my days Ya'di (?) ? did both eat and drink. ¹⁰ And in my days ? . . . to establish (?) cities and to establish (?) ., and for the sons of villages (?) ? . . takes (?) ¹¹ each (?) ? and Hadad [and] El and Rekub-el and Shamash and Arqu-reshef did abundantly (?)

give greatness to me, and surety ? ¹² with me. And in my days ? . ? to the gods, and indeed (?) they receive from my hands, and what I ask from the gods they have indeed (?) abundantly granted (?) ¹³ to me, and ? .. QRL, the gods indeed (?), and if Hadad gave indeed (?) to . he called me to build, and in my ? ¹⁴ Had[ad] gave indeed (?) . [to] build; and I built indeed (?), and set up this statue of Hadad, and the place of Panammu, son of QRL, king ¹⁵ of Ya'di, together with a statue . . . Whoever (?) of my sons shall hold the [scept]re, and sit upon my seat and grow strong (?) and sacrifice ¹⁶ to this Hadad . . . and sacrifice . . . sacrifice to Hadad, and make mention of the name of Hadad, or ¹⁷ . shall say, May the soul of Panammu [ea]t with thee, and may the [s]oul of Panammu drin[k] with thee!—shall moreover remember the soul of Panammu with ¹⁸ [Ha]dad . . . this his sacrifice . . . may he look [f]avourably upon him ? to Hadad and to El and to Rekub-el and to Shamash ¹⁹ . . . [Pa]nammu . . . this . . . and I made the gods dwell in it, and in his ? I reposed (?) ²⁰ . . . they have given me a seed . . . my son shall hold the sceptre, and sit upon my seat as king ²¹ over Ya'di, and grow strong (?) and sacrifice [to this Hadad and remem]ber the name of Panammu (and) say, May the soul of Panammu eat ²² with Hadad, and may the soul of Panammu drink with that Ha[d]ad . . . his sacrifice let him not look favourably upon it, and whatsoever ²³ he shall ask let not Hadad give him; and let Hadad pour out wrath upon him . . . suffer him not to eat, in anger, ²⁴ and withhold sleep from him by night, and terror (?) ? to him . . . kinsman (?) . my friend (?) put to death (?) . ²⁵ shall hold the sceptre in Ya'd[i], and shall sit upon my seat and reig[n . and pu]t his hand to the sword . or ²⁶ . . . ? let him not slay either in anger or by . . . put to death (?) either by his bow or by his order ²⁷ . . . shall allow to destroy after one of his kinsmen (?) or after one of his friends (?) or after ²⁸ one of his kinswomen (?) . . . he allow to destroy, his kinsmen (?) steal my memorial, and set it up in the midst thereof (?) indeed (?) ? ²⁹ shall say, Your brother has destroyed (?) . . . his

hands to the god of his father ? shall say, If (?) ? I have put these (?) orders into the mouth ³⁰ of a stranger, say thou (?) my eye was dim or terrified or . . in the mouth of adversaries, and behold ! (?) it is a memorial (?), so that ye make his kinsman (?) discontinue ³¹ ? and let him crush him with stones ; and behold ! (?) . . . his kinswoman (?), and let him crush her (?) with stones ; and behold ! (?) if he have destroyed ³² after him, and thine eye be wearied (?) . . . by his bow or by his might or by his order ³³ or by his instigation (?), thou (?) also ? . . . thou shalt slay him ? [or] in wrath, or ³⁴ shalt write (?) concerning him, or teach a stranger to kill him . . .

Zenjirli (زنجيرلو) is a small village in NW. Syria, rather more than half way between Antakiyeh (Antioch) and Marash. This inscription was found in 1890 at Gerjin (كرجين), half an hour NE. of Zenjirli. It is carved on a colossal statue of the god Hadad; the writing, like that of 62 and 63, is in relief, and belongs to the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone. The contents show that this inscr. is earlier than 62 and 63, which date from the time of Tiglath-pileser iii (745-727 B. C.); moreover, in the latter inscr. the Aramaic character of the dialect is more strongly marked¹.

Part i. ll. 1-15 a. Panammu acknowledges the good providence of Hadad and the other gods of his country, and records the prosperity of his reign.

L. 1. אנך In 62 19 אנכי; see 1 i n. פנמו בר קרל Panammu i 62 5, the predecessor of Panammu ii 62 1. 63 2, to whom 62 is dedicated. *Panammu of Sam'al* (prob. Panammu ii) is mentioned in inscr. of Tiglath-pileser iii, *KB* ii 20. 30. A similar name is met with in Asia Minor, in Caria, Παναμνής (Ball *TrSBA* (1888) 432), and in Isauria, *Panemou-teichos* (Ramsay *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Min.* 394 &c.). The derivation is unknown; prob., like קרל, the name is of non-Semitic origin. 62 1. 5 &c. Ya'di was a town and petty kingdom of N. Syria, situated in the country N. of the Orontes.

¹ In connexion with these inscr. the following abbreviations are used: Sach. = Sachau in *Mitth. aus den Orient. Sammlungen*, Heft xi *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (1893). Hal. = Halévy in *Revue Sémitique* i-ii (1893-4). DHM = D. H. Müller *Altsemitischen Inschr. von Sendschirli* (1893). Nöld. = Nöldeke in *ZDMG* xlvii (1893) 96-105. Hoffm. = G. Hoffmann in *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.* xi (1897). The text above is derived from the facsimile given by Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, Atlas taf. xxii, with reference to Euting's facsimile in *Ausgrab. in Sendschirli*.

Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.* i 1 ff., suggests that the well-known expressions in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser iii, *KB* ii 24 f., [*Azri*]jāu (*mātu*) Jaudāi, [*A*]surijāu (*mātu*) Jaudi, which are usually taken to refer to 'Azariah (=Uzziah) the Judaeen,' 'A. of the *land of Judah*¹,' really refer to this יארי. The context implies that Jaudi was in N. Syria²; it speaks of nineteen districts of the city of Hamath as having revolted to Azrijāu, and there is little likelihood that the Judaeen Azariah would have mixed in the politics in N. Syria and formed an alliance with Hamath, 150 miles N. of Palestine. According to the biblical chronology Azariah was dead at this time (about 740 B. C.), but this difficulty can be overcome³. Winckler's view requires that two such names as Azrijāu and Jaudi (=either יארי or יהודה) existed at the same period in different parts, a mere coincidence, perhaps. Azrijāu, with the divine name יהו, is more characteristic of Judaea than N. Syria; יהו, however, was not unknown in the latter region⁴. There is much to be said for Winckler's contention, but it is hardly established beyond dispute⁵.

י The Old Aram. form of די (Bibl. Aram., Nab., Palm.), used as a relative (64 14. 69 9. 70 1 &c., and on coins 149 A 6) and as a sign of the genitive (66 a. 67. 68. 76 B 3 &c.). הקימת = הקמת. נצב See 37 1 n. ון So in Phoen. (Geba); see add. note ii p. 26. הדר 150 b, the chief deity of the Aramaeans; cf. Ἀδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569. The statue on which the inscr. is carved represents a bearded human head with horns, the symbol of the god's power. In the O. T. his name occurs in compounds, e. g. הדרעור 2 S. 8 3 ff. = Assy. *Dad'idri*; בן-הדר 1 K. 20 1 (*COT* 200 f.); הדררמון Zech. 12 11. Nothing distinctive is known of his character; but he was prob. regarded as a god of storm and thunder, for he was identified by the Assyrians as a stranger-god from the Amorite country with Rammân; see Zimmern *KAT*³ ii 443 f. The original significance of the name may possibly be found in the Ar. هَدَّ break, crash, growl, هَدَّاد thunder; cf. Hebr. הָרָה, הָרָה shout (Baethgen *Beitr.* 67 f., Hal. ii 26 f.). As a personal pr. n. הדר is found in Sabaeen, CIS iv 55⁶. בעלמי ? in my youth (בְּעַלְמִי) not in my life-time (בְּעַלְמִי); the latter, moreover,

¹ So e. g. Schrader *COT* 217 ff.

² Cf. also *Iaudu* in the Nimrûd Inscr. of Sargon, *KB* ii 36.

³ See Kittel *Gesch. d. Hebräer* ii 284 ff.

⁴ Thus *Iau-bi'di* of Hamath, *KB* ii 36. 56, is interchanged with *Ilû-bi'di* (of Hamath), ib. 42.

⁵ It is accepted by Benzinger *Könige* 166.

⁶ Possibly Hadad was known to the ancient Arabs, Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heidenthums* 55; but Wellhausen's translation is disputed by Hoffm. 228.

is expressed by **בימי** in the inscr. DHM renders *lord of waters* (**בעל מי**). Possibly **עלמי** is the name of a place.

L. 2. **אלהו** is explained as an abstract form, **אלהותא** *godhead* (Lidzb.). The reading is uncertain. **אל** 62 22, Assy. *ilu*. The name by itself is found in Sabaeen inscr., e.g. **אל ועתתר** Halévy no. 144 3. 150 4; elsewhere in N. Semitic inscr. it appears in compounds, e.g. **ירפאל** 150 c. **רשף** l. 3 see 12 3 n., and cf. **ארקרשף** l. 11. **רכבאל** 62 22. 63 5. The name of this deity is known so far only in this district of N. Syria; it may mean *chariot* or *steed of El* (Rekub-el), or *charioteer of El* (Rakkab-el, Rekab-el), Hoffm. 252; cf. the Palm. **עגלכול** 139 6 n. On Assy. monuments the sun-god is sometimes represented as riding in a chariot drawn by griffins, and he is called *rakib narkabti*¹ (cf. 2 K. 23 11 **מרכבות השמש** and Ps. 18 11); but whether Rekub-el had any connexion with the sun-god, as his minister or attendant, we cannot tell; it is possible that he was a moon-god, for in the ancient East the moon came before the sun, as here (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 255 n., cf. 112 4 n.). Sach. 61 f. suggests a transposition of **ר** and **כ**, and renders *cherub of El*; this is unnecessary. The pr. n. **בררכב** 62 1. 63 1 prob. means *son of the god Rekub-el*. **שמש** 62 22. 64 9 the sun-god, Assy. *shamash*, worshipped throughout the Semitic world, e.g. in Israel 2 K. 23 11. Dt. 17 3, in Palmyra 117 5. 136 3. 6. His cult is implied by such pr. nn. as **בית שמש** (Hebr.), **עברשמש** CIS i 116 f. (Phoen.), **שמשעררי** ib. ii 87 (Aram.), **לשמש** 117 3. 145 1 (Palm.).

L. 3. **חטר** *branch, rod*, common in Aram., in Hebr. rare, Is. 11 1; here used for *sceptre*, Hebr. **שבט**. **חלבבה** Here and in ll. 9. 10 (rest.) this might be the name of a place not otherwise known; but in ll. 13. 19 it seems to be a fem. noun with a suffix. In each case the meaning 'blessing,' 'prosperity' (Hoffm., Lidzb.) or 'majesty' (Hal.), would suit the context. **ומז** i. e. **מה + ז**, **פמא** זא, in ll. 4. 22, cf. **מה חזה = מחזה** 65 5. The conjunction **פ**, which is prob. to be found in **אף**, **א'פ** (Nöld. 103 n.), is used in these inscr. like the Ar. **ف**, ll. 13 f. 31. 63 18; similarly in Nab., e.g. 80 7. 10. 83 3. 94 4 &c.; in Palm. 143 5. Another form of the conjunction is **פא** ll. 17. 33. 62 22. **אחז** Peal impf. 1 sing.

L. 4. **אלהי** Pl. abs. = **אלהין**, ll. 12 f. 19. 62 23. For the omission of final **ן** cf. **שערי** l. 5. **חטי**, **שמי** l. 6. **אנשי צרי** l. 30. **אבני** l. 31. **שבעי** 62 3 (see note); but contrast **מלכן רברבן** 63 10. 13. This peculiarity finds a parallel in Assy., which forms a plur. in *ī* (or *ē*) as well as in *āni*,

¹ Jastrow *Rel. of Babyl. and Assy.* 461; Sach. 70.

and in Aram. dialects, e. g. Talm. דיקלי *dates*, פירי *fruits*, cf. Τεθημαρῆ = נַת שְׁמָנִי (Dalman *Gram. Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* § 38, 3), and in Mandaic (Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* 162). יתנו In this dialect, and in that of Nêrab and Têma, the impf. 3 plur. ends in *û*, not, as is usual in Aram., in *ûn*, e. g. ll. 7. 12. 64 9. 11. 65 9. 73 B 3 (Egypt. Aram.); exceptionally in B. Aram., יאברו Jer. 10 11. יְחִיטוּ Ezr. 4 12. Dan. 5 10. ושנם חויו Meaning unknown. DHM takes שָׁלֵם as שָׁלָם and reads רְוִיָּה = רְוִיָּה, lit. *peace of satiety*; but the reading is uncertain.

L. 5. ארק 62 14 &c.; in 63 4. 66 a (and regularly on Nineveh weights) ארקא = the later Aram. ארעא, Hebr. אֶרֶץ, Arab. أَرْض. In Jer. 10 11 ארקא occurs side by side with ארעא; in Mandaic it appears prob. as an intentional archaism, Nöld. l. c. 73. For the *q* which is peculiar (Driver *Tenses* § 178) cf. רקי ll. 18. 22 = רָצָה = רָצִי; cf. 62 13 = מָחָּא = מָחָּא, see p. 185. שְׁעָרִים Hebr. שְׁעָרִים, cf. 62 6. 9 and see l. 4 n. האל? meaning. אל l. 29 is prob. the plur. of זון, but the article prefixed is not found in these inscriptions.

L. 6. חטי = Hebr. חֲטִי; שמי = Hebr. שָׁמַיִם Num. 11 5.

L. 7. אז 62 9 perhaps for אִי + וִי (DHM, Nöld.) *whatsoever*; or = Hebr. אִז, Aram. אִזְרִין *then*. Cf. Gen. 2 5 &c. (את הארמה). Dt. 28 39 (ברמים); in later Aram. פלח בארעא is the usual expression. See l. 4 n.

L. 8. DHM restores שם יש[בו ויעברו ארק וכר]ם פנמו. 9. 1. נם. 62 16, cf. אגם 62 5, is characteristic of Hebrew; it is found on the Moab. St., 1 6, but the later Aram. does not use it.

L. 9. DHM restores [והכר]ת חרב and ~~he~~ cut off. לשן *tongue*, as the instrument of slander; cf. אִישׁ לִשָּׁן Ps. 140 12. 15 3. 101 5. בית 62 2. 7. 63 7 ff. The scriptio plena (cf. לילא l. 24. עיני l. 30) is more frequent in 62, which is somewhat later. ביומי = בימי 62 18, חֲמֵסָא. In Aram. the vowel of the first syllable in ימין is *ô* not *ā*, as in Hebr.; cf. 65 3. 76 A 4, constr. st. יומי 62 11. אבל If the last word of the line be read יארי—Lidzb.'s facsimile shows traces of initial י and of ר—these words may be taken as perfs.; cf. 62 9. DHM takes them as nouns, reading the last word ארוי *food and drink were abundant*, cf. l. 4 n. Nöld. 103 reads ורוי *and was abundant*, i. e. *abundantly*.

L. 10. Meaning very obscure. DHM regards יתמר as יתמר = *was appointed*, and לנצב as לְנִצָּב (cf. Solomon's נְצִיבִים 1 K. 4 7 ff.) *prefect of Q...*, and *prefect of the Zerari*. But לנצב may be a verb, *to set up*, and קירת cities 62 4. 15; cf. הציב Dt. 32 8. Ps. 74 17. Pr. 15 25 (with גבול), 1 Ch. 18 3 (with יד). The meaning of זורי is unknown. כפירי

Perhaps *villages*; cf. Neh. 6 2 (?), כְּפָרִים Cant. 7 12. 1 Ch. 27 25. But *sons of the villages* is not a very natural expression, and possibly כְּפִירִי is the name of a tribe or place. This, however, does not suit the context of בְּעִלֵי כְּפִירִי in 62 10. לָקַח ? impf. of יָקַח. The reading is uncertain.

L. 11. אִשׁ רַעִיָּה וַיִּתֵּר הָדָד (Lidzb.) ? *each his neighbour, and Hadad did richly*; but the text is very doubtful. יִתֵּר is possibly Pael of יָתַר l. 12. Euting's facsimile gives אִשְׁרוּ . . . יְהוָה. The name of a god. Hoffm. 214. 252 connects אֶרֶק i. e. 'Arqu or 'Arqī with the רָקִי = רָצָה (l. 5 n.) *be favourable*, and compares אֶרְצוּ (?), רָצוּ, apparently a divine name in Palm. (see 115 1 n.), אֶרְצִי and the Arab. رُضَاءُ (Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heid.*² 58 f.). כְּבָרוּ i. e. prob. כְּבִירוּ *greatness*. DHM reads כְּבָרוּ (for כְּבִירוּתָא) *honour*. נָתַן Perhaps perf. 3 plur. (or sing.) with suff. 3 sing. fem. = נָתַנָּה, the suff. resuming the object which precedes, *greatness they (he) gave it*. A Nifal form is improbable. DHM reads אָמֵן כֵּתָב *a sure (covenant) they made*; אָמֵן ? *faithfulness* occurs again in 62 21. Lidzb. reads זָכָרָת, but neither the reading nor the form is clear.

L. 12. מַת Various meanings of this obscure word are proposed: thus *gift* in l. 12 = מַתָּן; *males, male offspring* in ll. 13. 14. 62 4 = מַתִּים, Assy. *mutu*; *town, district* in l. 14. 62 10 = Assy. *mātu* (Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 107), cf. CIS ii 31 בַּמַּת בְּבִשְׁקִין *in vico Bābsuqin*. But it seems more reasonable to give מַת the same meaning throughout. Halévy regards it as an adverb, *aussitôt, forthwith*, and explains the form as a contraction of the Hebr. מַתִּי, cf. Assy. *mat*. Lidzb. renders *surely, indeed*, a meaning which suits the context in each case, and may be accepted provisionally, though its etymology is not evident. יָקַחוּ See l. 4 n.

L. 13. וַאֲרָקוּ is prob. some part of the verb רָקִי = רָצָה (l. 5 n.); *his land* would be אֶרְקָה, like זָבָחָה l. 18. DHM restores וְ[שָׁאֵל] קָרַל, rendering 'and QRL asked for a male offspring; and Hadad did not give a male offspring.' This gives a suitable sense, but the rendering of מַת is doubtful, and פָּלוּ (l. 31. 62 11) seems to mean *and if*, פָּלוּ = אֵלּוּ (Nöld. 104), rather than *and not*, פָּלוּ = לֹא. To fill the space, וְ[שָׁאֵל] יָאֵבִי is a better restoration. קָרַנִּי i. e. קָרַנִּי Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff., from קָרַא. In Lidzb.'s facsimile the ר is clear. לָבְנָה l. 14, inf. of בָּנָה. חִלְבַּבְתִּי l. 3 n.

L. 14. מָקָם *place*, possibly like τόπος in Gk. inscr., a *burial-place*.

L. 15. מִן מִן מִן בְּנֵי Part ii. ll. 15 a-24 a. Panammu invokes the blessing of the gods upon his successor if he be faithful to his religious and filial duty, and a curse upon him if he neglect it. מִן מִן

The first מן is perhaps the indef. pron. מן, ܡܢ, Assy. *mannu*, *manu*. ויסעד אברו l. 21. In Hebr. סעד = *support, stay* esp. with food, e. g. Gen. 18 5; here perhaps in a more general sense, *strengthen*. אברו may be an abstr. form, אברותא = אברו (DHM), or possibly a plur. with suff. = אבריו *his strong ones*, Jud. 5 22. Ps. 50 13; but the latter does not give a good sense, and the form lacks support (Nöld.).

L. 16. הדר The deity is in the accus. after זבח, cf. in Sabaeen CIS iv 74 11 f.; in Hebr. ל is required. The sacrifice was to be offered not to the dead, but to the god on behalf of the dead; see Lagrange *RB* (1902) xi 232 f.

ויזכר אשם הדר Cf. the Hebr. idiom הזכיר שם יהוה *make mention of Yahweh's name*, i. e. to call upon, worship, Is. 26 13. Ex. 23 13. The verb here may be regarded as Afel. אשם = Arab. اِسْمٌ, Samaritan אשמה.

L. 17. פא l. 33. 62 22 = פ l. 3 n. Cf. ll. 21 f., where the words are more legible. תאלף = תאלב l. 34. נפש = נבש; cf. תאלף = תאלב l. 34. עפרת = עפרת l. 34. and vice versa ברול = ברול &c.: Wright *Comp. Gr.* 64 f. תשתי Impf. of שתא l. 9; see l. 22 n. For the idea cf. Luke 22 30. עמר i. e. with Hadad. עור = עור. זכר נבש . . עם The verb here and in l. 21 is Peal; contrast ויזכר אשם הדר l. 16, where the verb is Afel.

L. 18. After דר[ה] Lidzb. reads [ר]אמ, but the word is illegible in the facsimile. זבחה l. 22; the last letter is perhaps the suffix, *his*. Hoffm. 234 regards the form as fem, and compares שחתה 62 2; see 62 6 n. זא l. 19 (?), though elsewhere fem. (see add. note p. 26), is here prob. mas., like the Arab. ذا, since it appears to agree with זבחה. [י]רקי l. 22 n., impf. of רקי l. 5 n.; cf. רצה ב in Hebr., e. g. Mic. 6 7. Hag. 1 8. שי Meaning unknown.

L. 19. ובחלבבתה חנאת and in his prosperity I rested (?), Lidzb., taking חנאת as Pf. 1 sing. of חנא = חנה *encamp*, cf. חנאה Pael 62 12 and מחנת 62 13 ff. But מחנה means *camp*, not as a *resting-place*, but as the place one *reaches* at the end of the day's march; so in Syr. سل = *incline towards, reach*. Possibly חנאה 62 12 may come from חנן *be gracious*, and חנאת be a pass. form, *I was treated graciously*.

L. 20. זרע See 4 7 n. The obligation of religious duty on the part of Panammu's successor is repeated; a clause expressing the possible neglect of it must be among the missing portions of ll. 20–22, to justify the imprecations in ll. 22 b–24 a.

L. 21. See ll. 15 f.

L. 22. הא in a demonstr. sense, cf. 73 A 3 ערנא הו *that time*. For הא after [זן] l. 21 cf. Gen. 32 3. ומז l. 4. תשתי, ירקי i. e. לי תשתי &c., cf. ירשי l. 27 f. תלעי l. 32. The impf. 3 sing. of these לי

verbs ends in י as in Palestinian Aram., Targ. &c.; contrast the Bibl. Aram. and Syr. ending א, י.

L. 23. חרא Perhaps = *wrath* ליתכה Afel (?) impf. 3 sing. mas. with suff. 3 sing. fem. from נתך *pour forth*, in a figurative sense with אף, חמה in the O.T., e.g. Jer. 42 18. 2 Ch. 34 21. The impf. is here preceded by ל = Arab. ل before the jussive, similarly למנע (i.e. לימנע) l. 24. לתגמרו l. 30. לבתשה (i.e. ליבתשה) l. 31, in each case with a jussive force; cf. in Sabaeen לעתורו *ut descenderent*, ולירבחו *atque ut sacrificarent* CIS iv 74 10 ff. &c., and see Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 25. This usage has not been found hitherto in Aram. Possibly it may have given rise to the impf. in ל which occurs in B. Aram., Targ. Jon., Talmud Bab., and Mandaic; but in these dialects the ל has no distinctively jussive force, and may be merely a phonetic variation of the impf. in נ (Driver *Tenses* § 204 Obs. 1). אל יתן לה לאכל Cf. 2 Ch. 20 10 for the construction. ברנו Reading indistinct, but the word is clear in l. 26.

L. 24. שנה i.e. שנה. לימנע i.e. למנע Nöld. 98 n., in a jussive sense; see note above. לילה With scriptio plena, Hebr. לילה, Arab. لَيْل, but Syr. جَلال. רלח *terror*, as often in Targ.; but the form is not apparent; it might be inf. constr. The perf. occurs in l. 30. נתן if Peal perf., does not construe; the form must remain uncertain. For the imprecations cf. 4. 5. 64. 65.

Part iii. ll. 24 b-34. Panammu denounces those who shall attempt to injure the persons or the power of his family and successors. Such seems to be the general drift of this most obscure section. DHM thinks that the reference is to the violation of the statue; this is apparently alluded to in l. 28, but the rest of the passage deals with the treatment of persons (note the verb הרג ll. 26. 33. 34). איה appears to be a title denoting a member of the royal family, 62 3, like the Hebr. בני המלך 2 Sam. 13 32 ff. 2 K. 10 6 ff. 11 2 &c., and בר מלכא CIS ii 38 2 'a prince of the royal house' (?). In ll. 27. 28 איה is plur. with suff., l. 30 איה is sing. with suff., while איהתה ll. 28. 31 is prob. a fem. plur. or sing. with suff. The word may be a form of אח in a special sense. מורדיה l. 27 מורדי is perhaps a noun from מורד, Arab. مَوْرِد, love, lit. *my loved one*, so friend (Lidzb.). מומת l. 26 seems to be Hofal ptc. of מות. וישלח ירה בחרב Cf. Jud. 5 26 (ליחר). Panammu appears to have in mind the wholesale assassinations of the royal family which so frequently accompany the accession of an oriental king. 62 3 shows that his fears were justified. תי. Lidzb. suggests תי[בי].

L. 26. חמס is some part of חמס *be violent*.

L. 27. *יִרְשִׁי* l. 28, i. e. *יִרְשִׁי* impf. 3 sing. mas. of *רָשָׁה* lit. *be able*, so perhaps *allow*, cf. *רְשִׁיון* *permission* Ezr. 3 7; see l. 22 *נ. שַׁחַת* is perhaps inf. constr. *בְּאִשְׁרָא* The word *אִשְׁרָא* = *place*, 62 18 (?). 64 8 *אִשְׁרָא* *his place*. 68 6 *אִתְרָא*. 76 C 4 *אִתְרָא*. Here and in l. 32 *בְּאִשְׁרָא* may perhaps be taken like the Syr. *ܒܝܬܐܝܬܐ*, i. e. *ܒܝܬܐܝܬܐ + ܐܝܬܐ*, in the sense of *after*, lit. *in the place of*; so Hoffm., Lidzb. The exact meaning, however, of the expression *destroy after one of his princes* is not clear.

חַר must be constr. state before the gen. following, for in l. 28 it takes a fem. form before a fem. noun. For the construction cf. in Hebr. *אֶחָד הָאֲתָנֹת* Gen. 26 10. 2 K. 4 22 &c. *חַר* is the usual Aram. for *אֲחֵר*, e. g. 62 5. 63 13 &c.; in Hebr., Eze. 33 30.

L. 28. *אִיחָתָה* See l. 24 *n.* *יִגְנַב אִיחִיָּה זִכְרִי* Here and in the foll. lines to 30 b the offender is apparently not the future king but a member of the royal house, and the offence is the removal or violation of the statue which Panammu had erected. The details and general sense are very uncertain. *זִכְרִי* l. 30 (?) *my memorial*; *זִכַּר* has this meaning in 62 22, Palm. *דְּכַרְן* 135 1, and Nab. CIS ii 169 &c.; in Phoen. *סְכַר* 9 6 *n.* *וִיקַם* Impf. 3 sing., rather than plur. as Nöld. 104. *וִתָּה* Accus. particle with suff. This form is prob. preserved in *ܠܬܐܝܬܐ*, but in later usage it has become *ܝܬܐ*, thus Nab. *ܝܬܐ* 80 5, Palm. *ܝܬܐ* 121 4, BAr. *ܝܬܐܝܬܐ* Dan. 3 12 (only here), *ܝܬܐ* in Targ. and Sam., *ܝܬܐ* in Syr. (rare). This *וִתָּה*, and the Phoen. *אִיܬܐ*, Hebr. *אֵת*, may be accounted for by an original *'awayat* which passed into *'iwayath*, *'iyyath*, *'iyath*, *'eth*; see 3 3 *n.* *בְּמִצְעָה* *in the midst of it*, supposing that we have here the Aram. *ܡܝܨܥܐ*, *ܡܝܨܥܐ* *midst*, as in 62 10. 63 9 f. Hoffm. 319, however, suggests in each case the meaning *place*, *ܡܝܨܥܐ*, Arab. *مَوْضِعٌ*. What the suffix refers to is not clear. *ܠܢܫܐ* l. 29 Meaning unknown.

L. 29. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* The suff. as in *ܠܚܝܐ* Ezr. 5 3 &c., for the usual Aram. *ܠܚܝܐ*; cf. *ܠܚܝܐ* 63 18 for *ܠܚܝܐ*. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* Afel, either perf. or imperat. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* i. e. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* or *ܐܚܚܝܐ* constr. state sing.; so in Nab. 88 6. 94 3. Palm. 136 7. This is the sing. form of the plur. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* l. 4. For *ܝܕܝܐ* cf. Ps. 44 21. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* Prob. = *if* 64 11, as in Bibl. Aram. Dan. 2 6 &c. Ezr. 4 13. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* The meaning of *ܐܚܚܝܐ* is not clear, *"if"* *ܐܚܚܝܐ* Perf. 1 sing. of *ܐܚܚܝܐ*. If *ܐܚܚܝܐ* is plur., *ܐܚܚܝܐ* may = *these*. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* l. 30, with suff. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* 65 4; Aram. *ܐܚܚܝܐ*, *ܐܚܚܝܐ*, Hebr. *אֵת*. For the expression cf. in Hebr. *שֵׁם דָּבָר בְּפִי פֶּה* Num. 22 38. 23 5. 12. 16 &c.

L. 30. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* *stranger* l. 34. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* Either perf. or imperative. Apparently the offender is supposed to make the excuse that he did not realize what he was doing. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* Cf. 1 K. 14 4. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* Perf., cf. l. 24. *ܐܚܚܝܐ* Prob. = *אֲנִשִּׁים צָרִים*, although, since *ܐܚܚܝܐ* = Arab. *ضَرَّ*, the dialect of this inscr. should have *ܐܚܚܝܐ* for *ܐܚܚܝܐ*, on the analogy

of רקי and ארק. פהנו ? *and behold*; the reading is very indistinct, but it is supported by והנו l. 31 bis. זכר may = *memorial* as זכרי l. 28; it may also = *male*, a meaning which seems to be required for זכרו l. 31 (Lidzb.). לתגמרו Impf. 2 plur. with cohortative ל; see l. 23 n. גמר = *make an end*, in a trans. sense.

L. 31. זכרו Lidzb. suggests that this is an abstract form for זכרותא *mankind, men*. פלכתשה Impf. with cohort. ל 3 sing. mas. with suff. 3 sing. mas., similarly פלכתשנה with suff. 3 sing. fem. (?). כחש = *break in pieces, shatter*; in Hebr. Pr. 27 22 *to pound*, in Targ. Jon. Ex. 30 36 of *pounding* the incense, used in Ethpa. like the Syr. כחש = *fight, strive*. The punishment is to be stoning, whether the offender be a man or a woman. But it is not clear what the offence is, whether the violation of the memorial, which is apparently alluded to in the preceding lines, or the attempted assassination of Panammu's successor, which seems to be the drift of what follows. אבני i. e. אבנים l. 4 n. שחת The form is uncertain.

L. 32. באשרה Perhaps *after him*, l. 27 n. תלעי Meaning doubtful. The Aram. לעי = לאי means *to be wearied*, e. g. Targ. Jon. Dt. 25 18 ומשלהיין לעיין *wearied and faint*. גברתה *his might*, cf. גְּבִירָתָא Dan. 2 20.

L. 33. נרבה To render *his generosity* (cf. Hebr. נרבה) does not give a suitable sense; *his instigation* is better, cf. Arab. نَدَّبَ *impel, incite* (DHM). את ? *thou*, 64 5. פא also, l. 17 n. ישרה is some part of ישר *be straight*. תהרגה *thou shalt kill him*. It is difficult to believe, as DHM does, that הרג can mean *destroy* (the monument).

L. 34. תחק Apparently impf. 2 sing. of חקק *inscribe* (Eze. 23 14), perhaps rather *thou shalt write of him*, or *inscribe on it*; the context is not decisive. תאלב Pael impf. of אלב = אַלַּב *learn*, אַלַּב *teach*; cf. 17.2 נפש for נפש l. 17 n. להרגה Either inf. constr. *to kill him*, or impf. with ל *that he kill him*.

62. Zenjirli : Panammu. Between 745 and 727 B. c. Berlin.

1 נצב . זן . שם . בררכב . לאבה . לפנמו . בר . ברצר מלך [יאדי] ב .

שנת . קל . . [א] בי . פנמו ב . . ק

2 אבה . פלטוה . אלה . יאדי . מן . שחתה . אלה . הות . בבית . אבוה .

וקם . אלה . הוד [ד] . . . ק . . . משבה . על . ו . . א . ושב . ו . שחת . . .

- 3 בבית אבה והרג אבה ברצר והרג שבעי :: איחי אבה : ל...
 רכב : ה : בך : עלמ : בעל : חל : ל... : מו : ...
- 4 ויתרה : מת : מלא : מסגרת : והכבר : קירת : חרבת מן : קירת :
 ישבת : ו... : נ... : ק... : ש... : תשמ...
- 5 חרב : בביתי : ותהרגו : חר : בני : ואגם : הוית : חרב : בארק : יאדי :
 וחל : אל פנמו בר קרל : א... : אבי : ס... : ב... : ר... : אבד : ...
- 6 שאה : ושורה : וחטה : ושערה : וקם : פרס : בשקל : ושטרב : ...
 בשקל : ואסנב : משת : בשקל : ויבל : אבי : בר... : ...
- 7 עד : מלך : אשור : ומלכה : על : בית : אבה : והרג : אבן : שחת : מן :
 בית : אבה : מן : אצר : ... : ארק : יאדי : מן : ב... : ...
- 8 ופשש : מסגרת : והרפי : שבי : יאדי : וק[ם] : אבי : והרפי : נשי :
 בס : ... : בא : בית : קתילת : וקנואל : ב... : ...
- 9 בית : אבה : והיטבה : מן : קדמתה : וכברת : חטה : ושערה : ושאה :
 ושורה : ביומיה : ואז אכלת ושת : ...
- 10 זלת : מוכרו : וביומי : אבי : פנמו : שם : מת : בעלי : כפירי : ובעלי :
 רכב : ו... : ח... : ב... : אבי : פנמו : במצעת : מלכי : כב... : [א]
- 11 בי : לו : בעל : כסף : הא : ולו : בעל : זהב : בחכמתה : ובצדקה : פי :
 אחז : בכנף : מ[ר]אה : מלך : אשור : ר... : ...
- 12 אשור : פחי : ואחי : יאדי : וחנאה : מראה : מלך : אשור : על : מלכי :
 כבר ברש : ...
- 13 בגלגל : מראה : תגלתפלסר : מלך : אשור : מחנת : ת... : מן : מוקא :
 שמש : ועד : מערב : ו[מן] : ...
- 14 רבעתארק : ובנת : מוקא : שמש : יבל : מערב : ובנת : מערב : יבל :
 מו[קא] : ש[מש] : ואב[י] : ...
- 15 גבלה : מראה : תגלתפלסר : מלך : אשור : קירת : מן : גבל : גרגם :
 ... : וי... : [וא]בי : פנמו : בר : ב[רצר] : ..

- 16 שמרג · וגם · מת · אבי · פנמו · בלגרי · מראה · תגלתפלסר · מלך ·
 אשור · במחנת · גם ·
- 17 ובכיה · איחה · מלכו · ובכיתה · מחנת · מראה · מלך · אשור · כלה ·
 ולקח · מראה · מלך · אשור · ...
- 18 י · נבשה · והקם · לה · משתי · בארח · והעבר · אבי · מן · דמשק ·
 לאשר · ביומי · שר ·
- 19 יה · ביתה · כלה · ואנכי · ברכב · בר · פנמ[ו] · בצד[ק] · אבי · ובצדקי ·
 הושבני · מרא[י] · ...
- 20 אבי · פנמו · בר · ברצר · ושמת · נצב · זן · . [לאב] · לפנמו · בר ·
 ברצר · ומ · ת · בט · ...
- 21 ואמר · במשות · ועל · יבל · אמן · יסמ · מלך · ויבל · יו · א ·
 קדם קבר · אבי · פ[נמו] · ...
- 22 וזכר · זנה · הא · פא · הדר · ואל · ורכבאל · בעל · בית · ושמש ·
 וכל · אלהי · יאדי · ...
- 23 י · קדם · אלהי · וקדם · אנש ·

This statue Bar-rekub placed to his father Panammu, son of Bar-sur, king [of Ya'di]: . . year . . my [fa]ther Panammu . . ² his father; the gods of Ya'di delivered him from his destruction. There was a conspiracy (?) in his father's house, and the god Had[ad] rose . . . his seat (?) over (?) . . . destruction . . . ³ in the house of his father, and slew his father Bar-sur, and slew seventy 70 kinsmen of his father . . chariots . . . owner of . . . ⁴ and with the rest thereof indeed (?) he filled the prisons, and desolate cities he made more numerous than inhabited cities [ye] set (?) ⁵ the sword against my house and slay one of my sons, I have also caused the sword to be in the land of Ya'di . . Panammu, son of QRL . . my father . . perished . . . ⁶ grain and corn and wheat and barley, and a peres stood at a shekel, and a shaṭrab . . at a shekel, and an 'esnab of ? at a shekel; and

my father brought . . . ⁷ to the king of Assyria, and he made him king over his father's house, and he slew ? of destruction from his father's house . . from the treasure . . . of the land (?) of Ya'di, from . . . ⁸ and he ? the prisons, and released the captives of Ya'di; and my father aro[se] and released the women of . . . house of the women killed (?) and ? . . . ⁹ his father's house; and he made it better than it was before; and wheat and barley and grain and corn were plentiful in his days; and then . . . did eat and . . ¹⁰ cheapness of price (?). And in the days of my father Panammu he appointed indeed (?) ? ? and charioteers, and . . my father Panammu in the midst of the kings of ? . . ¹¹ my [fa]ther, whether he possessed silver or whether he possessed gold, in his wisdom and in his righteousness ? laid hold of the skirt of his lord the king of Assyria . . . ¹² Assyria, the governors, and the princes of Ya'di, and his lord the king of Assyria was gracious to (?) him above the kings of ? . . ¹³ at the wheel of his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, (in) the campaigns . . from the east even to the west, and [from] . . ¹⁴ the four parts of the earth; and the daughters of the east he brought to the west, and the daughters of the west he brought to the [ea]st, and [my] father . . . ¹⁵ his border, his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, cities from the border of Gurgum . . and my [fa]ther Panammu, son of B[ar-şur] . . . ¹⁶ ? Moreover my father Panammu died while following his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, in the camp, also . . . ¹⁷ and his kinsfolk bewailed him ?, and the whole camp of his lord the king of Assyria bewailed him, and his lord the king of Assyria took . . . ¹⁸ . his soul, and set up for him a ? on the way, and brought across my father from Damascus to (this) place (?) . In my (?) days . . . ¹⁹ . the whole of his house. And as for me Bar-rekub, son of Panamm[u, for the righteous]ness of my father and for my own righteousness, [my] lord made me to sit . . . ²⁰ of my father Panammu, son of Bar-şur; and I have placed this statue . . to my [father] Panammu, son of Bar-şur . . . ²¹ and . said ? and concerning ? surety (?) . . king . . and ? . . before (?)

the sepulchre of my father Pa[nammu] . . . ²² and a memorial is this (?). Also may Hadad and El and Rekub-el, lord of the house, and Shamash, and all the gods of Ya'di . . . ²³ before the gods and before men !

The text given above is derived from the facsimile in *Ausgraben in Sendschirli*, and from the text as published by Lidzbarski in *Nordsem. Epigr.*

L. 1. 1. **נצב** 61 1; for **שם נצב** see 37 1 *n.* **בררכב** 63 1 prob. a short form of **בררכבאל** 61 2 *n.* **אבה** Pronounced **אבה** as appears from **אבוה** l. 2; the full form is **אבוהי** 76 A 5. D 1, in Nab. 82 2, in Palm. 110 3 &c., in Syr. **ܐܒܘܗܝ**. As in **בררכב**, the latter part of the compound is a divine name **צר**, which occurs in the biblical pr. n. **פרהצור** Num. 1 10 &c., and in the place-name **ביתצור** Josh. 15 58; see Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 195 ff.¹ **מלך יאדי** 61 1. After **שנת** Sach. reads **פלט** [נ] i.e. a Nif. form (not used in Aram.), and translates '[in remembrance] of the year when his father was delivered.'

L. 2. **פלטוה** One of the objects of the inscr. was to commemorate the deliverance of the king, cf. 1 3 f. For **פלט**, in Hebr. poetical, cf. Ps. 18 3. 44. 49. **אלה יאדי** Contrast **אלהי יאדי** l. 22. Perhaps the **י** at the end of **אלה** (constr. plur.) was left out here because **יאדי** follows. **שחתה** appears to be inf. constr. with suff., cf. l. 7. 61 27 f., and see 61 18 *n.* **אלה** Possibly = Hebr. **אֱלָה** *oath*, here *conspiracy*, DHM approved by Nöld. The facsimile clearly gives **אלה**, but Lidzb. reads **אזה**, a form of the relat. particle, cf. **זי** (?). **הות** 3 sing. fem. of **הָוָה**, in Bibl. Aram. **הָוָה**, **הָוָה**. **משבה** Perhaps the same word as in 61 15. 25.

L. 3. **ברצר** **והרג אבה** *His father* is ambiguous; the suffix may refer to the murderer, another son of Bar-şur and brother of Panammu, or it may refer to Panammu, the murderer being some member of the royal household. The latter is preferable (DHM). **שבעי** For the omission of final **י** see 61 4 *n.*, and cf. the forms of the tens (cardinals) in Assy. *ešrā, šalāšā, ḥanšā* &c., and in Eth. *salāsā, ḥamsā* &c., and in late Syr. **ܠܫܬܐ**, **ܬܬܝܬܐ** &c. On a basalt fragment found at Zenjirli the usual form occurs with the same numerical symbols as

¹ The connexion between this divine name and the title **צור** (ה) *the Rock* used of Yahweh in the O.T. (Dt. 32 4. 2 S. 23 3. Is. 17 10 &c.) is not clear. Very likely there is none; the title **צור** (ה) seems too purely figurative to have suggested the existence of a separate deity called *Rock*. The bibl. and post-bibl. references to **צור** are discussed by Wiegand in *ZATW* (1890) 85 ff.

here . . . מלב[ן] : כשלשן, Sach. 71. As an illustration of the massacre see Jud. 9 5. 2 K. 10 7. Apparently plur. constr.; see 61 24 n.

L. 4. ויתרה May be a verb (61 11 n.); but it is simpler to take it as a noun, cf. יתרו Is. 44 19; the suff. will then be sing. collective, referring to those who took part in the plot. For the two accus. after מלא cf. 1 K. 18 35. Eze. 9 7 &c. מסגרת Cf. Ps. 18 46. Mic. 7 17. For מת see 61 12 n. חרבת Adj., cf. Eze. 36 35. ישבת Ptcp. pass. In Hebr. the Nif. ptcp. is used, e.g. Eze. 12 20 &c. תשמ. DHM reads תשמו, and supposes that the speaker is the god Hadad, announcing a divine oracle.

L. 5. חר בני i.e. king Bar-sur; cf. Ps. 2 7. See 61 8 n. הוית if it governs the foll. חרב must be Pael, *I caused to be, to fall*, cf. Arab. هوى *to fall*. The perf. after the impfs. in the preceding clause lays emphasis on the finality of the god's decision. פנמו בר קרל i.e. Panammu i, 61 1.

L. 6. שאה l. 9, prob. = *corn*, Assy. šeu. שורה The context requires some kind of *grain*. The use of the word here throws light upon Is. 28 25 חמה שורה ושערה, and shows that it is unnecessary to regard שורה as a corrupt repetition of שערה. Cf. חטי, שערי 61 חטי, שער. חמה ושערה 5. 6; for prices in a time of plenty cf. 2 K. 7 1 וסאתים סאה סלת בשקל. In these words the fem. ending ה (absol. state) is noticeable; cf. זנה l. 22. 63 20. 61 18 n., and the usage of Bibl. Aram. and Nabataean. פרס lit. *half, a half mina*, cf. CIS ii 10 פרש, explained in the Assy. version as 'a half mina.' In Talm. B. *Peḏ* viii 5 פרס, as the context implies, = חצי מנה; cf. Dan. 5 25 פֶּרֶס, and see Cl.-Gan. Rec. i 142 f. שקל = תקל, the ש as in early Aram. inscrr. from Nineveh, CIS ii 13 f. 43, cf. שלשא ib. 3. שטרב The name of a dry (?) measure. There are traces of a letter after ב; perhaps the full form was שטרבת.

שטרבת Cf. סנב CIS ii 7 a, in the Assy. version, 'two-thirds of a mina,' perhaps the Sumerian *sinibu*. משח The meaning *drink* (= מִשְׁתִּיָּא Dan. 5 10) is too indefinite, and *load, something carried* (משח a fem. form of מִשָּׁח) is equally vague. Lidzb. reads משח *oil for anointing*, cf. 76 C 1 (?). 147 ii a 12 ff.; but the facsimile shows a ת. ויבל i.e. ויבל Pael pf. = ܐܒܠ, ll. 14. 21. The object of the verb was prob. some such word as 'a present.' In consequence of the famine Panammu sought the protection of the Assyrian king, and no doubt had to purchase it by a gift.

L. 7. מלכה Pael pf.; illustrate from 2 K. 24 17. אבן שחת is rendered by DHM *stone of destruction*, cf. Is. 8 14 אֲבֶן נֶגֶף. Such an expression sounds too rhetorical for an inscription; moreover, אבן is an uncertain reading. מן אצר The sentence may be completed

ארק יאדי [אלה] *from the treasury of the gods of the land of Ya'di*. The reading ארק is better supported by the facsimile than Lidzb.'s אלה. The passage may be illustrated by 2 K. 16 8; cf. אצרות בית יי 1 K. 14 26 &c.

L. 8. פשש DHM renders *searched*, and compares פִּשְׁשָׁשׁ in Targ. and Talm. A better meaning, *suppressed*, may be obtained through the Assy. *pasāsu* (פסס) = 'blot out,' 'extinguish,' esp. of sins. הרפי Afel pf. of רפי, cf. הרפה in Hebr., e.g. Cant. 3 4 אֶחָתָיו וְלֹא אֶרְפְּנִי Job 27 6. שבי יאדי Cf. שבי מצרים Is. 20 4. קתילת Ptcp. pass. plur. fem. The form קתל agrees with the Arab. قتل as against the Hebr. and Aram. קטל; cf. פלט Hebr., Aram. = Arab. فلت. The meaning of קנואל is unknown.

L. 9. קרמתה Lit. *its former state*; cf. קרמתן Eze. 16 55. 36 11. אז then, or *whatever*; 61 7 n. אכלת cannot = אָכְלָה *food*, for the fem. ending of nouns is ה in this inscr., e.g. חטה &c. The form seems to be perf. 3 sing. fem. ושת if these letters are correct, may be restored וּשְׁתִּית or וּשְׁתַּת and *did drink*. The subj. of both verbs is perhaps [יאדי], though in 61 9 יאדי is mas., or [ארקא].

L. 10. זול may be explained by the Talm. זול *be cheap*, זול *cheapness*, e.g. Midr. Rab. Qoh. 10 c זול בוזל וזה אוכל ביוקר וזה אוכל בזול; Bab. Qam. 20 a 'value of barley at a cheap price.' מוכרו The form is uncertain; DHM explains it as absol. st. of מוכרות = Hebr. מָכַר Num. 20 19. שם The subj. seems to be the king of Assyria. בעלי may well mean *charioteers*, cf. הרבב ובעלי הפרשים S. 1 6; but בעלי כפירי can hardly mean *villagers, citizens of villages* (see 10 3 n.) in this connexion. To render *lords over chariots, lords over villages*, gives an unusual meaning to בעל *owner*, but it may be illustrated by Is. 16 8. The meaning of כפירי is uncertain; see 61 10 n. ו.ח.ב Hal. restores ונחשב *and was esteemed* which involves a Nifal form (l. 1 n.); Lidzb. והושב. במצעת See 61 28 n. The last letter looks like ה or ח in the facsimile; but במצעת makes no sense. מלכי כבר l. 12. כבר may be the name of a place, cf. נְהַר כְּבָר Eze. 1 1 &c., or a noun, *might*; cf. the verb כבר l. 4.

L. 11. לו . . . לו *sive . . . sive*; for לו *if* see 61 13 n. It is questionable whether לו could have been written for the negative לא, as many take it. The general sense appears to be, 'my father, whatever the state of his exchequer (or, however wealthy he may have been), was prudent enough to seek the patronage of a powerful suzerain.' Cf. 63 10 f. פי Not *my mouth*, which would be פמי 61 29. Lidzb. takes פ as the conjunction, and reads פיאחו; but the impf. is out of place here, and the facsimile distinctly shows the dividing dot after פי.

Possibly פִּי may be an unusual form of the conjunction, = פֶּה l. 22. אחו בכנף is a figure for seeking alliance and protection, cf. Zech. 8 23. מִרְא From מִרָא 63 3 (constr. st.) with suff., cf. 76 A 7. In later Aram. the 3rd radical disappears before a suff., e. g. in Palm. מִרְאנָא 81 8 &c., though it is retained in the Nab. form מִרְאנָא 126 2 &c., and in the Bibl. Aram. מִרְאִי Dan. 4 16. 21 Kethib.

L. 12. פָּחִי must be regarded as plur. absol., not constr., and as equivalent to the Hebr. פָּחוֹת (sing. פָּחָה), Assy. *paḥāti* 'viceroy'; see Schrader *COT* 186. אחֵי יָדִי Prob. 'members of the royal family, lit. brethren, of Ya'di.' אֵח is apparently a title like אֵיה l. 3. חָנָא Possibly Pael perf. with suff. 3 sing. mas. from חָנָא = חָנָה *encamp*; 'he gave him a position in the Assyrian camp above the kings of KBR.' The suzerain was attended on his campaigns by dependent kings; cf. 1 K. 20 1. 12. 16. But the rendering *caused him to encamp* is uncertain; and as the context in 61 19 hardly admits *I encamped* as the sense of חָנָא, it is perhaps better in both cases to take the forms from חָנָן *be gracious* (DHM), although the א is difficult to explain. חָנָן על מלכֵי כְּבֵר Illustrate from 2 K. 25 28.

L. 13. גִּלְגַּל 63 8 the same word as the Hebr. גִּלְגָּל, properly the *wheel* of a chariot, Is. 5 28. Jer. 47 3, or the *chariot* itself; illustrate from 1 K. 20 33. 2 K. 10 15. 16. The missing verb was prob. *and he caused me to ride*, or *and I ran* (63 8). תִּגְלַת־פִּלְסֵר So written in 2 K. 16 7; elsewhere תִּפְלֵסֵר 2 K. 15 29. 16 10; in 63 3. 6 תִּפְלֵסֵר. For the history of this warlike and successful king see Schrader *COT* 240 ff. מַחֲנֵה Prob. plur. rather than constr. sing. as in ll. 16. 17. The meaning here is *armies* or *campaigns* (DHM) rather than *camps*; cf. Jud. 4 15 f. 1 K. 22 34 &c. מַחֲנֵה must be governed by some verb now lost. מוֹצֵא = מוֹצֵא, see 61 5 n. In Hebr. יָצָא is used of the sun rising, Gen. 19 23. Ps. 19 7. For מַעֲרָב . . . מוֹקָא cf. Ps. 75 7.

L. 14. מִרְא רַבְעֵי אַרְקָא 63 4 (plur. constr.). The latter expression shows that רַבְעָה (Hebr. רִבְעָה *one fourth*) is plur. and not sing.; cf. the Assy. *šar kibrat irbitti* or *arba'i* 'king of the four quarters,' a title used by Tiglath-pileser and the kings before and after him; *KB* ii 2. 8. 34 &c. וּבְנֵת מוֹקָא שֶׁמֶשׁ The allusion is prob. to the transportation of subject nations, a characteristic feature of Assyrian policy. בְּנֵת may be used figuratively for 'peoples' (cf. 'daughter of Zion'), or simply *women*.

L. 15. The connexion between this and the line before was prob., 'my father rendered him military service, and his lord . . . added to his border cities &c.' (DHM). גִּרְגֻם *Gurgum* or *Gamgum*, mentioned

in inscr. of Salmanassar ii, *KB* i 156. 172, a principality to the NE. of Sam'al among the border mountains between Syria and Cilicia, bounded by the districts of Kommagene (Assyr. *Kummuh*) and Melitene (*Milid*) on the NE. In the Annals of Tiglath-pileser iii the name occurs between *Samal* and *Milid*, *KB* ii 30. The chief town was *Marqasi* (CIS ii p. 15) = מַרְקָשׁ = مَرْعَش; we may conclude that the Amanus district round Mar'ash formed the kingdom of Gurgum; Sachau *Sitzungsab. Preuss. Akad.* (1892) pp. 320 ff.

L. 16. שמרג Prob. a pr. n.; cf. שמרג Jud. 5 6, and p. 80 n. וגם 61 8 n. By metathesis for ברגלי; cf. in Mandaic ליגרא = ܠܝܓܪܐ, scorpion, Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 74. בלגרי Lit. *at the feet of*; cf. for the idiom Jud. 4 10. 1 S. 25 27 &c.

L. 17. ובכיה i. e. prob. ܐܒܝܬܐ Pael pf. 3 sing., cf. 65 5 בכוני. The construction of the words following is obscure. איחה, though sing. in form (61 30), must have a plur. meaning; it may be regarded as a sing. collective. DHM takes מלכו as = מלכותא, cf. 61 11; but *his royal kinsmen* would be איחה זי מלכו. Lidzb. simplifies the difficulty by rendering *his kinsmen, the kings*; apparently treating the abstract singular form as equivalent to a concrete plur., like אלהו in 61 2 (uncertain). בלה The suff. is fem., referring back to ובכיה. מחנת מ' ביתה בלה 19 cf. l. 19. in Syr. ܡܚܢܬܐ Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 218, in Hebr. Is. 9 8. Jer. 13 19 &c., in Arab. ٱلْبَيْتُ كُلُّ Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 82 (a); cf. 89 5 n.

L. 18. נבשה See 61 17 n. ܐܢܝܬܐ i. e. והקם. משתי, if correct, will = משתה *feast*, a meaning which hardly agrees with . . . והקם. בארה Hal. reads משכי (שכה ✓), a possible alternative, and compares אֶבֶן מְשֻׁכֵּית Lev. 26 1. Num. 33 52, i. e. a figured stone with an image of a god; this gives a suitable sense. The reading מבכי *a weeping* (Sach. &c.) is not that of the facsimile. The passage finds a striking illustration in Gen. 50 7-13. The subj. of the verb is Tiglath-pileser, who was engaged upon the siege of Damascus in 733-2 B.C. After 732 he returned home, and no further expedition to Syria is recorded; see Schrader *COT* 258 f. לאשר i. e. prob. to his native *place*. Panammu would naturally desire to be buried in his own country; cf. Gen. 47 29 f. 50 25. Ex. 13 19. Josh. 24 32.

L. 19. ברכב A careless spelling of ברכב. אנכי . . . הושבני The casus pendens, with the pers. pron. as subject; similarly in Hebr. Gen. 24 27 &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 197 (4). The form אנכי (61 1 אנך), a stranger to Aram., is a peculiar feature of this dialect; see

p. 185. בצדק אבי וגו' The phrase occurs again in 63 4 f. and in the basalt fragment (l. 3 n.) . . [בצדק אב] י ובצדקי; cf. 65 2. The line may be completed מלך אשור על כרסא, as in 63 6 f.

L. 20. וְשִׁמְתָּ i. e. וְשִׁמְתָּ. After וְנִצַּב זֶן we may restore [זכר • לאב] י as a memorial to my father. ובנית Sach. reads וּמ . . ת

The remainder of the inscr. is in many parts so much injured that the exact sense cannot be recovered. The general purport of l. 21 seems to be the safeguarding of the statue and sepulchre(?); ll. 22 f. probably invoke the curse of the gods upon any attempt to violate the memorial. The inscr. thus closes in the same way as 61, but with less elaborate detail.

L. 21. אמר may be either pf. 3 sing., or impf. 1 sing. במשות Sach. connects with the Hebr. מִשְׁאוֹת portions, gifts, and the Phoen. מִשְׁאֲתָת 42 1, and renders 'he gave orders in the matter of offerings.' Hoffm. derives the form from the שִׁית √. The meaning must remain obscure. יבול Sach. concerning produce, Hebr. יבול. אמן Perhaps surety, 61 11 n. ויבל? and he brought, l. 6.

L. 22. זכר זנה הא The rendering given above is conjectural. For this is a memorial we should expect the order זנה הא זכר, as in Hebr. זֶה הוּא בֵּית י' 1 Chr. 21 31. Qoh. 1 17. The idiom is frequent in post-bibl. Hebr., and in Aram., e. g. Dan. 4 27 רַבְּתָא רַבָּלָא הָיָא דָּא הָיָא רַבָּלָא רַבְּתָא 4 27 &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 201 (3) Obs. Normally the pronoun הוא anticipates the subject, which comes last (*this is it, Babylon*); but here the subject comes first for emphasis, and the pronoun reiterates it (*a memorial, this is it*). Similarly in Syr., the pronoun may refer either backwards or forwards to the subject; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 311. בעל בית See 61 2 n. הרד וגו' See 61 17 n. פא owner of the temple (5 15 f.) rather than 'patron of the royal house.'

L. 23. אלהים ואנשים Cf. 69 20 אלהי . . אנש Jud. 9 9. 13 אלהים ואנשים.

63. Zenjirli: Bar-rekub. Same period as 62. Imp. Museum, Constantinople.

- 1 אנה • ב[ר]רכב •
- 2 בר • פנמו • מלך • שמ
- 3 אל • עבד • תגלתפליסר • מרא •
- 4 רבעי • ארקא • בצדק • אבי • ובצד
- 5 קי • הושבני • מראי • רכבאל •

- 6 ומראי · תגלתפליסר · על ·
 7 כרסא · אבי · ובית · אבי · ע
 8 מל · מן · כל · ורצת · בגלגל ·
 9 מראי · מלך · אשור · במצע
 10 ת · מלכן · רברבן · בעלי · כ
 11 סף · ובעלי · זהב · ואחות ·
 12 בית · אבי · והיטבתה ·
 13 מן · בית · חד · מלכן · רברב
 14 נ · והתנאבו · אחי · מלכי
 15 א · לכל · מה · טבת · ביתי · ו
 16 בי · טוב · לישה · לאבהי · מ
 17 לכי · שמאל · הא · בית · כלמ
 18 ו · להם · פהא · בית · שתוא · ל
 19 הם · והא · בית · כיצא · ו
 20 אנה · בנית · ביתא · ונה ·

I am Bar-rekub, ² son of Panammu, king of Sam'al, ³servant of Tiglath-pileser lord ⁴of the four parts of the earth. For the righteousness of my father and for my own righteousness ⁵my lord Rekub-el ⁶and my lord Tiglath-pileser made me to sit upon ⁷the throne of my father. And my father's house ⁸laboured more than all: and I ran at the wheel ⁹of my lord, the king of Assyria, in the midst ¹⁰of mighty kings, possessors of silver ¹¹and possessors of gold. And I took ¹²the house of my father, and made it better ¹³than the house of any of the mighty kings; and my brethren the kings coveted (?) ¹⁴all the prosperity of my house. And ¹⁵a good house (?) ¹⁶my fathers, the kings ¹⁷of Sam'al, did not possess; it was a house of ? ¹⁸to them, and it was their summer house ¹⁹and it was a winter house; so ²⁰I built this house.

This inscr. belongs not to a statue, like **61** and **62**, but to a building—the new palace built by Bar-rekub. It was found in 1891 on the *Tell* of Zenjirli. On the left side of the inscr. is a figure of the king in Assyrian style carved in relief, holding a lotus flower in his hand. Another fine relief of Bar-rekub has been found at Zenjirli: the king is seated on his throne, with a eunuch behind and a scribe in front of him. On the right, and at the level of the king's crown, is carved the inscr. **אנה בררנב בר פנמ[ו]**. In the middle of the monument, between the head of the king and that of the eunuch, is the symbol of the lunar deity, a full moon and crescent; at the right of it runs the legend **מראי בעלחרן** i.e. 'My lord is Ba'al of Harran.' Harran, in N. Mesopotamia, possessed the great temple of Sin, the Assyrian moon-god; and this was no doubt the deity whom Bar-rekub worshipped; see **64** 9 n. Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* (1895) 392 ff.; Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 213, *Rec.* ii § 40, *Album d'Ant. Or.* Pl. xlv (facsimile).

L. 1. **אנה** l. 20. **68** 1. **73 A** 3; contrast **אנך** **61** 1. **אנכי** **62** 19. The Aram. character of the dialect is more strongly marked in this inscr. than in the two preceding ones. **בררנב** The same person as the donor of **62**; he was reigning prob. in the years 732–727 B.C.

L. 2. **מלך שמאל** The outline of the history of Sam'al may be traced in Assyrian inscriptions for about 233 years. It is first mentioned, as a country, by Salmanassar ii (860–825 B.C.), who defeated a coalition of N. Syrian kings at the beginning of his reign, *KB* i 156 f.: Sam'al was then an independent state. It is mentioned next by Tiglath-pileser iii in 738 and 734 B.C., as a town, with a king Panammu, *KB* ii 20. 30: at this period it became tributary. Then, in 681 B.C., the provincial governor of Sam'al gave his name to the first year of Asarhaddon (681–668 B.C.), Smith *Eponym. Canon* 68; and in 670 Asarhaddon made Sam'al a halting-place on his return from Egypt. By this time it had become part of the Assyrian empire. Lastly, the name appears in two lists of Syrian towns, temp. Ašurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), which must have been written before the end of his reign, Rawlinson *Cun. Inscr. of W. Asia* ii 53 1. 43; 53 3 1. 61; Sachau 58 ff. The situation of Sam'al may be inferred from the occurrence of the name in the inscriptions between Gurgum (**62** 15 n.) and Patin or Hamath (*KB* i 156; ii 20. 30); it lay in the country between the rivers Pyramos on the N. and Orontes on the S., at the foot of the Amanus mountains. The name has a Semitic sound, and perhaps, like the Hebr. **שְׂמָאֵל**, means *left*, geographically *north*. In this inscription Bar-rekub, son of Panammu ii, calls himself 'king of Sam'al' and his ancestors 'kings of Sam'al' ll. 2. 16 f., but

Panammu ii is styled 'king of Ya'di' in 62, and likewise Panammu i in 61. The question arises, what is the relation between the two districts or cities? Sam'al, it seems, was ruled by the dynasty of Panammu ii and Bar-rekub; Tiglath-pileser speaks of 'Panammu of Sam'al' (supr.); and we may suppose that Ya'di, which had Panammu i for its king in an earlier generation (see 61 1 n.), was attached to the neighbouring state of Sam'al in the time of Panammu ii, perhaps as a reward for his fidelity to the king of Assyria. The fact that a king of Sam'al and a king of Ya'di bore the same name, though belonging to different families, may be merely accidental or due to some previous alliance by marriage (Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 15 ff.). It is curious, however, that Bar-rekub, if he ruled over both places, in 62 makes no mention of Sam'al, and in 63 says nothing about Ya'di. Whether Zenjirli belonged to Ya'di or to Sam'al in ancient times is not clear; for both 62 (יאדי) and 63 (שמאל) were found there. The Hadad statue (61), which was found at Gerjin near Zenjirli, was certainly a product of Ya'di. Winckler argues that Zenjirli and Gerjin belonged to Ya'di, and were situated near the southern border of Sam'al, the neighbouring state.

L. 3. עבר תגלתפליסר See 62 13 n.; illustrate from 2 K. 16 7.

L. 4. רבעי ארקא In 62 14 רבעתארק. ארקא is a clear instance of the emphatic state, cf. מלכיא l. 14. ביתא l. 20, and perhaps שתוא, כיצא ll. 18 f. In 61 and 62 this characteristic Aram. usage does not occur. בצדק אבי Cf. 62 19.

L. 5. רכבאל See 61 2 n.

L. 7. כרסא See 15 2 n. עמל Perf. 3 sing. or ptcp., probably *laboured, toiled*, as in Aram., Arab., and late Hebr.; מן will then have a comparative sense. Bar-rekub claims that his family was the most zealous of all the princely houses in the service of the suzerain.

L. 8. ורצת בגלגל Lit. *I ran at the wheel*, i. e. followed the chariot; cf. 62 13, and contrast 1 S. 8 11 מרכבתו ורצו לפני.

L. 9. במצעת See 61 28 n.

L. 10. מלכנ רברבן The form of the plur. is clearly Aram.; see 61 4 n. The reduplicated form of רב is common in the Targ., רבִּרְבָּא; in Syr. ܪܒܪܒܐ. בעלי כסף וגו' Cf. 62 11; בעל in this sense is frequent in the O. T., e. g. Qoh. 5 10. 12 &c.

L. 12. והיטבתה Perhaps out of spoils of the campaign; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 103.

L. 13. חר See 61 27 n.

L. 14. התנאבו is a double reflexive form, Ethnafal, from אבה or

61 15. כברו 11. זכרו 31. מלכו 62 17 (?); the ending ה of the fem. absol. 62 6 *n.*; the plur. ending in *n*, מלכן רברבן 63 10. 13. שלשן 62 3 *n.*, and without *n*, אלהי 61 4 *n.*; the suff. 3 sing. m. in ה' and 3 plur. in הם' 63 18 *n.*; the accus. sign ות 61 28; the relative זי היתה=הות; 62 2; the impf. forms ירקי, תשתי &c. 61 22 *n.* ליתכה &c. 61 23 *n.*; the use of the perf. with weak waw; the absence of the article, and the use of the emphatic form in 63;—all these forms and usages are characteristic of Aramaic. On the other hand there are features which exhibit an affinity to the Canaanite group, Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician, e. g. אנך, אנכי, בני 61 10. 20, גם, הרג, היה, זכר, חקק, זר, חרא, חקק, זר, זכר, הרג, היה, גם, בני, אנכי, אנך; the impf. 3 plur. in אל 61 4 *n.*; the infin. without prefixed מ; while passages abound which find illustrations or parallels in the O.T., see esp. 61 9. 16. 18. 23. 29. 62 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 11. 13. 18. 19. 63 3. 19 with the notes. Even more significant is the way in which this dialect allies itself with Hebr. (and Assyrian) rather than with the usual Aram., in the following consonantal equations, the first three of which are also characteristic of the dialect of Nêrab, 64. 65:—

Arab. Aram. Hebr. Zenz.

ז = ד = ז = ז, e. g. זנה, זון, זי, e. g. 1.

ث = ת = ש = ש, e. g. שקל, ישב, e. g.

ظ = ט = צ = צ, e. g. כיצא 63 19.

ض = ק (ע) = צ = ק, e. g. מוקא, רקי, ארק 61 5 *n.*).

In the last equation the alliance is with Aram., not with Hebrew. These facts point to the conclusion that the dialect belongs to an early stage of Aramaic, and differs in many respects from the later literary Aramaic, particularly in a closer resemblance to the language of the O.T. and of the early Aram. inscrr. from Nêrab, Babylon, and Egypt (61 1 *n.* 4 *n.* 5 *n.* 62 6 *n.* 63 19 *n.* &c.). It was a local dialect, with certain peculiarities of its own (e. g. פ and, פמו, ומו, ליש, מת (?), some of which show a kinship with Arabic (e. g. ז, זי, כל מה, אשם, פ, &c.); and no doubt it was influenced by contact with Assyria. The Hittite kingdom once predominated in the neighbourhood of Ya'di and Sam'al², but the nature of its influence upon these petty states is not known at present.

¹ This equation is found also in the Aram. of Nineveh 66, Babylon CIS ii 65. 69-71, Asia Minor (Abydos 67, Cilicia 68. 149 A 6), Têma (Arabia) 69. 70, and Egypt 71. 74-77. It is characteristic of the Aram. of the early period, 8th-4th cent. B.C., as used in the Assyrian and Persian empires. The forms זי, זנה, זון are specially significant as distinguishing the old from the later Aram. of the O.T., Nab., Palm., and Palest. dialects (see p. 26). BASOR 87/1942 p. 26 זי = זנה = זון = זי

² Lagrange *Rev. Biblique* (1901) 30 f. 35 = *Rel. Sém.* (1903) 44. 50.

Albright, A votive stela erected by Ben-Hadad I of Damascus to the god Melcarth, BASOR 87/1942, pp. 23-29.

64. Nêrab 1. Prob. vii cent. B. C. Louvre.

כמר	ששנזרבן	1
מהר	בנרב מת	2
צלמה	זונה	3
צתה	ואר	4
את	מן	5
צלמא	תהנם	6
וארצתא	זנה	7
אשרה	מן	8
9	שהר ושמש ונבל ונשך יסחו	
10	שמך ואשרך מן חין ומות לחה	
11	יכטלוך ויהאברו זרעך והן	
12	תנצר צלמא וארצתא זא	
13	אחרה ינצר	
14	זי לך	

Of Sin-zir-ban, priest ² of Sahar in Nêrab, deceased. ³ And this is his image ⁴ and his couch. ⁵ Whosoever thou art ⁶ that shalt plunder this image ⁷ and couch ⁸ from its place, ⁹ may Sahar and Shamash and Nikal and Nusk pluck ¹⁰ thy name and thy place out of life, and with a ? death ¹¹ kill thee, and cause thy seed to perish! But if ¹² thou shalt protect this image and couch, ¹³ may another protect ¹⁴ thine!

The two inscr. 64 and 65 were found in 1891 at Nêrab, a small village SE. of Aleppo. They accompany the bas-reliefs of two priests of the local sanctuary, finely executed in the Assyrian manner and singularly well preserved. No. 64 represents the priest Sin-zir-ban, with hands raised and joined in prayer; the upper part of the inscr. surrounds the head and hands, the lower part is written across the robe. The writing is not so archaic and rigid as that of the Zenjirli

inscr., while it belongs to an earlier stage than that of the inscr. from Têma (69. 70). An indication of date is afforded by the names of the deities mentioned. They are clearly Assyrian; and 'the moon-god at Nêrab,' the chief deity of the place, can be none other than the Assyrian Sin, whose great temple was at Ḥarran. The worship of Sin had already made its way from Ḥarran to N. Syria in the time of Bar-rekub, before 727 B.C. (see p. 182); and from the same quarter it found a home at Nêrab. The temple at Ḥarran was destroyed by the Medes in 605 and restored by Nabonid in 552. Cl.-Ganneau, with much plausibility, dates these monuments from this period. He suggests that after the catastrophe of 605, Nêrab offered the hospitality of a shrine to the moon-god and his allied divinities (*Ét.* ii 222).

L. 1. שִׁנְזִרְבָּן The first letter is not distinctly cut, but the traces are clear enough to justify the reading (Lidzb., Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 106 f.). This ש must be the relative and sign of the genitive; cf. 65 1, and similarly in Phoen., at the head of an inscr., 39 2 n. In Aram. we should expect זי at this period (e. g. כִּסְפָּא זי CIS ii 70); but the usage here is perhaps influenced by the Assy. *ša* (possessive). שִׁנְזִרְבָּן The name is Assy., *Sin-zir-ban* 'Sin has created a son,' a suitable name for a priest of שֶׁר = Sin, the moon-god; cf. *Marduk-zir-bāni* CIS ii 18 end. כִּמַּר 65 1. 69 23. b 2; Nab. 98 4; Syr. كَمَرٌ; NPun. 55 7 (see n.). The כִּמַּר may be connected with the Assy. *kamāru* 'lay prostrate,' hence כִּמַּר *priest*, lit. 'one who prostrates himself.'

L. 2. שֶׁר i. e. *the moon*; Aram. סִהַר, סִיְהַר, זִיְהַר; Arab. شهر; cf. Hebr. שִׁהְרִימִים 'moon-shaped ornaments,' Jud. 8 21. 26. Is. 3 18; see further on l. 9. שֶׁר בִּנְרַב *the moon-god at Nêrab* 65 1. For the expression see 24 2 n.; it implies that the deity was imported from elsewhere. נִרַב is still called النيرب. Three places of this name were known to antiquity, this one near Aleppo, another near Sermin (27½ m. SE. of Aleppo), and a third near Damascus. Nireb is mentioned in the list of Thothmes iii, *Rec. of the Past*, new ser., v 33; and Stephanus Byz. s. v. Νήραβος gives πόλις Συρίας, possibly, but not certainly, referring to the Nêrab here. It is not unlikely that Nêrab acknowledged the suzerainty of Assyria at this period, judging from the strongly marked impress of Assyrian influence on these inscriptions.

L. 3. זִנָּה See add. note ii p. 26.

L. 4. אֶרְצָתָהּ l. 7 אֶרְצָתָהּ = עֶרְשָׁתָהּ (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 196, Lidzb.) lit. *couch*, here *sarcophagus* 65 8, cf. Dt. 3 11 עֶרֶשׁ בְּרוּל; Palm. עֶרְשָׁא = κλίνη, Inscr. of Tayyibe, p. 296 n. 1. For the orthography cf. عسقلان = אֶשְׁקֶלֶן, Inscr. of Athar (عَثَر) is holy CIS ii 312 (Hoffm. *ZA* xi 211), and in

Mand. $\text{עצם} = \text{עטמא} = \text{אטמא}$, Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 58 n. For $\text{צ} = \text{ש}$ cf. יצחק and ישחק .

L. 5 f. $\text{מִן אַתְּ תַּהֲנֵם}$ Cf. 65 8, the indefinite rel. מִן as in Nab. 94 5 מִן כָּל דִּי , מִן דִּי , and in Palm. 147 ii a 34. 45 ff. מִן דִּי . Cl.-Gan. finds a similar construction in 4 3 $\text{מִי אַתְּ כָּל אָדָם אֲשֶׁר תִּפְקֵם}$; but see note in loc. The general sense of 65 8. 9 is clear from the context, but the etymology is uncertain. The form may be explained as the Hafel, or rather Peal, impf. of $\text{הִנֵּם} = \text{אַנֵּם}$ *carry off by force, rob*, a root frequent in the Targums, the ה being written for א as הִיךְ for אִיךְ , הָלוּ for אָלוּ 73 A 1; so Hoffm. 212. Or it may be the Hafel impf. apocopated of $\text{נָסָא} = \text{נָשָׂא}$ (cf. 5 5) treated as a ל'ה verb, with the ה retained in Hafel as in הִאֲבִירוּ l. 11 (Cl.-Gan. 197 f.). The first explanation is perhaps preferable.

L. 8. אֲשֶׁרָּה Cf. 61 27 n. Note that ש, as in the dialect of Zenjirli, here = Aram. ת = Arab. ث; see p. 185.

L. 9. $\text{שָׁהַר וְשֶׁמֶשׁ וְנֹכַח וְנֹשֶׁךְ}$ 65 9. Sahar (l. 2 n.) is the Aram. equivalent of the Assy. Sin, the moon-god (שָׁהַר mas.) of Ḫarran. Not only Sahar, but the other gods of Nêrab are Assyrian in origin. Thus Sin, Shamash, [Nergal], Nusku are invoked along with other deities, and in this order, by Salmanassar ii and frequently by Ašurbanipal, e. g. *KB* i 130. ii 154 f. 176 ff. 210. 216 ff. &c. In the cylinder from Abû-Habba (Sippar) Nabonid, 555-538 B.C., records how he rebuilt I-ḫul-ḫul, the temple of Sin at Ḫarran, which had been founded by Salmanassar ii and refounded by Ašurbanipal. In connexion with his work of restoration, Nabonid calls upon these same gods in the order Sin, Ningal (instead of Nergal), Shamash, [Ishtar], Nusku; *KB* iii 2 100 f. We may conclude, therefore, that along with Sin, these other deities, associated with the moon-god, were imported from Ḫarran. The god Shamash has been found already at Zenjirli, see 61 2 n. Nikal is no doubt the same as Ningal mentioned by Nabonid, the n being assimilated, and the k interchanged with g, as in *Tukulti* = תַּגְּלִית in תַּגְּלִית־פַּלְסַר; moreover Jensen (*ZA* xi 296 f.) shows that the Sumerian NIN-GAL would be pronounced by the Assyrians *Nikal* or *Nikkal*. This form actually occurs as the name of the goddess, נִי־גַל , worshipped at Ḫarran in *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips 24 l. 17; and the same passage enumerates the other gods, נִי־זַי the eagle, prob. a copyist's misreading of נֹשֶׁךְ in the original, נִי־זַי the moon-god, and נִי־זַי the sun-god. In the inscr. of Nabonid, l. c., Ningal (= Nikal) is said to be the consort of Sin, and 'the mother of the great gods.' Nusku, the son of Sin, was a fire-god, the messenger of Bel; Jensen l. c. 295, Jastrow *Rel. of*

Bab. and Assy. 220 f. The above argument is clearly stated by Cl.-Gan. 211-221. *From יסחו* *tear out*, cf. *ינסחוהו וזרעה ושמה*. 69 14 (optative). *Ezr.* 6 11; in *Hebr. Pr.* 2 22. *Ps.* 52 7 &c. For the impf. 3 plur. in *û* for *ûn* cf. *יהאברו* l. 11. 65 9, and see 61 4 n.

L. 10. *מן חין* *from life* rather than *from the living*, the plur. being in the absol. state, and having an abstract sense, like *זקונים* &c.; cf. *ועד חין* *and unto life* CIS ii 163 d. *ארכה בחיין* *Dan.* 7 12. *ומות לחה* A second accus. of manner after the direct obj. in *יכטלוק* l. 11; cf. *Mal.* 3 24 *והכיתי את הארץ חרם*. *Ps.* 64 8 *חין*. The meaning of *לחה* is unknown. Various explanations are possible: thus, *a destructive death*, *Syr.* *חסל* *destroy*; *a death in full vigour*, *Hebr.* *לח* *fresh*, cf. *קבר לח* *Ber. Rab.* § 79; *an ignominious death*, *Arab.* *ملحى*, *حلى* *ignominious*. The general sense must be the same as *יהבאשו ממחתה* 65 9 f.

L. 11. *יכטלוק* With *כ* for *ק* cf. *ביצא* 63 19, *קשט* = *قسط* *archer* &c., *Wright Comp. Gr.* 50. *ויהאברו* For the *ה* retained in *Hafel* impf. cf. *יהבאשו* 65 9. 69 21, and the usage in *B. Aram.*, *יהשפל* *Dan.* 7 24. *יהנוק* *Ezr.* 4 13. The *Peal* of *אבר* occurs in 65 10.

L. 12. *תנצר* As in the *Zenjirli* inscrr., *צ* = *Hebr.* *צ* = *Aram.* *ט* = *Arab.* *ط*; cf. *ביצא* 63 19, and see p. 185. The *נ* is not assimilated; cf. *Ps.* 61 8 &c., *ינסחוהי* 69 14, and contrast *יסחו* l. 9.

L. 13. *אחרה* 65 8 a curious form, not easy to account for. Hoffm., 213 ff., points it *אֲחֶרָה*, an older form of *אֲחֶרֶן*, with *ה־* added to the root as in *רעה* (from *רע*), *לִבְנָה*, *אִשָּׁה*; then, he says, to this *ohoré* was added the nominal ending *ן*. The addition *ה־* to a trilateral root is, however, a very rare occurrence, and it is doubtful whether it would be attached to such a common word as *אחר*. It seems much more likely that *אחרה* is merely the emphatic form, with *ה* for *א*, *אחרה* being an early form of the usual *אחרנא*, *أَحْرَنَ*.

65. Nêrab 2. Prob. same date as 64. Louvre.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| שאגבר כמר שהר בנרב | 1 |
| זנה צלמה בצדקתי קדמוה | 2 |
| שמני שם טב והארך יומי | 3 |
| ביום מתת פמי לאתאחז מן מלן | 4 |
| ובעיני מחזה אנה בני רבע בכונ | 5 |

with suff. ; cf. בכיה 62 17. The perf. 3 plur. in this dialect ends in *û*, not *ûn*, e. g. שמו l. 6, cf. קמו 61 2. נתנו ib. 20 ; read, therefore, בכוני not בכון. Before the suff. the נ of the 3 plur. reappears, e. g. שמוני l. 7. Hoffm. (l. c. 224) reads בכון as = בכוני ; but in this inscr. the suff. is always written.

L. 6. והום אתהמו Lidzb.'s explanation of these difficult words may be accepted provisionally (*Eph.* i 193). He takes הום as an abstr. noun used as infin. abs., and אתהמו as Ethpe. pf. 3 plur. of הום lit. *murmur, discomfit*, fig. *be distracted*, as in Hebr. e. g. Ps. 55 3. Hoffm. suggests יהו מאתהמו בכון 'they wept for me—Oh woe!—the hundred of them,' taking יהו as = οὐαί, Heb. הוי, אוי, Syr. ܐܘܝܐ, ܐܘܝܐ, and מאתהמו as = מֵאֲתֵהֶמוּ (cf. תִּלְתְּהוֹן Dan. 3 23) ; the form of the suff. is unusual, and must be treated as a case of the separate pron. הֶמוּ (76 B 4) being used as a suff., cf. Hebr. אֱלִי־הֶמָּה Eze. 40 16. נִי־תִי־הֶמָּה 1 11. 73 B 2 ; Kautzsch *Lehrg.* ii 447. וְלֹא שָׁמוּ i. e. שָׁמוּ. Cf. Dan. 5 2 מאני דהבא וכספא 4 5 n. 5 5.

L. 7. למען Apparently = Hebr. לְמַעַן *in order that*.

L. 8. לאחרה לתהנם The construction gives difficulty. It is natural to suppose that אחרה and תהנם are the same forms as in 64 6. 13. Taking the ל with both words as the negative, repeated for emphasis, we may render: 'in order that thou—other one—shouldest not plunder.' But such a construction is almost intolerably harsh ; the ל with אחרה may be the prep., *for another* (dat. commodi). מן את See 64 5 n.

L. 9. For the gods see 64 9 n. יהבאשו The Hafel as in 64 11 n. The √ באש occurs in all the cognate languages, Aram. ܒܝܬܐ, be evil, cf. באיש 75 2 ; Arab. بَأْس ib. ; Assy. bišû 'evil' ; Hebr. באש *stink*.

L. 10. ממתתה *his manner of death* ; the change of persons after מן l. 8 is curious. For the meaning cf. מרוצה *manner of running* 2 S. 18 27, and for the form cf. Targ. מְמֻתָּא, מְמוֹתָא ; here the fem. ending is added to the root מות. אחרתה In Nab. אחר

(Arab. أَخْرَ) is used in the sense of *posterity*, e. g. 79 2. 82 3 &c. ; illustrate from Num. 24 20 וְאַחֲרֵיתוֹ עֲדֵי אֲבִיר. The vivid style of the inscr. is noticeable, and recalls passages in 4. 5. 61, where similar imprecations are to be found.

BABYLONIA

66. Nineveh. CIS ii 1. End of viii cent. B. C. Brit. Mus.

מנן - ||| || ב זי ארקא *a*

||||||| *b*

חמשת עשר מנין [ב ז] מלך *c*

a 15 double(?) minas of the country.

b 15.

c Fifteen double(?) minas of the king.

The inscr. is written upon one of the bronze lion-weights found at Nineveh; CIS ii 1-14. Twelve of these weights have Assyrian as well as Aramaic inscriptions, and bear the names of Salmanassar, Sargon, and Sennacherib; they belong, therefore, to the viii-vii cent.

a. מנן In Babyl. written ideographically MA.NA, of Sumerian, but possibly Semitic, origin; Hebr. מְנִים from מִנָּה Eze. 45 12 &c., *mnâ*. The *mina* was the unit in the Babylonian system of weights, which was based on the sexagesimal principle; hence 60 shekels = one mina, and 60 minas = one talent. ב Prob. a symbol for *double*; CIS ii 2. 3. 4. In the Babyl. system there was a double series of weights, a heavy and a light one. The heavy mina = 982.4 grammes = 15160 grains, circ. $2\frac{1}{6}$ lb. avoirdupois; the light mina was half the weight, i.e. 491.2 grammes = 7580 grains, circ. $1\frac{1}{12}$ lb. avoirdupois. The present weight weighs a little over 32 lb. 14 oz.; when new it prob. weighed about 33 lb. 6 oz.; its value, therefore, is that of the heavy standard. These lion-weights belong some to the one class, some to the other; the light weights sometimes have the shape of a duck. See Kennedy, art. Weights and Measures, Hastings' *Dict. Bibl.*; Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 180 ff.; Nowack *Lehrb. Hebr. Arch.* i 206 ff. זי Sign of the genit.; 61 1 n. ארקא 61 5 n.

c. מלך In Aramaic מלכא would be usual; the form is prob. due to Assyrian influence (Corp.). The 'minas of the king' corresponds to the Assyrian *mana ša šarri*, cf. Hebr. אֲבֵן הַמֶּלֶךְ 2 S. 14 26 (prob. a post-exilic addition, giving the weight by the Persian standard). These weights were found among the foundations of a royal palace, underneath a colossal winged bull; most of them bear the king's name in the Assyrian versions of the inscriptions.

ASIA MINOR

67. Abydos. CIS ii 108. vi-v cent. B. C. Brit. Mus.

אספרן לקבל סתריא זי כספא *a*

Α *b*

a Correct (?) according to the commissioners (?) of money.

This lion-weight, found at Abydos in Asia Minor, belongs to the Persian period, as the form of the letters shows. At this period Asia Minor was subject to Persian rule, and the Persian satraps used Aramaic in intercourse with the subject races in the west of the empire (cf. 71 *n.*). This was a trade weight officially certified to be of full standard. It weighs 25.657 grammes, i. e. originally 26 grammes = about 56 lb.; hence it appears that the standard was not the Babylonian one (66), nor the Persian silver talent of 33.6 kilogrs., but the Persian-Euboean gold talent of 25.92 kilogrs. On the back of the lion is the mark Α, apparently from the Archaic Gk. alphabet; it seems to indicate that the weight was used in commerce with the Greeks.

a. אספרן is best explained as an Iranian word *uspur* 'completeness,' 'whole' (Marti *Bibl.-Aram. Gr. Gloss.*), consequently the meaning here will be 'of full standard'; in Ezr. 5 8 &c. אֲסַפְרָנָא 'completely,' 'with exactness.' A different explanation is suggested by Hoffmann, *ZA* xi 235 f. He regards אספרן as an Aram. form of צִפְרֶן *nail*, with א prefixed as in אצבע, and with ס = צ as in סותא 69 13 = صَوَّة; and compares the use of *supur* 'nail-sign' in Assyrian, e. g. 'instead of their seal they have made their nail-sign' (*supuršunu*), *KB* iv 104. The Persian etymology, however, seems more likely in view of the date and origin of the inscr. לקבל Lit. *to meet*, so *before*, cp. in Palm.

147 i 10. סתריא Prob. = 'officials,' but the precise meaning is uncertain. Vogüé renders 'guardians' from סתר *hide*, a questionable use of the root; Levy renders 'satraps'; Geiger 'staters,' 'correct in accordance with the silver stater' (Cook *Aram. Gloss.* 23); but the weight of the lion shows that the standard was the gold talent, as Meyer points out, *Entstehung d. Judenth.* 11 *n.* The proper expression for 'officials in charge of the money' would be על כספא (Halévy); the Aramaic of these Persian commissioners was perhaps not very correct.

68. Cilicia. v-iv cent. B. C. In situ.

- אנה ושונש בר 1
 אפוש בר ברה זי 2
 ושונש ואמי 3
 אשולכרתי וכזי 4
 צידא עבר אנה תנה 5
 ובאתרא זנה משתרה אנה 6

I am WŠWNŠ, son ² of 'FWŠI, grandson of ³ WŠWNŠ, and my mother is ⁴ 'ŠWLKRTI; and while ⁵ I am hunting here, ⁶ it is in this place that I am making my meal.

The inscr. is carved upon a rock SE. of Saraïdin, in the valley of the river Lamas, in the SE. of Cilicia. A facsimile is given by Nöld. l. c. infra.

L. 1. ושונש This and the other pr. nn. appear to be non-Semitic, perhaps Persian; but the forms are uncertain because the ו may be read ג. Halévy reads ג in each case, and takes גשונש as = *Ευγενής*, a dialectical form of *Συγγενής* (גש = ξ), אפוש l. 2 = *Ἀπάξιος*; *Rev. Sémi.* i (1893) 183 ff. Nöldeke reads ו, *ZA* vii (1892) 350 ff.

L. 2. ברה בר Cf. 3 1. For זי in Cilicia = די cf. 149 A 6 and p. 185 n.

L. 4. אשולכרתי is explained by Halévy *Ashgal the Cretan*, or of *Cretopolis* (in Pisidia); for אשגל he compares שגל Ps. 45 10 &c., and takes כרתי as an ethnic form. כזי when, cf. Palm. 121 3 כזי הוא 3 and l. 4. כזי, כזי more often mean *as*, e. g. 76 C 3. 94 4 &c.

L. 5. צידא עבר Lit. *doing a hunt*; עבר ptc. active. תנה i. e. תנה here = ג, as the Bibl. Aram. תמה = ג.

L. 6. אתרא Contrast אשרה 64 8. משתרה reading ר rather than ד; the form is Ethpa. ptc. from שרה, and, like מל' = *ἀπιστᾶν* in the N.T., e. g. John 21 12. 15, means *breaking (my) fast* (Nöldeke l. c.). The reading משתרה can only mean *I was cast down*, not 'je me repose' (Halévy).

ARABIA

69. Têma. CIS ii 113. Date prob. v cent. B. C. Louvre.

a

- בשת Z II 1
- .. בתימ]א צלם [זי מחרם ושנגלא 2
- ואש]ירא אלהי תימא לצלם זי 3
- [הגם ...] שמה ביומא זן [בתי]מא 4
- זי 5
- 6
- 7
- א להן א 8
- זי [הקי]ם צלמשזב בר פטסרי 9
- [בבית צ]לם זי הגם להן אלהי 10
- תימא צ[דק]ו לצלמשזב בר פטסרי 11
- ולזרעה בבית צלם זי הגם וגבר 12
- זי יחבל סותא זא אלהי תימא 13
- ינסחוהי וזרעה ושמה מן אנפי 14
- תימא והא זא צדקתא זי י[הבו] 15
- צלם זי מחרם ושנגלא ואשירא 16
- אלהי תימא לצלם זי הגם א . 17
- מן חקלא דקלן — III ומן שימתא 18
- זי מלכא דקלן III II כל דקלן 19
- .. שנה בשנה ואלהן ואנש 20
- לא יהנ[פק] צלמשזב בר פטסרי 21
- מן ביתא זנה ול[זר]עה ושמה 22
- כמ[ריא בב]יתא זנה [לעלמא] 23

b

צלמשזב

כמרא

α. in the 22nd year . . . ² [in Têm]a, Ṣalm [of Maḥram and Shingala ³ and Ashîra, the gods of Têma, to Ṣalm of ⁴ [Hajam] . . appointed him on this day [in Tê]ma ⁵ which ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ therefore ⁹ which Ṣalm-shezeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, set up ¹⁰ [in the temple of Ṣ]alm of Hajam, therefore the gods of ¹¹ Têma ma[de gra]nts to Ṣalm-shezeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, ¹² and to his seed in the temple of Ṣalm of Hajam. And any man ¹³ who shall destroy this pillar, may the gods of Têma ¹⁴ pluck out him and his seed and his name from before ¹⁵ Têma! And this is the grant which ¹⁶ Ṣalm of Maḥram and Shingala and Ashîra, ¹⁷ the gods of Têma, have g[iven] to Ṣalm of Hajam . . : ¹⁸ from the field 16 palms, and from the treasure (?) ¹⁹ of the king 5 palms, in all ²⁰ 21 palms . . year by year. And neither gods nor men ²¹ shall bri[ng out] Ṣalm-shezeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, ²² from this temple, neither his se[ed] nor his name, (who are) ²³ prie[sts in] this temple [for ever].

b. Ṣalm-shezeb the priest.

The characters exhibit some archaic forms, e. g. 𐤁 and 𐤂; but as a whole they belong to the early part of the middle period of Aramaic writing. Like 61–63 the inscr. is carved in relief. It records how a new deity, Ṣalm of Hajam, was introduced into Têma by the priest Ṣalm-shezeb, who further provided an endowment for the new temple, and founded an hereditary priesthood. On one side of the stone the god Ṣalm of Hajam is represented in Assyrian fashion, and below him a priest stands before an altar, with the inscr. b underneath.

L. 1. 𐤁𐤓𐤕 See 6 1 n. 𐤓𐤕 is in the constr. st. before the numeral as in 71 3, and often in Nab. and Palm., e. g. 78 4. 110 5.

L. 2. 𐤕𐤌𐤍 70 3 perhaps connected with 𐤕𐤌𐤍 *be dark* (cf. Assy. *kakkabu ṣalmu* = the planet Kêwân or Saturn, and the pr. n. *Ṣalmu-ahî*, *KB* iv 150; see Am. 5 26), rather than abbreviated from 𐤕𐤌𐤍 *image of B.*; see 38 2 n. Ṣalm appears to have been an Aramaic or

N. Semitic deity, and not native to Arabia. Like **בעל**, he is given a local designation, ll. 10. 16. The names of the gods are here restored from l. 16.

L. 3. **חַימָא** Cf. 81 2 = **חַימָא** Gen. 25 15 = 1 Chr. 1 30 a descendant of Ishmael, Is. 21 14. Jer. 25 23. The town, now called **تَيْمَاء**, is situated in N. Arabia (El-Hejaz) in an oasis famous, even in ancient times, for its abundant and inexhaustible spring. Caravans (Job 6 19) on their way to Egypt or Assyria halted here; and the influence of commerce with these two countries is evident in this stone: the name of the priest's father is Egyptian, the figures of the god and his minister are Assyrian. **לצלם זי[הגם]** is governed by some verb denoting that the local gods had sanctioned the admission of this stranger deity; the Corp. suggests **צדקו** (l. 11) at the beginning of l. 2.

L. 4. **שמה** Prob. pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. = **שָׁמָה**; the subj. will be the priest, the obj. the god.

L. 8. **להן** l. 10 = **הֵן** if + **ל**, then, therefore; Dan. 2 6. 9 &c.

L. 9. **צלמשוב** i.e. *Salm has delivered*; cf. the Assy. *Salm-mušizib*, *Nabû-šizibanni* Schrader *COT* 421, and the Hebr. **מְשִׁיבָאֵל** Neh. 3 4 (Cook *Aram. Gl.* s. v.); **שוב**, in Targ. **שׁוּב**, Syr. **شَوْب**, is Shafel of **יֹב**, 101 12 f. **פַּטְסָרִי** 74 A 4 i.e. *he whom Osiris gave*, cf. the Egypt. *P'-dy-'st* 'he whom Isis gave,' *P'-dy-'Imn* 'he whom Ammon gave,' and the Bibl. **פּוֹטִיפָר**, **פּוֹטִי פָרַע** i.e. *P'-dy-p'-R* 'he whom the Ra gave'; see Driver, art. Potiphar, *DB* iv 23.

L. 10. **הגם** Prob. the name of a place where *Salm* was worshipped; cf. **الْحُجْم** *Yākūt* ii 886 (ed. Wüstenfeld), in Yemen.

L. 11. **צדקו** Pael; cf. the meaning of the noun **צדקתא** l. 15 *gift, endowment*, Dan. 4 24 LXX *ἐλεημοσύνη*, Matt. 6 1 *δικαιοσύνη*; Arab. **صَدَقَةٌ** *alms*.

L. 12. **וגבר וגו'** See 64 and 65 for the adjurations.

L. 13. **יחבל** Pael, *destroy*; the root is found with this meaning in all the Semitic languages. **סותא** Perhaps the same word as **صَوْتَة** lit. *an elevation of land, a stone which indicates the road*, in pl. *tomb*, with **ס = צ**; see note on **אספרן** 67 (Hoffm.). In the Corp. the form is connected with the Syr. **سَلَا** *found, make firm*, **سَلَالَة** *stabilitas*; but no derivative of this root is actually used in the sense of *monument*. Winckler considers that it = the Assy. *asumitu* 'inscribed stele,' *Allor. Forsch.* ii 76 f. (in Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* s. v. **וסם**), a plausible derivation.

L. 14. **ינסחוהי** See 64 9 n.; for **נ** retained cf. **ינהפק** l. 21. **תנצר** 64 12 n. **שמה** l. 22. In Hebr. **שֵׁם** is found with almost the same

meaning, *posterity*, e.g. Dt. 25 7. Ruth 4 5. 10 &c. Cf. מן אנפי
1 K. 9 7 (מעל פני). Dt. 28 63 (נסה, with מעל).

L. 15. זא Fem. of זא = Arab. هَذَا, Syr. ܐܝܢܐ, Targ. ܐܝܢܐ. צדקתא
See l. 11 n. Winckler, however, regards this as a Babyl. loan-word =
sattuku 'the regular dues or income of a temple' (Delitzsch *Assyr.*
HWB 513), e.g. *KB* iii 2 32 l. 13. This is at any rate a plausible
explanation, for the influence of Babylonia upon Têma, especially
in religious matters, was certainly strong. See *Altor. Forsch.* i 183.

L. 16. מחרם No doubt the name of a place, like הגם. It is
apparently preserved in the Arab. مكرمة near Jebel Selma, which is
in the neighbourhood of Têma, Yākūt iv 425. שגולא A deity
otherwise unknown; possibly the א is the fem. ending. The name
has been compared (Corp.) with that of a Babylonian goddess שגל,
mentioned in the lexicon of Bar Bahlul, and stated to be the Chaldaean
equivalent of Aphrodite, Lagarde *Gesam. Abhandl.* 17. Another sug-
gestion is that Singala (*Sin-gala*) is the moon-god, Neubauer *St. Bibl.*
i 224 n. Cf. the Palm. שגל pr. n. fem. 143 12. 1. 3. אשירא Halévy
suggests that אשירא = אסירא (with ש for ס as in שימתא l. 18), a form
which occurs in the name of a Palm. deity רבאסירא *Παβασείρη* (prob.
Rab-osiris) 147 i 10. But it is possible that אשירא in spite of the י
is the goddess *Ashēra*, who was certainly known in Arabia; see 10 4 n.
and Lagrange *RB* x 549.

L. 17. .א The Corp. restores או, with the sense *scilicet*.

L. 18. חקלא Emph. st., Targ. ܚܩܠܐ, Syr. ܚܩܠܐ *field*; cf. CIS ii 24.
27 דבת חקלא *record* or *tablet of the field*. This may well have been
the land with which the temple was endowed, or 'the land of the
priests'; see Gen. 47 22 and Lagrange *RB* x 219 who cites in illus-
tration the Nab. חרם, 79 8 n. Cf. Targ. Ex. 15 27 דקלין (at Elim). In the present day the value of land at Têma is reckoned
by the number of palms on it; the price of a tree is said to be 20
francs. שִׁמְתָּא *treasury* = שִׁמְתָּא, ܫܡܬܐ. Winckler explains the
word by the Babyl. *šīmtu* 'a fixing' or 'fixed portion,' so זי מלכא
'the king's crown estates,' *Altor. Forsch.* i 184. The Babyl. *šīmtu* does
not appear to be used exactly in this sense; at the same time it must
be admitted that 'treasury' is not a suitable word for what was clearly
landed property consisting of date-palms.

L. 19. For the prince's contribution to the sanctuary cf. Eze. 45 17;
in many Nab. inscr. the fine for violating a tomb is ordered to be
divided between the god and the king, e.g. 80 8 n. 81 7 f. &c.

L. 20. After the numerical symbol the Corp. restores הא
or זא. 76 C 7. There is no need to render 'divine

persons' i.e. members of the royal family (Halévy, Neubauer l.c. 212 n.).

L. 21. יהנפק For the ה retained in Hafel cf. ויהאבדו 64 11 n., and for the נ cf. in Nab. ינפק 79 2. 80 5 &c., and see l. 14 n. The form here exactly resembles יהנויק Targ. Jon. Ex. 11 7; Dalman *Gr.* 241.

L. 23. כמריא See 64 1 n.

70. Têma. CIS ii 114. Circ. iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

[מ]יתבא זי קר 1
 [ב] מענן בר עמ 2
 [ר]ן לצלם אלה 3
 א לחיי נפשה 4

The seat which Ma'nān, son of 'Imran, offered to the god Šalm, for the life of his soul.

The characters belong to a period late in the middle stage of Aram. writing. They are almost all of the same size, and written as it were between straight lines, like CIS ii 72 from Chaldaea; the Chaldaean manner, exemplified in the latter inscr., has perhaps influenced this style of writing (cf. 69 3 n.). The ז and י are archaic in form, ק is almost Nabataean, ע is shaped like a V, and א has the curious shape †, מ is written with the two down strokes equal in length.

L. 1. מיתבא Cf. מותב 80 4, here a *seat* on which the image of the god was placed on certain days, the Lat. *pulvinar deorum*; cf. Palm. ערשא in the inscr. from eṭ-Tayyibe p. 296 n. 1, and ארכתא (Nab.) p. 255 n. 1.

L. 2. מענן Cf. the Nab. pr. n. מענא CIS ii 294, Euting *Nab. Inschr.* 19, and the Palm. מעני *Marvaios*, e.g. Vogüé 27 4 &c. It is found in composition, e.g. מענאלהי CIS ii 118, and perhaps lies behind *Μοριμος*, the name of a deity associated with the sun-god at Edessa; cf. the pr. nn. معن الله (Hejra) and مَحْنَسٌ / مَحْنَسٌ (a king of Edessa). עמרן = Εμραν from Hauran; cf. the Sinaitic עברעמרו Eut. *Sin. Inschr.* 72, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 213; and עמרם (?) at Safâ, Dussaud et Macler *Safâ* no. 68. The root עמר, عَمَرَ = *live*, e.g. די עמר באילת Eut. *Sin. Inschr.* 551; the Arab. has also the meaning *worship*. Both pr. names have the ending *ān*, apparently usual among the Aramaeans of Arabia.

L. 3. צלם אלהא See 69 2 n.

L. 4. לחיי נפשה A favourite formula (with variations) in Palm. inscrr.; cf. 29 11.

EGYPT

71. Memphis. CIS ii 122. Date 482 B. C. Berlin Museum.

a

1 בריך אבה בר חור ואחתבו ברת עדיה כל ׀׀ [זי?] חסתמה קרבתא
 2 קדם אוסרי אלהא אבסלי בר אבה אמה אחתבו
 3 כן אמר בשנת ׀׀׀׀ ירח מחיר חשיארש מלכא זי מ[לכיא]
 4 ביד פמן...

b חכנא

c מ

a. Blessed be Abbâ, son of Hôr, and Aḥatbû, daughter of 'Adayâ, both assisted by divine favour (?)! The approach² before the god Osiris. Abseli, son of Abbâ, his mother (being) Aḥatbû, ³ spake thus in the 4th year, (in) the month Mehîr, of Xerxes king of kings. ⁴ By the hand of Pamen . . .

b. Hākna.

The inscr. is written upon the base of a tablet carved with a representation of an Egyptian funeral scene. In the uppermost panel Osiris sits, attended by Isis and Nephthys; the parents of Abseli approach the deity with outstretched arms. Certain details, such as the clipped hair of the figures, betray the foreign nationality of the donor; the hieroglyphic inscr.¹ in the upper part of the tablet is evidently written by an unskilful hand. In general appearance the stone resembles 75. It belongs to the period when Egypt formed a part of the Persian empire (B. C. 525–332); and we learn from it that the Aram. settlers used their own language, which was also the language of the Persian government (cf. 67 *n.*), and at the same time adapted themselves to the religion of the country.

L. 1. בריך 75 1; the plur. would be more correct here. אבה
 Prob. = the Aram. אבא. חור Cf. the common Nab. pr. n. חורו
 (= חור) 87 8. 90 5 &c., and the O. T. חור Ex. 17 10. Num.

¹ 'Offering made to Osiris, prince of Amenti, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give good sepulture to (the spirit of) Aḥitobu, the matron faithful before the great god'; and behind the figure of Abba, 'the foreigner, surnamed Hitop.'

31 8. **אחת** Perhaps = **אֶחָת** **אֶבְיָה** *sister of her father*, cf. the biblical **אחאב** and the Aram. **אחמה** (i. e. **אֶחְמָה**) ? *mother's brother*, Levy *Sieg. u. Gemmen* p. 14 no. 20. Lidzb. illustrates from Talm. B. *Baba Bathra* 110 a **רוב בנים דומין לאחי האם** 'most sons are like the brothers of the mother.' **עריה** Prob. the same name as the Arab. *Adi, Adiya*, **عَادِيَا**, **عَدِيَّ**; the root means *to pass, run, transgress*, cf. the O.T. **עָרָה** 2 K. 22 1 'Yah passes by.' But the word may be read **עריה**. The numerical symbols must refer to the parents of the donor. **חסתמה** The meaning is obscure. If the word is compounded of the Egypt. *hes, hestu* and *ameh*, it will mean *favoured by the god, faithful*; cf. 75 4 **חסיה** plur. *those favoured* (by Osiris); in the Egypt. inscr. (p. 200 n. 1) *ameh* is rendered 'faithful.' It is an expression taken from the terminology of the Egypt. funeral rites. The form **חמה** is found on a wooden sarcophagus of the Ptolemaic period in the Cairo Museum, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 11. **קרבתא** The confused way in which the word is written on the stone, with **ב** superadded, shows that the scribe was uncertain about the form. It is probably a noun, with the sense of a 'nomen actionis,' *a drawing near*, cf. 72 1 **קרבת** and Ps. 73 28 **קרבת אלהים לי טוב**; at any rate the word denotes the 'accession' to Osiris after death. According to Egyptian belief the departed soul, if judged pure, did not merely go to Osiris, but actually became Osiris.

L. 2. **אבסלי** The second part of the compound resembles **פלי** Neh. 11 8. **פלי** ib. 12 7; the **פלה** = *to weigh*. In inscr. *b* the Egyptian name is given, **חכנא** *Hakna*.

L. 3. **מחיר** The name of the sixth month, Jan. 26–Feb. 24, in Egyptian, in Coptic *mechir*; see Brightman *Liturgies* i. 582. **חשיארש** = the old Persian *Hshayārshā* = **אַחְשֵׁירוּשׁ** Esth. 1 1 &c., in Greek *Ξέρξης*; he reigned from 485 to 465 B.C. **מלכא זי מלכיא** A common title of the Persian kings; see 5 18 n., and Driver *Introd.*⁶ 546.

L. 4. **ביר** introduces the name of the scribe or sculptor, an Egyptian, **פמן** = *Pa-amen* 'who belongs to the god Amen'; again in CIS ii 148 3.

72. Memphis. CIS ii 123. Date v–iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

1 **חתפי לקרבת בנת לאוס**

2 **רי חפי עבר אביטב בר**

3 **בנת כהי עבר קדם אוס**

4 **חרי חפי**

Offering for the approach of Banith to Osiris²-Apis made by Abiṭab, son ³ of Banith. Thus (?) he made it before Osiris⁴-Apis.

The inscr. is written on an oblong vessel used for libations; it was found in the Serapaeum at Memphis.

L. 1. חתפי Prob. an Egypt. word *hotpit*, later *hotpi* = 'oblation.' לקרבת See 71 1 n. בנת An Egypt. pr. n., found again in CIS ii 148 3. The meaning is uncertain; *Pa-neit*, i.e. 'belonging to the goddess Neit,' has been suggested, but it is questionable whether the Semitic ב is ever used to transcribe the Egypt. *p*. Maspero explains *Banit* as = 'leaping' in Egyptian (Corp.).

L. 2. אוסרי חפי Osiris-Apis, called by the Greeks Serapis, specially honoured at Memphis; חפי = Egypt. *Hapi*. It is probable that חף is to be read in Jer. 46 15 MT נִסְחַף אֶפְיָרִיךְ, which many moderns correct to נִסְחַף אֶפְיָרִיךְ, after the LXX (26 15) διὰ τί ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ Ἄπις; ὁ μὀσχος ὁ ἐκλεκτός σου κ.τ.λ. אביטב = the Hebr. אביטוב 1 Chr. 8 11.

L. 3. כהי The context suggests the rendering *thus*; but there is no exact parallel for the form. It may be an abbreviation of חֵאִי (Bab.-Aram. = *this*) + כ; see Dalman 81, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 109. The word has been rendered 'a piece of bread,' i.e. a second offering, after a Coptic noun which it somewhat resembles; but this is not probable (Corp.).

73. Elephantina. CIS ii 137. iv cent. B.C. Berlin Museum.

B	A
כען הן צבתי	כען הלו חלם 1
כל תובניהמו	ו חזית ומן 2
יאכלו יאנקיא	עדנא הו אנה 3
הלו לא	חמם שגא 4
שאר	[א]תחזי חז[ו] 5
קטין	מלוהי 6
	שלם 7

A. Now behold, the 1st dream I saw, and from that time I was very hot; there appeared an apparition; its words (were), 'Hail'! B. Now if ornaments(?) of all kinds thou sellest, the infants shall eat; behold, there is not a small remainder.

The above texts are written with a reed pen in Egyptian-Aram. characters on either side of a fragment of pottery. They are evidently complete in themselves, for the sentences are not broken off, but squeezed into the shape of the potsherd; the two texts form a single narrative. It was the custom to write down brief descriptions of dreams, and bring them to the temple to be interpreted.

A. L. 1. כען = כֶּעַן *now* in Bibl. Aram. הלו Cf. אֱלֹהֵי in Dan. חלם Cf. τὸ πρῶτον ἐνύπνιον on a Gk. papyrus (Corp.).

L. 4. חמם = חָמַם, חָמַם. שגא is an adverb = שָׁגָא Dan. 2 12 &c.

L. 5. תחזי Prob. an error for אתחזי Ethpeal pf. (Corp.), 147 i 7. חזי i.e. חָזָה cf. חָזָה דְּלִילָא Targ. Job 20 8.

L. 7. שלם i.e. שָׁלַם cf. Ἀπολλώνιον εἶδον προσπορεύεται μοι λέγει Χαῖρε, from the papyrus quoted above (Corp.).

B. L. 1. צבתי Plur. constr. before כל, cf. בכורי כל Eze. 44 30. The meaning is prob. *ornaments*, Targ. צִבְתָּא, צִבְתָּא *finery*; cf. in Palm. 119 4 תצביתיהון *their ornaments*. Hoffmann (ZA xi 223) renders *bundles*, cf. Hebr. צִבְתִּים Ru. 2 16; a less suitable sense.

L. 2. תובניהמו Pael impf. 2 mas. or 3 fem. sing. For the suff. המו see 65 6 n.

L. 3. יאכלו Impf. 3 plur. without *nun*; see 61 4 n.

Ll. 4-6. לא שאר קטין The meaning seems to be 'there is plenty left.' שאר Prob. a noun = Hebr. שָׁאֵר, cf. Nab. שארית 94 3. For לא before a noun-clause cf. לא דומיה לי Ps. 22 3. לא איש כמוני Job 9 32 &c.

74. Elephantina. CIS ii 138. iv cent. Brit. Mus. no. 14219.

B

A

... צחא בר חברטין

1 פעל אסמן בר

... [י]תנון והן אמרו ס[הדיא]

2 באלו מנחמן זי הו

... חרתבא ובגטף חברטין[סן]

3 וידניה גשוריא מ ...

ן לן על פוחדך אמר	ושאל על פטוסרי ...	4
אבתם לה סרן ו	שחומו באלו ש ...	5
לא יהב לן	ושאל על חנ ...	6
מלכיה סרן	פטחרפחרט ...	7
[פ]טנתר בר	בר כומן כ ...	8
יגלף	מ	9

A

B

- ¹ Isimen, son of . . made Şəho, son of ḤBRTISN
² for these comforters (?), whom . . . they will give (?), and if the
he w[itnesses?] have said
³ and Geshuria (?) shall judge . . . ḤRTB' and BGTF; ḤBRTI[SN]
him . . .
⁴ and he asked about Peṭosiris to us against PUḤDK. He said
⁵ Šəhumu for these ? to him our prince (?), and
⁶ and he asked about he did not give us
⁷ Peṭharpohrates of kings, our prince (?)
⁸ son of Kaumen Peṭenutir, son of
⁹ shall carve (?)

The above texts are written with ink on either side of a potsherd; they probably formed part of a legal document.

A. L. 1. אסמן An Egypt. pr. n., perhaps *Isi-men* = 'Isis is firm.'

L. 2. אלו 1. 5 = אלו in the Mishnah, Hebr. אלה; here preceding the noun, as אלון in Dan. 2 44. 7 17 and הלון in the Pal. Talmud, see Dalman *Gram.* 82. מנחמן Perhaps = מנחמן comforters in the

sense of supporters or witnesses in a legal action.

L. 3. וידניה Prob. = וידניה. גשוריא It is not certain whether this is a pr. n. or a noun.

L. 4. פטוסרי See 69 9 n.

L. 5. שחומו Pr. n. with ending ו' as in Nab.

L. 7. פטחרפחרט An Egypt. pr. n. = 'he whom the god Harpocrates gave,' Πετεαρποχράτης; again in CIS ii 147 11. The π is used to transcribe the softer and harder aspirate (like the Arab. ح and خ) in Egyptian.

L. 8. כומן An Egypt. pr. n. *Kamen, Kaumenu.*

B. L. 1. צחא 77 A 4 = the Egypt. *Zeho*, in Gk. Τεώς or Ταχώς. חברטין Perhaps a Persian name (Corp.).

L. 5. ל. 7 is explained as = שרנא *our prince*. For the suff. cf. Palm. מרן 128 3; Nab. מראנא 81 8.

L. 6. לנא = לן *to us*.

L. 7. מלכיה Seems to be written for מלכיא, and to be part of the phrase מלך מלכיא, the usual title of the Persian kings, 71 3 and Dan. 2 37 (of Nebuchadnezzar).

L. 8. [פ]טנתר = the Egypt. *Peṭenutīru* 'devoted to the gods.'

L. 9. יגלף Apparently from the Aram. גלף *to engrave on stone*; the reference is not clear.

75. *Egypt; the Carpentras Stele*. CIS ii 141. v-iv cent. B.C.
Museum of Carpentras (S. France).

1 בריכה תבא ברת תחפי תמנחא זי אוסרי אלהא
2 מנדעם באיש לא עברת ווכרצי איש לא אמרת תמה
3 קדם אוסרי בריכה הוי מן קדם אוסרי מין קחי
4 הוי פלחה נמעתי וובין חסיה. הוי. שלמה

Blessed be Taba, daughter of Tahapi, devoted worshipper of the god Osiris. ² Aught of evil thou hast not done, and calumny against any man thou hast never (?) spoken. ³ Before Osiris be thou blessed! From before Osiris take thou water! ⁴ Be thou a worshipper, my pleasant one (?), and among the *his* favoured *the perfected*.

Above the inscr. an Egyptian funeral scene is carved; cf. 71. The characters belong to a somewhat later type than those of the latter inscr.; some of them, ב, ר, ע, ז, י, ש, ה, א, illustrate very clearly the transition from the archaic to the square alphabet. See Driver *Samuel* xviii-xxi.

L. 1. בריכה Cf. 71 1. תבא Egypt. pr. n. f., *ta-bai* 'she who is of the spirit.' Also Egypt., 'she who is of the god Hapi'; the mas. *Pahapi* is a common name. תמנחא i. e. מנחא *Monh* in Egypt. = 'pious,' 'perfect'; cf. the mas. מנחא זי אוסרי CIS ii 142. אוסרי אלהא Cf. 71 2.

L. 2. מנדעם i. e. מנדעם, so in Nab. 94 5, cf. Mand. מינדאם (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 186); in Palm. מדען 147 i 5 and (א)מדעם ib. 8; in Targums and Talm. מיד' (Dalman *Gr.* 90); in Syr. مَدْع. The word is

compounded of מַדַּע = מְנַדַּע and מֵא, lit. *scibile quid*; the various forms are corruptions of this (Wright *Comp. Gr.* 126). באיש

See 65 9 n. אמרת כרצי איש and עבדת 2 or 3 fem. sing.

Prob. a variation of the idiom ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ i.e. *he calumniated*, cf. Dan.

3 8. 6 25. With כרצי (so in Mand.) = קרצי lit. *morsels* cf. Syr. ܡܪܥܝ = Hebr. קָשַׁט, Mand. כושטא = Hebr. קָשַׁט. תמה i.e. תִּמָּה

may mean *there, yonder*, cf. Ezr. 5 17. 6 1, i.e. on the earth, speaking from the other world (so Nöld., Lidzb.), a somewhat artificial explanation. Lagarde suggests that תמה = Syr. ܡܠܥܡ (from ܡܠܥܡ), *ever*. The word cannot mean *perfect*; in Aram. this would be not תִּמָּה but תִּמְיָמָה, as is the rule with adjectives from ע'ע verbs.

L. 3. מין קחי Egypt. monuments and papyri frequently mention water as a last offering to the dead; illustrate from CIG 6562 εὐψύχει, κυρία, δοί(η) σοι ὁ Ὀσίρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ. 6717. Note the Hebraism קחי, cf. איש l. 2.

L. 4. נמעתי may be the name of an Egypt. deity, which פלחה seems to require; or it is an error for נעמתי, cf. 2 Sam. 1 26. Cant. 7 7. חסיה Perhaps the Egypt. *hosiou* 'favoured (by Osiris),' cf. חסתמה 71 1 n. It is also explained as = ܡܠܥܡ *pious*

(plur.); but this would be written ܡܠܥܡܐ. The line prob. ended ܡܠܥܡܐ. *Tong: JAOS 35, 371; AJSL 34, 191f; JAOS 46, 141ff.*

76. Saqqara; Papyri Blacassiani. CIS ii 145. End of v cent. B.C.
Brit. Mus.

A (recto)

... ולא ימלא בטניהם לח[ם]	1
... איש כיבי אלהיהם	2
... קימיהם עד יבנון קר[ית]	3
... וביומן אחרנן יאכל	4
... צדקה לאבוהי ויזב[ן]	5
... ויתקלנהי בלבה ויקטל איש ל[בני]	6
... מראה וישרה בני מראה	7
... לחם ויתכנשן אלהי מצרין	8
... שן זז וו וח	9

B (verso)

- ... לבני על תסהדא זי מלכא ושמע I
 ... בר פונש הו אחר ענה מלכא 2
 ... בר פונש מליא זי מלכא אמר וע[נה] 3
 ... [ק]טלת המו תהך בחרב חילך וח 4
 ... ף יחלף לך ושביא זי שבית בוא שנתא 5
 ... באלך וגרמ'ך לא יחתון שאול וטללך 6
 ... [בר פונ]ש על אלפי מלכא במנצ 7

C (recto)

- ... מלכא וזעק ומשח I
 ... זנה זי קרא 2
 ... [ת]תלנהי כן כזי עבדת לבנוהי 3
 ... לולא באתר ים יקטל 4
 ... שעתרם בתמאי ומנח[ם] 5
 ... ך תהך ותשלה 6
 ... ה עם אלהן ולחש עזור 7
 ... י ן ב 8

D (verso)

- ... זי ינתן לה אבוהי I
 ... שו אלהי מצרין זי 2
 ... [מצ]רין ויהוון 3
 ... מה ותאבר צדקתא ואי 4
 ... בו ואתנפק איש 5
 ... עלך בר כבוה ז[י] 6
 ... [יב]רכון לקברה ול 7
 ... ויאמרון לה צערי 8
 ... נתה בפלג תלך ול 9

A

¹ . . . nor may their belly be filled with bread . . . ² . . . each the pains (?) of their gods . . . ³ . . . their agreements, until they build the ci[ty] . . . ⁴ . . . and in later days he shall eat . . . ⁵ . . . righteousness to his father, and he shall sell . . . ⁶ . . . and let him weigh it in his heart, and let some one slay the s[ons] . . . ⁷ . . . his lord, and let some one release the sons of his lord . . . ⁸ . . . bread, and may the gods of Egypt assemble . . . ⁹ . . . 43 years . . .

B

¹ . . . for my sons, according to the testimony of the king, and he heard . . . ² . . . son of Punsh, he delayed (?). The king answered . . . ³ . . . son of Punsh the words which the king said; and he answered . . . ⁴ . . . thou didst kill them. Thou shalt go with the sword of thy might and . . . ⁵ . . . shall be changed (?) for thee, and the captives which thou hast taken this year . . . ⁶ . . . in these; and thy bones shall not go down to Sheol, and thy shadow . . . ⁷ . . . [son of Pun]sh, upon the thousands (?) of the king . . .

C

¹ . . . the king, and he cried and anointing-oil . . . ² . . . this which he called . . . ³ . . . thou shalt hang him even as thou didst to his sons . . . ⁴ . . . unless in the place where the sea is he kill . . . ⁵ . . . Sha'atram (?) in Tamai (?) and Menah[em] . . . ⁶ . . . thou shalt go and be at ease . . . ⁷ . . . with the gods, and he whispered (?), Help! (?) . . . ⁸ . . .

D

¹ . . . which his father will give him . . . ² . . . gods of Egypt, who . . . ³ . . . [of Eg]ypt, and they will be . . . ⁴ . . . and righteousness perish, and . . . ⁵ . . . and the man was brought out . . . ⁶ . . . 'LK, son of KBWH, who . . . ⁷ . . . [may they b]less his grave . . . ⁸ . . . and say to him, my (?) distress . . . ⁹ . . . in the midst . . .

The above texts, being written upon papyrus, do not properly come under the title of inscriptions, but they are included because they illustrate the language and writing used by Aramaic-speaking settlers in Egypt during the same period as the engraved texts of this group. The writing is of a similar type to that of 75, but of a more cursive form, and a stage nearer to the square character; see Driver *Sam.* xxi (with facsimile). As in 75, the language contains some marked Hebraisms. These stray leaves are too mutilated to enable us to make out their general purport; it has been suggested that they give an account of a plot against the government of the Persian king in Egypt.

A. L. 1. ימלא בטנהם Cf. Job 15 2. 20 23. The 3 plur. m. suff. ends in ה'ם, e. g. אלהיהם l. 2. קימיהם l. 3; so regularly in Nab., e. g. נפשהם 80 2. בניהם 102 4; Targ. Ps.-Jon. בִּיתְהוֹם (also הוֹן); Bibl. Aram. ראשֵׁהם Ezr. 5 10 (also הוֹן), cf. אֱלֹהֵכֶם 7 17. In Palm. the form is הוֹן.

L. 2. איש A Hebraism, cf. 75 2. כיבי Perhaps = Targ. בִּיבָא, Syr. כַּלָּ, Hebr. בָּיַב; but what 'the pains of their gods' can mean is not clear.

L. 3. קימיהם Apparently plur. of קימא, Syr. مَقَام.

L. 4. אחרנ Plur. of אחרן, Syr. اِخْرَنْ next, following, plur. اِخْرَان; cf. Dan. 2 11 אחרן another.

L. 5. ויזבן i. e. ויזבן, cf. in Nab. 79 6 &c.

L. 6. יתקלנהי i. e. יתקלנהי, cf. תתלנהי C 3. For the suff. with nun energetic cf. the Bibl. Aram. יקטלנהי, Pal. Aram. יעבדיניה (Dalman *Gr.* 308); and for the 3 sing. m. suff. in ה' cf. the Syr. ه' with the impf., and the Palm. יצקנהי Deut. 32 10. The Hebr. forms יצקנהי Jer. 5 22 are similar (Ges.-Kau. § 58 k). [בני] So Corp., cf. בני מראה l. 7.

L. 7. מראה See 62 11 n.

L. 8. ויתכנשן for ויתכנשן, cf. 147 ii c 33. מצרין The dual is written with י, but the plur. without י, e. g. יומן אחרנ l. 4. שן l. 9.

B. L. 1. תסהרא = כְּהוֹתָא witness.

L. 2. פונש An Egyptian pr. n. אחר Apparently perf. 3 sing. m. ענה מלכא Cf. Dan. 2 5. 8. 20 &c.

L. 4. המו Here accus. eos, as in Ezr. 4 10. 23, in Dan. תהך C 6, i. e. תהך impf. of הלך; similarly in Targ. and Bibl. Aram., e. g. יִהְיֶה Ezr. 5 5.

L. 5. יחלף לך The last letter of each word is uncertain. זא Cf. 61. 18. 69 13.

L. 6. באלך Cf. Dan. 3 12 &c. Ezr. 4 21 &c. (אלך). Pe. יחתון
impf. of נחת.

L. 7. אלפי Instead of אלפי thousands, the word may be pointed אלפי chiefs, lit. chiliarchs, specially an Edomite term, Gen. 36 15 ff.

C. L. 1. משה may be a verb and he anointed, or a noun anointing-oil as in CIS ii 44, in Palm. 147 ii a 27. משהא 122 3.

L. 2. זנה Cf. 69 22.

L. 3. תחלנהי Prob. impf. 2 sing. m. from תלה, i. e. תחלנהי; for the suff. see A 6 n. כוי = כרי sicut in Nab. 80 7. 86 6, Bibl. Aram. Dan. 2 43, Targ. כר.

L. 4. לולא Dalman reads [א]לולי, like the Pal. Aram. אילולי (= אילו = if), Gr. 189.

L. 5. שעתרם The form may be incomplete; a pr. n. תמאי is said to mean in Egypt. a cat.

L. 6. תשלה Apparently impf. of שלה to rest.

L. 7. אלהי Plur., cf. 69 20, and contrast אלהי 62 23. לחש
Pael, as in Aram. and Hebr.; cf. Is. 26 16 (noun). עזור = עזור?
imperat. The scriptio plena is remarkable.

D. L. 1. ינתן So in Nab. 79 3, in Bibl. Aram. יתן.

L. 3. ויהוון i. e. ויהוון.

L. 5. ואתנפק Ethp. perf.; in the Targum the Ittafal is used, e. g. אתנפק Eze. 24 6. מיתפקא Onk. Gen. 38 25 (with נ assimilated).

L. 6. כבוה . . עלך Pr. nn.; the first is perhaps incomplete.

L. 8. צערי The י may be the suff. or sign of the plur. constr.; Targ. צערא, Syr. ܥܥܪܐ.

L. 9. בפלג Lit. in the division; but the form may be mutilated.

77. Papyrus Luparensis. CIS ii 146. iv cent. B.C. Louvre.

A

נפקתה ב'רח פאפי	1 ... [ב'רח] פאפי זי מת[כ]תב
ב ו לפאפי לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי ו	2 ... [חמר] מצרין קלבי ו
מצרין [קלול ו]	
ב ו לפאפי לשרתא מצרין קלול ו	3 ... [מצר]ין קלול ו קלבין ו
קלבין ו	

היב לצחא בר פמת חמר מצרין מאנן ווו וו ו...	4
בגף קלולן וו קלבין ווו עליך זער שר...	5
ב... ל עליך קדם עחר מ[צר]ין קלול ו	6
מצרין קלול ו	7
ב[ב]ל[י] לא מצרין קלבי ו	8
זי בצ. נה מצרין קלול ו	9
ב... לפאפי] לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי ו מצרין [קלול ו]	10
ל... בר פחה מצרין קלול ו	11
ל... ל[שרתא] מ[צרין קלו]ל ו	12

B

ב זווו לשרתא קלול ו קלבי ו	1
ב זווו ו לבגור ו קלבין וו	2
לנקיה קדם אפתו אלהא רבא קלבי ו	3
לנקיה קדם אסי רבתי קלבי ו	4
לשרתא חמר צידן קלבו ו	5
ב זווו ו לכיחך זי הו יום לנדר לשרתא קלולן וו	6
ב זווו ווו קדם א[וסרי]...	7
עליך אנוומי...	8
ב זווו ווו וו ל...	9
ב זווו ווו ווו ל...	10
עחרנפי ה...	11
לב... א...	12
ל	13

A

¹ . . . [in the month] of Paophi, which is written out. ² . . . [wine] of Egypt, qelbi 1. ³ . . . [Egypt]ian, qelul 1, qelbin 2.

.
¹ Outgoings in the month of Paophi. ² On the 1st of Paophi, for the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1, Egyptian, [qelul 1]. ³ On the 2nd of Paophi, for the meal, Egyptian, qelul 1, qelbin 2. ⁴ Given to Şəḥo, son of Pamut, wine of Egypt, ma'nin 5 and . . . ⁵ For each person, qelulin 2, qelbin 3; on your account, a small (?) ⁶ . . . on your account, before 'Aḥor (?), E[gy]ptian, qelul 1. ⁷ . . . Egyptian, qelul 1. ⁸ . . . [at] night, Egyptian, qelbi 1. ⁹ . . . which is in . . . , Egyptian, qelul 1. ¹⁰ [On the . . . of Paophi], for the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1, Egyptian, [qelul 1]. ¹¹ [To] . . . , son of Peḥa (?), Egyptian, qelul 1. ¹² . . . for [the meal], E[gyptian, qelu]l 1.

B

¹ On the 23rd, for the meal, qelul 1, qelbi 1. ² On the 24th, for ? 1, qelbin 2. ³ For the libation before Apuaitu (?), the great god, qelbi 1. ⁴ For the libation before the lady Isis, qelbi 1. ⁵ For the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1. ⁶ On the 25th of Koiḥak, which is a day for vows, for the meal, qelulin 2. ⁷ On the 26th, before O[siris] . . . ⁸ On your account ? . . . ⁹ On the 28th, for . . . ¹⁰ On the 29th, for . . . ¹¹ 'Aḥor-nufi (?)

These texts are fragments of daily accounts kept by a steward, to be submitted to the master of the house. They were probably written during the Persian rule, and belong to a rather later date than 76.

A. L. 1. פאפי The 2nd month of the Egyptian year, Sept. 28th–Oct. 27th; Copt. Paōpi (see Brightman *Liturgies* 168), Gk. Παωφί, Arab. بَاسَاط. נפקתה A noun fem. sing. in the emph. st., or perhaps with suff. 3 sing.; cf. נִפְקְתָּא Ezr. 6 4 and نَقْفًا = τὴν δαπάνην Lk. 14 28.

L. 2. קלבי An Egypt. fluid measure; the derivation is unknown, cf. Arab. قَالِبٌ a mould. The Corp. renders *lagena*. לשרתה ll. 3. 10 &c. for the feast; Targ. שִׁירֻתָּא, e.g. Onk. Gen. 43 16, Syr. ܡܫܠܐ; ;

from שרה lit. *to loose*, cf. משתרה 68 6. חמר צידן l. 10. B 5.

Wine from Phoenicia (e.g. Beirut, Byblus) and Syria was specially esteemed in antiquity; cf. Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.* i 52 ὡς ἄδιστος ἔφν πάντων Φοινίκιος οἶνος. מצרין Lit. *Egypt*, here *Egyptian wine*; see

Gen. 40 9-11, Strabo 687 (ed. Müll.) οἶνόν τε οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκφέρει (nome of Arsinoë), ib. 679 ὁ Μαρεώτης οἶνος &c., Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xiv 9.

L. 3. קלול It is suggested that this is the Egypt. *qerer*, *qelet* 'vessel,' Copt. *κελωλ* a small vessel. But in Aram. are found קָלָל Talm. *Para* 79 b, a stone vessel for receiving the ashes of the sin-offering, מִסָּבֵל, plur. מִסָּל; whence the Arab. قُلَّة an earthen water-jug (Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw. in Arab.* 170 f.). The קלול was clearly a fluid measure; Corp. *amphora*.

L. 4. יהיב=היב Ptcp. of יהב; cf. CIS ii 147 B 2 &c. צחה Cf. 74 B 1. פמת Egypt., of the goddess Mut. מאנן Lit. vessels here measures; Corp. *dolia*, i.e. large wine-jars.

L. 5. גף Apparently=גופא body, corpse. בגף is taken to mean *for each, individually*; what seems to be the full expression occurs in CIS ii 147 1 בגופא גפיה, cf. in Gk. papyri τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν σωμάτων. עליך זער The meaning perhaps is *for you* (i.e. the master) a small (measure of some kind).

L. 6. עחר Prob. the name of an Egypt. deity to whom the libation was offered; cf. B 11. CIS ii 136 לעחר.

L. 9. נה בצ Restore בצענה i.e. in the city of *Tanis*, צען Ps. 78 12. 43 &c.

L. 11. פחה Probably an Egypt. pr. n. *Paha*.

B. L. 1. After the numeral the name of the month is to be understood; see l. 6.

L. 2. לבגור ? meaning. If it is a pr. n., instead of the numeral we must read 1 as part of the name לבגורו.

L. 3. נקיה Prob.=נקייה, نَكِيَّة libation. אפתו The name of a deity, perhaps Apuaitu (a form of Anubis), though this would be transliterated אפוייתו.

L. 4. אסי רבתי See 3 2 n.

L. 6. כ'חך The 4th month of the civil year, Egypt. *Kahika*, Arab. كَيْهَك.

L. 8. אנוומי ? pr. n.

L. 11. פינתא If the form is complete, the meaning may be *angle, corner*, Targ. פִּינִיתָא, פִּתָּא, Hebr. פֶּנֶה.

עחרנפי Perhaps = the Egypt. *Ahor-nufi* (for *-nufir*) 'Ahor is good'; cf. A 6.

בעל 1 Chr. 9 40. מְהִיטְבָּאֵל Neh. 6 10 &c. בנה So 99 1, cf. הוה
CIS ii 224 4; but בנא 333 2 and in Palm. 122 5.

L. 3. אֱלֹל Aug.–Sept., Neh. 6 15; one of the names of the
Babyl. months borrowed by the Jews after the exile. See Schrader
COT 380.

L. 4. חרתת i.e. Aretas iv, ὁ Περραιὸς βασιλεύς (Jos. *Ant.* xviii 5 1),
who reigned from B.C. 9 to A.D. 40; inscriptions (CIS ii 214 f.) and coins
are dated in his 48th year. After his accession he secured the favour
of Augustus, and was recognized as king (Jos. *ib.* xvi 10 9). Herod
Antipas married his daughter (see 95 3 *n.*), but subsequently set her
aside for Herodias, and thus gave Aretas a pretext to punish his
son-in-law for this and other grievances (Jos. *ib.* xviii 5 1). At a later
time, circ. A.D. 38, when St. Paul was persecuted by his ethnarch (2 Cor.
11 32), Aretas was master of Damascus; it is conjectured that the town
had been made over to him by Caligula as a peace-offering¹. He is
mentioned in 20 inscr. from El-Ḥejra (CIS ii 197–217), in the second
inscr. from Petra 95, in the inscr. of Medeba 96, of Sidon CIS ii 160,
of Puteoli 102, and frequently on coins. In the inscr. he is surnamed
רחם עמה = Φιλόπατρις, a title which asserts his claim to independence,
in contrast to such titles as Φιλορώμαιος, Φιλοκαῖσαρ, adopted by subject
kings. חרתת = Gk. Ἀρέτας for Ἀρέθας, perhaps under the influence of
ἀρετή. נבטו The kingdom of the Nabataeans was centred at
Petra, the former Edomite stronghold of Sela'; hence the name of
the country, Ἀραβία ἡ πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ i.e. Arabia Petraea. From this
centre it extended northwards, at times even to Damascus (in B.C. 85
and A.D. 34–65 circ.), and southwards into N. Arabia, as far as
the NE. shore of the Red Sea, 'omnis regio ab Euphrate usque
ad mare Rubrum,' says St. Jerome (*infr.*). From the language of the
inscriptions it appears that the Nabataeans were of Arab race and spoke
Arabic, but used Aramaic for the purposes of writing and commerce;
Nöldeke in *Eut. Nab. Inschr.* 78. Before the Hellenistic period little,
or nothing, is known of them. It is probable that the *Na-ba-ai-ti*,
frequently named along with other Arab tribes² in the Rassam
Cylinder of Ašurbanipal (*KB* ii 216–222), were the Nabataeans.
Whether the latter are the same as the Arab tribe called נביות in
the O.T. is not altogether certain; the identification is as old as

¹ The Roman Damascene coins end with Tiberius, A.D. 34, and begin again with
Nero, A.D. 62–3; in the interval Dam. was under the Nab. kings. So Gutschmidt
in *Eut. Nab. Inschr.* 85; Schürer *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*³ i 737.

² E.g. the *Ḳid-ra-ai* i.e. קרר, *KB* ii 222; cf. נביות and קרר Gen. 25 13 &c.,
Nabataei and Cedrei in Pliny *Hist. Nat.* v 12.

Josephus (*Ant.* i 12 4 Ναβαιώθης—Ναβατηνὴν χώραν), who is followed by Jerome (*Quaest.* in Gen. 25 13 ed. Vallar. tom. iii 345) and most moderns. נְבִיֹּת looks like a fem. plur. (cf. מְנִיֹּת from מִנָּה Neh. 12 47 &c.), and may possibly come from the Arab. نَبَوَاةٌ *lofty place, eminence*; its resemblance to נבטו is thus not very close, although there are analogies for the interchange of ת and ט, e. g. قتل and قطل, 62 8 n.¹ In the Hellenistic period the Nabataeans first appear in the time of Antigonos, 312 B.C., who sent two expeditions against them, Diod. xix 94–100. Their first known ruler was the Aretas of 2 Macc. 5 8 (τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων τύραννον), with whom Jason sought asylum in 169 B.C., for the Nabataeans were friendly to the Maccabaeian family, 1 Macc. 5 25. 9 35. With the decay of the Gk. kingdoms of Syria and Egypt their power increased, and towards the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. they were consolidated under a vigorous king named Erotimus, who was perhaps the founder of the Nab. dynasty (see Jos. *Ant.* xiii 13 3. 5. 15 1. 2. *Wars* i 4 4. 8 &c.)². In B.C. 85 Aretas iii was master of Damascus, and struck coins there with the legend βασιλέως Ἀρέτου Φιλέλληνος. Shortly after this the Nabataeans for the first time came into collision with the Romans under Pompey and Scaurus, Jos. *Ant.* xiv 1 4–2 3. 5 1. *Wars* i 8 1; and in the subsequent period were sometimes reduced to tributaries, sometimes allowed a measure of independence, until finally in A.D. 106, when Cornelius Palma was governor of Syria, the Nab. kingdom was absorbed into the Empire and became a Roman province³.

The following list of Nab. kings, based upon Schürer *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*³ i 726–744, will be convenient for reference:

Aretas i reigning in 169 B.C.	Aretas iv 9 B.C.–40 A.D. 78–91.
Erotimus „ 110–100 B.C.	95. 96.
Aretas ii „ 96 B.C.	Abias.
Obedas i „ 90 B.C.	Malchus ii circ. 48–71 A.D. 92*.
Aretas iii circ. 85–60 B.C.	93. 99.
Malchus i circ. 50–28 B.C. 100*.	Rabel circ. 71–106 (?) A.D. 97*.
102.	101.
Obedas ii circ. 28–9 B.C. 95*.	End of the Nab. kingdom 106 A.D.

Under the numbers marked by an asterisk further particulars will be found.

¹ The Gk. Ναβαταῖοι = Aram. נַבְטַיִּי, Lagarde *Bild. Nom.* 52.

² Justinus xxxix 5, cited by Schürer ib. 731. Bevan *House of Seleucus* ii 257.

³ Dio. Cass. lxxviii 14, cited by Schürer ib. 743.

79. El-Hejra. CIS ii 197; Eut. 2. B.C. I. In situ.

- 1 דנה קברא די עבר עידו בר כהילו בר
 2 אלכסי לנפשה וילדה ואחרה ולמן די ינפק בידה
 3 כתב תקף מן יד עידו קים לה ולמן די ינתן ויקבר בה
 4 עידו בחיוהי בירח ניסן שנת תשע לחרתת מלך
 5 נבטו רחם עמה ולענו דושרא ומנותו וקישא
 6 כל מן די יזבן כפרא דנה או יזבן או ירהן או ינתן או
 7 יוגר או יתאלף עלוהי כתב כלה או יקבר בה אנוש
 8 להן למן די עלא כתיב וכפרא וכתבה דנה חרם
 9 בחליקת חרם נבטו ושלמו לעלם עלמין

This is the sepulchre which 'Aïdu, son of Kohailu, son ² of Elqasi, made for himself and his children and his posterity, and for whomsoever shall produce in his hand ³ a warrant from the hand of 'Aïdu: it shall hold good for him and for whomsoever 'Aïdu during his life-time shall give leave to bury in it: ⁴ in the month Nisan, the ninth year of Harethath, king ⁵ of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dûshara and Manûthu and Qaishah curse ⁶ every one who shall sell this tomb, or buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or ⁷ let it, or frame for it any (other) writ, or bury any one in it ⁸ except those who are written above! And the tomb and this its inscription are inviolable things, ⁹ after the manner of what is held inviolable by the Nabataeans and Shalamians, for ever and ever.

L. 1. עידו 93 1 i.e. عَائِدٌ, 'Aēdōs Wadd. 2034 &c. כהילו i.e. كَهَيْلٌ; in Palm. 141 2.

L. 2. אלכסי Prob. = 'Aléξios. ילדה ואחרה Both words are always in sing., with collect. sense. For אחר see 65 10 n.

L. 3. כתב תקף 87 3 &c. lit. a document of confirmation, תִּקְּףָא = be strong; cf. Esth. 9 29 (תִּקְּףָא). קים Ptcp. קים. ינתן ויקבר For the construction cf. the use of the subjunct. with ف in Arab., Wright *Ar. Gr.*³ ii 30 f.; the impf. (or juss.) with ! in Hebr., e.g. 2 S. 16 11

לִּי וְיִקְלֵל. Is. 43 9 &c., cf. Job 19 23, Driver *Tenses* § 62; in Bibl. Aram. cf. Dan. 5 2 וַיִּשְׁתּוֹן . . . אָמַר, though the pf. with ו is more usual, Dan. 5 29 &c., as in Syr., Nöld. *Syr. Gr.*² § 334 B.

L. 4. נִיסָן The 1st month, Mar. 22 to April 20, Neh. 2 1. Esth. 3 7; see 78 3 n. לַחֲרַתָּ See 78 4 n.

L. 5. וְלַעֲנוּ 81 4 &c. = Arab. لَعَنَ. The perf. is used similarly in Arab. for prayers and imprecations, e.g. لَعَنَكَ اللَّهُ, Wright l. c. 3. דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל The chief god of the Nabataeans, worshipped throughout N. Arabia, especially at Petra, and in Hauran at Adra'a (أدرعي) and Bostra. In Arab. the name is written ذو الشرى i. e. ذو lit. ^{he of} owner, possessor (cf. בעל) and الشرى, prob. the name of a place¹. Wellhausen enumerates three places called Sharâ, and described by Arab. writers as remarkable either for swampy ground, or for lions, or for water, trees, and jungle. Such localities were esteemed specially suitable for a *himâ* or *temenos* of a god, and Shara, wherever it may have been, was prob. a place of this kind; *Reste Ar. Heidenth.* 48 ff. Thus Dhu-sharâ lit. ^{the} owner of Sharâ is only an appellation of the god: his actual name (p. 239 n. 1) was not used; cf. Dhu'l Ḥalaṣa (Arab., 105 n.), Dhu Shamâwi (Sab., 9 1 n.), בעלת גבל (= עשתרת), בעל צר (= מלקרת), 3 2 n. In Sabaeen both the name and title of a god are sometimes used in full, e.g. 'Athtar Dhu Gaufat (CIS iv 40 4. 41 2 f.), Almaqah Dhu Hîrrân (Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Denkm.* 6). Dusares was worshipped at Petra under the form of a black rectangular stone², a sort of Petraean Ka'aba; and Epiphanius describes a feast held at Petra on Dec. 25th in honour of 'Χααβου [χααμοῦ ed. Dind. ii 484] i. e. virgin, and her offspring Δουσάρης i. e. the only son of the lord' (*Haer.* 51)³. By Gk. and Lat. writers Dusares was identified with Dionysos-Bacchus: Δουσάρην τὸν Διόνυσον Ναβαταῖοι ὡς φησὶν Ἰσιδωρος (Hesych. s.v.); but, as Wellhausen justly remarks, the god of a nomad race of Arabs, living in the desert, could hardly have been worshipped originally under the character of Dionysos, for Dionysos (בעל) is the

¹ Acc. to Steph. Byz. s.v. Δουσάρη, a mountain, σκόπελος καὶ κορυφή ὑψηλοτάτη 'Αραβίας· εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουσάρου. Hence, he says, the Nabs. called themselves Δουσαρηνοί.

² Suidas *Lex.* s.v. Θεὸς Ἀρης.

³ If the reading is right Χααβου prob. = נַעֲבֹ lit. a die, cube, i. e. the sacred stone, either of Dusares himself, or of a goddess-consort (such as Allât); see on the passage Röscher *ZDMG* xxxviii 643 ff. Rob. Smith holds that the Petraeans worshipped Mother and Son, each under the form of a stone (*Kinship* 292 f.; *Rel. of Sem.* 57 n.); Wellhausen (l. c. 50), that they conceived of Dusares as born from his *baetylion*. In his account of the cult, Epiph. may have been unconsciously influenced by Christian ideas of the Parthenogenesis.

god by the virgin? det. motherly bond. same motherly

god of agricultural, settled life. No doubt in time, under the influence of Canaanite and Aramaic civilization, Dusares assimilated the attributes of Ba'al-Dionysos¹; and if, as there is some evidence for believing, Dusares was originally a solar deity (see Baethgen *Beitr.* 95 f.), the assimilation is not difficult to imagine.

מנותו 80 4. 8. Note the ending ׀, not elsewhere in Nab. with fem. nouns, as in Arabic a pr. n. ending in 3 does not take tanwîn. מנותו is the Arab. goddess مَنَاة, mentioned in the Qurân, 53 20. Wellhausen, l. c. 28, explains the form as a plur. *manavâtun* and the name as = Fate, lit. *portion, lot* (as מנתא in Aram.), Τύχη, cf. Gad. The chief centre of the cult of Manâth was in the Hejaz, at the water of Qudaïd, a station on the pilgrim-road between Medina and Mekka.

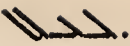
קישא 89 9. קישה 80 4. This is the only instance known of the emph. st. in ה'. As in the case of מנותו, nothing definite as to the character of this deity has been preserved. Eut. quotes the pr. nn. امرؤ القيس, قيس; possibly *Ka-uš-ma-la-ka*, a king of Edom mentioned by Tiglath-pileser (*KB* ii 20), contains the name of the deity.

L. 6. יזבן . . יזבן Peal . . Pael, 80 4 f. 81 5. כפרא 80 1 &c., according to D. H. Müller a word imported from the Lihyan dialect preserved in inscr. from El-'Ölâ, *Epigr. Denkm. aus Arab.* p. 65, nos. 9. 25. 27. 29. In any case the Arab. كَفَّر, usually *village*, also means *tomb*, as in Nab. The statement of Strabo (p. 667 ed. Müll.) that the Nabs. Ἰσα κοπρίαὶς ἡγοῦνται τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα . . . διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς κοπρῶνας κατορύττουσι καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς is cleverly explained by Cl.-Gan. as due to a misunderstanding of the Nab. כפרא, which suggested κοπρία, κοπρών to Gk. ears, *Ét.* i 146 ff. ירהן 80 5 &c. = رهن *give in pledge*.

L. 7. יוגר 81 6 &c., also יאגר CIS ii 220 4, Afel impf. of אגר. יתאלף CIS ii 217 10 &c. = Arab. اَلَّف lit. *join*, so *compose* (books), a different sense from that of the Aram. ילף, אלף *teach, learn*. אנוש The form as in Hebr. and BAram. Dan. 4 13 Kt. The word is used in this dialect, as also in BAram. (אִנְשׁ), with an indeterminate sense, *every man, no man, any one*, τὴς, e. g. 86 6. 89 5. 90 3. 94 5; similarly in Targ. Onk., e. g. Lev. 13 2. 18. 24; cf. Palm. אנש 147 i 11.

L. 8. להן i. e. לֹא־הֵן = לֹא־הֵן except 88 3. 94 5. Dan. 2 11. 3 28 &c.; cf. להן די יהוא 90 4. עלא Cf. מנהון. עלא Dan. 6 3 and עילא in Pal.

¹ Thus coins of Bostra (iii cent. B. C.) bear the figure of a wine-press, and the legend Ἀκτια Δουσάρια or Δουσάρια alone; see further Mordtmann *ZDMG* xxix 104 f.

Aram., for the usual . חרם has the suff. 3 sing. m. 81 3. 86 2. 94 3-5, Af. ptcp. מחרם 86 3, hence מחרמתא 102 1 f. chapel; in Palm. חרמן 112 4 = ἀναθήματα; in Sabaean חרמת = sanctuary (Sab. Denkm. 70), similarly מחרם CIS iv 74 15. The √ חרם conveys the idea of a sacred thing *prohibited* to human use, hence حَرَامٌ sanctuary; see 1 17 n., p. 68, and Lagrange *Rel. Sémi.* 181-187.

L. 9. חליקת 81 3. 86 2 &c. = خَلِيقَةٌ nature, character. שלמו 81 4. 86 3 &c., a people nearly related to the Nabataeans; Steph. Byz. s.v. Σαλάμιοι ἔθνος Ἀράβιον· σάλαμα δὲ ἡ εἰρήνη· ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνσπονδοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις. In the Talm. they are mentioned together, e. g. Jer. *Shebi'ith* vi fol. 36 b ערביא שלמיא נבטיא; see Neubauer *Géogr. du Talm.* 427 for other references. In the Targ. שלמא = הַלְיָנִי, e. g. Onk. Num. 24 21 f., &c.

80. El-Hejra. CIS ii 198; Eut. 3. B. C. or A. D. I. In situ.

- | | |
|---|----|
| דנה כפרא די עברו כמכם ברת ואלת ברת חרמו | 1 |
| וכליבת ברתה לנפשהם ואחרהם בירח טבת שנת | 2 |
| תשע לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה וילען דושרא | 3 |
| ומותבה ואלת מן עמנר ומנותו וקיששה מן יזבן | 4 |
| כפרא דנה או מן יזבן או ירהן או ינתן יתה או ינפק | 5 |
| מנה גת או שלו או מן יקבר בה עיר כמכם וברתה | 6 |
| ואחרהם ומן די לא יעבר כדי עלא כתיב פאיתי עמה | 7 |
| לדושרא והבלו ולמנותו שמדין 3 ולאפכלא קנם | 8 |
| סלעין אלף חרתי בלעד מן די ינפק בידה כתב מן יד | 9 |
| כמכם או כליבת ברתה בכפרא הו פקים כתבא הו | 10 |
| והבאלהי בר עברעברת | 11 |
| עבר | 12 |

This is the tomb which Kamkâm, daughter of Wâilat, daughter of H̄aramu, ² and Kulaibat her daughter made for themselves and their posterity: in the month Tēbeth, the ninth year ³ of H̄arethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dûshara ⁴ and his throne (?), and Allât

of 'Amnad, and Manûthu, and Qaishah curse him who shall sell ⁵ this tomb, or who shall buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or take out ⁶ from it body or limb, or who shall bury in it any other than Kamkâm and her daughter ⁷ and their posterity; and any one who shall not do according to what is written above, he shall be charged ⁸ from Dûshara and Hubalu and from Manûthu with 5 curses, and to the magician (?) with a fine ⁹ of a thousand *sela's* Harethite; saving him who shall produce in his hand a writ from the hand ¹⁰ of Kamkâm or Kulaibat her daughter concerning the said tomb; and the said writ shall hold good. ¹¹ Wahb-allâhi, son of 'Abd-'obedath, ¹² did the work.

L. 1. עברו The mas. form is used in 3 plur. pf. and impf., though the subj. is fem., cf. 85 1. יתקברון 93 2. כמכם Pr. n. fem. = כְּמִכָּאָם an Arab. gum, Sab. כמכם (*Sab. Denkm.* 83), κάγκαμον. The genealogy is here reckoned through the mother and grandfather (חרמו), and the grave is set apart by a mother and daughter for themselves and their children, the family *sacra*, with the exclusive right of burial, being thus transmitted through women independently of their husbands; cf. 85. From 91 it appears that married women could hold property and bequeath it on their own account. Sometimes it is the father who provides for the burial rights of his daughters and their children, e. g. 81. 90; but as a rule the family grave descends in the male line, e. g. 79, esp. 89. These facts point to the independent position held by women among the Nabataeans, testified further by the Nab. coins, upon which women figure prominently; and to the survival of the old rule of female kinship, along with the later system of transmission through males (Nöld. in *Eut. Nab. Inschr.* 79 f., Rob. Smith *Kinship* 313 ff.). 90 2 i. e. وَأَلَّةٌ fem., Οὐαελαθη Wadd. 2055; in Sin. the name is mas., *Eut.* 504 &c. חרמו i. e. חָרִימָה, cf. חָרִימָה.

L. 2. כליבת i. e. כְּלִיבָה fem. of כְּלִיבָה. לנפשהם The suff. הם' is mas. and fem. in Nab.; see 76 A 1 n. טבת i. e. תִּבְתַּת the 10th month, Dec. 17–Jan. 15, Assy. *Tibituv*, 78 3 n.; *Esth.* 2 15. Thus in the 9th year of Aretas iv the first half of Tebeth fell in B.C. 1, the second in A.D. 1.

L. 3. וילען Impf. 86 8; pf. 79 5.

L. 4. מותבה 94 3 f. (after דושרא) = מוֹשְׁבֵּה his throne, מושב = מותב,

70 1 (מִיתְבָּא, see *n.*), cf. Apoc. 12 5. The *throne* of D. has been explained as the platform on which his shrine was built; Cl.-Gan. identifies it with his altar, and thinks that the altar-throne was none other than the black squared stone worshipped at Petra (p. 218), *Rec.* iv 247-250¹. It seems, however, more likely that the explanation of the term is to be found in the ritual scenes depicted on Bab.-Assyr. tablets, where the god is seated in his shrine facing the altar; e.g. the tablet of Nabû-pal-iddina illustrated in the Brit. Mus. *Guide to Bab. and Assy. Ant.* (1900) Pl. xxii. Thus מוֹתְבָּא is practically the same as *his shrine*; see 94 3 *n.* אֱלֹת i. e. اللات *Allât*, the chief goddess of the ancient Arabs; cf. CIS ii 185 אֱלֹת אִם אֱלֹהִיָּא. She is mentioned with Al-'Uzza and Manât in Qur. 53 20. Arab writers say that her *himâ* (79 5 *n.*) was the rich valley in which the town of Tâif lay, 60 miles SE. of Mekka; while the inscrs. show that her worship extended northwards to Ḥejra, Ḥauran (98. 99), as far as Palmyra (117); it reached also to Carthage and the Pun. settlements, see 60 3 *n.* The name אֱלֹת with a final long vowel due to contraction (not the fem. ending), means *goddess*, and is prob. contracted from الإلهة (fem. of الإله = الله) — ال — اللات — ال — الت, the middle stage of the contraction appearing in the Ἀλιλάτ of Herod. iii 8. The expression אֱלֹת אֱלֹהֵיהֶם *A. their goddess* in 99 1 seems to show that the original meaning of the name was in time forgotten. As to the character of the deity, there is some reason to think that she was a sun-goddess (so Wellh. *Reste Ar. Heid.* 33); in Sabaean *Ilāhat of Hamdān* אֱלֹהֵת had solar attributes, *Sab. Denkm.* 66 f. But in Palm. 117 6 she is distinct from שֶׁשׁ; by Herod. (l.c.) and others she is called Οὐρανίη²; and in Ḥauran and at Palmyra her Gk. equivalent was Ἀθήνη³. This rather implies that she was an astral or sky deity, possibly the moon-goddess beside Dûshara the sun-god, if such was his original character (79 5 *n.*). In ancient Babylon Allatu was goddess of the nether regions (Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 104 &c.), but

¹ On some early Gk. vases the god is represented seated on his altar. Cl.-Gan. quotes Gk. inscriptions from Shêh Barakât near Aleppo (*Ét.* ii § 4) to Ζεὺς Μαδβαχός = מַדְבָּח (?) בעל = Ζεὺς Βωμός on an inscr. lately found in the same district, *Rec.* iv § 28. The evidence is hardly convincing enough to support the far-reaching identification above.

² Herod. says, the Arabs ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ. Origen *contr. Cels.* v 37 οἱ Ἀράβιοι τὴν Οὐρανίαν καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον μόνους ἡγοῦνται θεούς. Arrian *Exp. Alex.* vii 20 Ἀραβας δύο μόνον τιμᾶν θεούς, τὸν Οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

³ Ἀθήνη in Gk. inscrs. from Ḥauran = אֱלֵא, Wadd. 2203, 2308 &c. The son of Zenobia, הַנְּבִי, was called in Gk. Ἀθηνόδωρος.

there is no evidence that אלת had this character in Phoen. or Arab. religion (see 50 1 n.). עמנר or מן עמנר The name of a place; cf. אלת די בצלחר 99 1 f.

L. 6. עיר . . שלו . . גת Arab. words: جُثَّة corpse, شَلْو member of the body, غَيْر another.

L. 7. פאיתי עלוהי 81 7 i. e. פִּאִיתִי עִלְיָהּ, cf. פאיתי עלוהי CIS ii 217 7. The first letter is the Arab. conj. ف, cf. פקים l. 10 and often.

L. 8. הבלו Though the prep. is absent, this is prob. the ancient god הבל, cf. בנהבל 102 5 (?); for the omission of the prep. cf. לנפשהם ואחרהם l. 2. שמרין Perhaps to be connected with مَصْرَب which sometimes = to curse, the Aram. equivalent of the Arab. لعن; cf. CIS ii 211 8 לענת iiiii four curses. לאפכלא Possibly the name of some religious or secular institution, Lidzb. 145 n. Nöld. suggests that the form is an error for לאכפלא in double (amount); cf. פאיתי עלוהי כפל CIS ii 217 7. The word has been found recently in a Palm. inscr. following the name of a person אלהא די עזיוו אלהא בעל . . . בר ירחבולא אפכלא די עזיוו אלהא where it is clearly a priestly title, perhaps (after the Assy. Abkallu) = 'magician' (see p. 295 n. 1), and in the Minaean (?) inscr. from Warka אפכל = أَفْكَل in the same position, Hommel Süd-Arab. Chrest. 113. Lidzb., Eph. i 203, proposes doubtfully the rendering administrator. קנס 89 8 = fine, as in Targ., e. g. Ps.-Jon. Ex. 21 30 קִנְסָא דְמִמוֹנָא. The resemblance to κῆνσος, census, is prob. only accidental; census does not = fine, and a Lat. word is not likely to have become naturalized in this connexion (Nöld.).

L. 9. סלעין In Targ. סלעא = Heb. שקל, e. g. Onk. Ex. 30 13 סִלְעָא חרתי, Syr. سَلَحْلَح, Gk. στατήρ; here silver drachmae. An indeclinable adj. formed from חרתי, حَارِثِي from حَارِثَة, 'authorized, issued by Aretas.' The coins of Aretas iii, Obodas, and Aretas iv (at the beginning of his reign) are heavier in weight than those of the later kings. This double threat of divine curses and a fine in money is a peculiar feature of the El-Hejra inscr.; cf. 69 19 n. Lidzb., p. 143, has pointed out the remarkable parallel afforded by a number of Gk. sepulchral inscr. from W. Asia Minor, especially by those from Lycia¹. The custom of specifying a fine for violating a tomb spread widely from Lycia over the Roman Empire, and in this way may have reached the Nabataeans.

¹ See Hirschfeld in Königsberger Studien i (1887, 83-144). The foll. is a specimen, from Pinara, circ. 3 cent. B.C. (Hirschfeld, p. 107) εἰς δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἀμαρτωλὸς | ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Λητοῦς | καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ προσ-|αποτεισάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου | καὶ ἐξέστω τῷ βουλομένῳ | ἐγδικάζεσθαι περὶ τούτων.

L. 10. בכפרא הו Eut. renders (*who are*) *in the said grave*; but it is better to refer the prep. to כתב *a writing . . . in connexion with* &c.

L. 11. והבאלהי 93 7 i.e. وَهَبُ اللَّهِ, the name of the sculptor; the ' is the sign of the genit. Compounded with the name of king Obodas; cf. עבדמלכו 97 ii. עבדחרתת 82 5. עבדרבאל CIS ii 304. The origin of these names may have been due to the deification of kings after death (see 95 1 n.); in some cases, perhaps, the second name belonged to a venerated ancestor, or to a tribe (cf. Arab. Abd-Ahlihi), Wellhausen *Reste* 4.

81. El-Hejra. CIS ii 199; Eut. 4. A. D. 4. In situ.

1 דנה כפרא ובססא וכונא די עבד חושבו בר
 2 כפיו בר אלכוף תימניא לנפשה וילדה וחבו אמה
 3 ורופו ואפתיו אחותה וילדהם חרם כחליקת חרם
 4 נבטו ושלמו לעלם ולען דושרא כל מן די יקבר בכפרא דנה
 5 עיר מן די עלא כתיב או יזבן או ימשכן או
 6 יוגר או יהב או יאנא ומן די יעבד כעיר מה די עלא
 7 כתיב פאיתי עמה לדושרא אלהא בחרמא די עלא
 8 לדמי מגמר סלעין אלף חרתי ולמראנא חרתת מלכא כות
 9 בירח שבט שנת עשר ותלת לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם
 10 עמה

This is the tomb and the base and the foundation (?) which Hûshabu, son ² of Kafiyu, son of Alkûf, the Têmanite, made for himself and his children and Habu his mother, ³ and Rûfu and Aftiyu his sisters and their children, an inviolable place, after the manner of what is held inviolable ⁴ by the Nabataeans and Shalamians, for ever. And may Dûshara curse every one who shall bury in this tomb ⁵ any other than those written above, or shall sell it, or buy it, or pledge it, or ⁶ let it, or give it away, or lend it temporarily! And any one who shall do otherwise than what is above ⁷ written, he shall be charged

to the god Dûshara, in connexion with the above inviolable place, ⁸ at the full price of a thousand *sela's* Harethite, and to our lord the king Harethath the same amount. ⁹ In the month Shebat, the thirteenth year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of ¹⁰ his people.

L. 1. בססא = *βάσις*, Syr. *ܕܚܫܐ*, *ܕܚܫܐ*, in Targ. *בְּסִים*. כּוּנָא
Some part of the building, but the exact meaning is unknown. If
taken from *כוּנָא* (כּוּנָא) would mean something 'straight,' 'fixed';
but the word may be Gk., hardly, however, *χώνη* *melting-pot, funnel*,
as proposed in Corp. A good many terms connected with building
and sculpture were introduced into Aram. from Gk., e. g. תימרא *θέατρον*
CIS ii 163 2, Palm. בסלקא 119 3. חושב i. e. *حَوْشَب*.

L. 2. כפיו Cf. Arab. *كفِيّ* *equal, sufficient*. אלכוף Corp. suggests
a compound of אל and [כוף], 'incline, O El.' תימניא From
as 69 3 n., as *بَهْرَانِي* from *بَهْرَاء* (Nöld.); cf. 85 2 n. חבו In
Arab. perhaps *حُب* *love*, cf. 93 3 חביבו.

L. 3. רופו Nöld. compares *رَأْف* *to pity*; but ? רופו. 93 אפתיו
3 is not otherwise known. The Corp. compares פתא, פתי *to be wide*,
open. אחותה Plur. with suff. 3 sing. m.; cf. 85 3 and in
Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 150 8 (as here). הרם בחליקת See 79 8. 9 n.

L. 4. נבטו ושלמו See 79 9 n.

L. 5. ימשכן 86 4 &c.; Syr. *ܡܫܚܢ* *to pawn or mortgage*; in 79 6
&c. ירהן.

L. 6. יהב i. e. *יָהַב*, *יָהַב*; the rarely used impf. of *יָהַב*; in 79 6 &c.
ינתן. *אָנָּה*, *אָנָּה* *time* (Nöld.). Prob. a verb from *אָנָּה*.

L. 8. לדמי מגמר Lit. 'according to a price of totality.' דמי is plur.
constr., for Aram. uses only the plur., *ܡܓܡܪ*, *ܡܓܡܪ*; cf. CIS ii 217 7
כפל דמי אתרא דנה *double the price of this place*. מגמר is prob. a noun
from *ܡܓܡܪ* iv *to unite, collect, reckon up*, rather than a pass. ptcp.
ܡܓܡܪ, which would not agree with the plur. דמי. See סלעין
80 9 n. מראנא See 62 11 n. חרתת מלכא The regular order
in Nab., 85 10. 92 4 &c., as in BAram. Dan. 3 1. 5 1 &c., and late
Hebr. Dan. 1 21. 1 Chr. 29 29.

L. 9. שבת i. e. *שַׁבַּת* Zech. 1 7, the 11th month, Assy. *šabatu*; 78
3 n. עשר ותלת This is the usual order in Nab. (with a fem.
noun), cf. 82 4. 93 6. 99 3; similarly in Palm. 147 ii b 20
עשר ושת, in Mandaic (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 189), and in Phoen. 5 1 and
NPun. In Syr. the ten follows the unit.

82. El-Hejra. CIS ii 201; Eut. 5. A. D. 8. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבד מלכיון פתורא
 2 על חנינו הפסתיון כלירכא אבוהי
 3 ולנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק בירח ניסן
 4 שנת עשר ושבע למראנא חרתת מלך
 5 נבטו רחם עמה עבדחרתת פסלא
 6 בר עבדעבדת עבד

This is the tomb which Malkiôn Pathôra made ² over Hunainu Hephaestiôn the chiliarch his father, ³ and for himself and his children and his posterity, each legal kinsman: in the month Nisan, ⁴ the seventeenth year of our lord Harethath, king ⁵ of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. 'Abd-harethath the mason, ⁶ son of 'Abd-'obedath, did the work.

L. 1. מלכיון = Μαλχίων Wadd. 1910 &c. פתורא Cognomen of the father, = *table* in Aram., e. g. Targ. Onk. Ex. 25 23. D. H. Müller suggests that the name = *τραπεζίτης*; but this would be פתוריא (Nöld.).

L. 2. על 91 2, instead of the usual ל, implies that the father was already dead. חנינו 95 1 חנין = 'Ovaînos Wadd. 2048 &c. כלירכא = χιλίαρχος. הפסתיון i. e. 'Hφαιστίων.

L. 3. אצדק באצדק A legal phrase frequently occurring in these inscr., 86 2. 88 2 &c. In form אצדק is an adj. with the elative א (أَصْدَقُ), though without the significance of the elative in Arab. (compar., superl.); the ב is distributive, as in שנה בשנה Dt. 15 20. חרש בחרש 1 Chr. 27 1. Literally, אצדק may be rendered *authorized*; it conveys the idea of *legal right*, perhaps also of *kinship*; Nöld. is inclined to give the latter as the original sense, and compares the Syr. *أَقْل* relatives, kinsmen (Payne Smith *Thes.* col. 1085). At any rate in usage the phrase denotes 'haeres quisque in vice suâ,' 'jure haereditatis' (Corp.), 'all who have claims as kindred'; thus אחרה ואצדקה CIS ii 220 1 f. כל 219 2 די יתקברון בה א' בא' 215 2 לילדהם ואצדקהם 86 3. אנוש אצדק וירת

L. 5. עבדחרתת See 80 11 n. פסלא 88 9 &c. i. e. פסלא, or فسلأ.

L. 1. תימאלהי i. e. *تَيْمُ آلَهِ* *slave of Allah*, Θεράλλου (gen.) Wadd. 2020; frequent in Sin., e. g. 108.

L. 2. חמלת Mas., 87 2 ff. fem., = *حَمَلَةٌ* or *حَمَالَةٌ* (*sword-belt*, *حمل to carry*); cf. Ἀμέλαθος Wadd. 2393 &c.

L. 3. אנתתה From אנתת (= אנשת, Syr. *att-thā*) with suff. 3 sing. m.; contrast אתתה CIS ii 194. In Palm. the forms are אתת, emph. איתא, with suff. אתתה; in Pal. Aram. איתתה, איתתה &c., with suff. איתתתה and איתתתה, plur. נשיא, נשין (cf. 62 8); Dalm. Gr. 93 5. שטר Cf. the name of the Arab tribe *جَلْمَةُ*.

159. שטר 94 4, Palm. 147 i 8, the usual Aram. word for a *bill* or *bond*, e. g. *שטר חוב* a *bill of debt*, hence the NHebr. *שטר חוב*.

L. 4. תצבא 87 5. 147 ii c 50. For the form תצבא cf. יהויא 90 4.

L. 5. אב The 5th month; see 78 3 n.

85. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 205; Eut. 8. A. D. 25. In situ.

1 דנה כפרא די עבדו ושתי ברת בגרת
2 וקיננו ונשנכיה בנתה תימניתא להם כלה
3 כלה ולשמית ועשפא אחותהם בנת
4 ושתי ו כלה די יתקברון דנה
5 די עלא כלה בכפרא דנה פקים על
6 ושתי בנתה
7 חאין
8
9 פאיתי עמה לאלהי סלעין מאה חרתי
10 ולמראנא חרתת מלכא כות בירח איר שנת
11 3 IIII לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה

This is the tomb which Washti, daughter of Bagarath, ² and Qainu and Nashankiyah (?) her daughters, the Têmanites, made for themselves, each ³ one of them, and for Shamiyath and their sisters, daughters ⁴ of Washti that they be buried this ⁵ who are above in this tomb; and it shall hold good for ⁶ Washti, her daughters . . . ⁹ and he

shall be charged to my god a hundred *sela's* Harethite, ¹⁰ and our lord Harethath the king the same amount: in the month Iyar, the ¹¹ 34th year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. ושתי The name is read distinctly in l. 4. It can hardly be the same as the O.T. ושתי, which is of Persian (Zend) origin. בנרת
97 ii i. e. بَجَرَةٌ, بَجَرَةٌ *corpulent*, Βάγπατος Wadd. 2562.

L. 2. קינו 87 2 fem., in Sin. mas., e. g. Eut. 4. 557 &c.; in Arab. قَيْن is the name of a tribe, Hebr. קַיִן Num. 24 22. Jud. 4 11.
נשניה Similarly in Sin., e. g. Eut. 51. 190 &c. (mas.); cf. שנניה Eut. 162. בנחה Plur.; cf. 80, where the grave is provided by a mother and her daughter. Here the sisters of the foundresses are to have the use of the tomb; see 80 1 n. תימניתא i. e. תימניתא; see 81 2 n. כלה כלה are distributive.

L. 6. The illegible lines no doubt contained the usual imprecations.

L. 9. אלהי Either plur. or sing., with suff. מאה The smallness of the fine is remarkable; contrast 81 8. Eut. suggests that a metal plate, specifying a heavier penalty, was attached to the inscr. subsequently. In some cases traces of such tablets are still to be seen.

L. 10. איר 86 9 &c., i. e. Apr.–May; Assy. *airu*, Palm. איר, Syr. اير, Rabb. אִיר; see 78 3 n.

86. El-Hejra. CIS ii 206; Eut. 9. A. D. 26. In situ. Plate VII.

דנה קברא די עבד כהלן אסיא בר ואלן לנפשה וילדה ואחרה 1
אצדק באצדק עד עלם ואיתי קברא דנה חרם כחליקת חרמא 2
מחרם לדושרא בנבטו ושלמו על כל אנוש אצדק וירת די לא 3
יזבן קברא דנה ולא ימשכן ולא יוגר ולא ישאל ולא יכתב 4
בקברא דנה כתב כלה עד עלם וכל אנוש די ינפק בידו כתב מן כהלן 5
פקים הו כדי בה וכל אנוש די יכתב בקברא דנה כתב מן כל די עלא 6
פאיתי עמה לדושרא כסף סלעין אלפין תלת חרתי ולמראנא] 7
חרתת מלכא כות וילען דושרא ומנותו כל מן די יעיר מן כל 8
די עלא בירח איר שנת תלתין וחמש לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה 9
אפתח בר עבדעברת וחלפאלהי בר חמלגו פסליא עבדו 10

This is the sepulchre which Kahlân the physician, son of Wa'lân, made for himself and his children and his posterity,² each legal kinsman, for ever. And this sepulchre is an inviolable place after the manner of the inviolable sanctuary³ which is inviolably dedicated to Dûshara among the Nabataeans and Shalamians. It is incumbent upon every legal kinsman and heir that he do not⁴ sell this sepulchre, nor pledge it, nor let it, nor lend it, nor write⁵ in respect of this sepulchre any deed, for ever. But every man who shall produce in his hand a writ from Kahlân,⁶ it shall hold good according to what is in it. And every man who shall write on this sepulchre any writing other than what is above,⁷ he shall be charged to Dûshara in money three thousand *sela's* Harethite, and to our lord⁸ the king Harethath the same amount. And may Dûshara and Manûthu curse every one who shall change aught of⁹ what is above! In the month Iyar, the thirty-fifth year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.¹⁰ Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, and Halaf-allâhi, son of Hamlagu, the masons, did the work.

L. 1. . . וְאֵלָן . . . כְּהָלָן i. e.

L. 2. אֶצְרֶק בְּאֶצְרֶק See 82 3 n.

L. 3. מִחֶרֶם Afel ptc; cf. 69 16 (a place), and 79 8 n. יֵרֶת
i. e. יֵרֶת or יֵרֶת = Hebr. יֵרֶשׁ.

L. 4. יִמְשֹׁכֵן See 81 5 n. יִכְתֹּב ב' Nöld. renders 'make any written contract for the use of this grave.'

L. 6. מִן כָּל דִּי עֵלָא Corp. renders as above, and the similar phrase with עֵיר elsewhere (e. g. 81 5), supports this. Nöld., however, regards מִן here as the Arab. *من* (explanatory), and renders 'a writing of the same kind as all that is above.' This usage is more distinct in 89 2. 5.

L. 8. יַעִיר Pael, = Arab. *يُغَيِّرُ* he shall change; cf. *غَيْرٌ* another, עֵיר.

L. 10. אֶפְתַּח i. e. *أَفْتَحُ*. חֲלָפָאֵלִי i. e. *حَلْفَ اللَّهِ* compensation from Allah; often abbreviated *حَلْف* 89 1; cf. *Ἀντίγονος*, Palm. חֲלִיפִי p. 301 n. 1 = *Ἀντιόχου*. 118 1. חֲמֻלָּגוּ Nöld. suggests *حَمَلَج* (the vb. = to make fast a line) as an equivalent.

87. El-Hejra. CIS ii 207; Eut. 10. A. D. 27. In situ.

1 דנה קברא די עבר ארום בר פרון לנפשה ולפרון אבוהי
 2 הפרכא ולקיננו אנתתה ולחטבת וחמלת בנתהם וילד חטבת
 3 וחמלת אלה ולכל מן די ינפק בידה תקף מן ארום דנה או
 4 חטבת וחמלת אח[ו]תה בנת פרון הפרכא
 5 די יתקבר בקברא דנה או יקבר מן די יצבא
 6 בתקפא די בידה כרי בכתבא הו או אצדק באצדק
 7 בי[ר]ח ניסן שנת תלתין ושת לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה
 8 אפתח בר עבדעבדת ווהבו בר אפצא וחורו בר אחיו פסליא
 9 עב[ד]ו

This is the sepulchre which Arûs, son of Farwân, made for himself and for Farwân his father ² the eparch, and for Qainu his wife, and for Ḥaṭibath and Ḥamilath their daughters, and the children of the said Ḥaṭibath ³ and Ḥamilath, and for every one who shall produce in his hand a warrant from the said Arûs, or ⁴ Ḥaṭibath and Ḥamilath his sisters, daughters of Farwân the eparch, ⁵ to be buried in this sepulchre, or to bury whom he pleases, ⁶ in virtue of the warrant which is in his hand, according to what is in that writ, or each legal kinsman. ⁷ In the month Nisan, the thirty-sixth year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. ⁸ Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, and Wahbu, son of Afṣa, and Ḥûru, son of Uḥayyu, the masons, ⁹ did the work.

L. 1. ארום The termination perhaps indicates a Gk. name. פרון
 i. e. *قَرْوَانُ*. Arab. words in *قَرْوَانُ* do not take tanwîn, hence this name does not end in *ي*.

L. 2. הפרכא 93 1 = *ἐπαρχος*, cf. Sin. הפרכיה = *ἐπαρχία* 107, the ה as in Syr. *ܦܪܚܝܐ*, *ܦܪܚܝܐ*. 85 2 n. אנתתה i. e. the wife of Farwân, and step-mother of Arûs. חמלת i. e. *حَامِلَة*, *حَامِلَة* (84 2 n.).

L. 3. אלה 94 3 prob. אלה, plur. of דנה, דא; see add. note p. 26. תקף 79 3 n.

L. 4. אחתה An error for the plur. אחותה. Other errors in this inscr. are ביה l. 7. עבו l. 9.

L. 8. אפתח 86 10 n. وَهَبَ i.e. והבו. 93 8 i.e. אפצא
 أَفْصَى; the name occurs in the Lihyan dialect, Müller *Ep. Denk. aus*
Ar. nos. 30. 32. 90 5 i.e. حُور, Hebr. חור Ex. 17 10 &c.,
 Gk. Οὔρος Wadd. 2270 &c. أَخِي i.e. אחיו dimin., little brother.

88. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 208; Eut. 11. A.D. 27 (?). In situ.

1 דנה כפרא די עבד שלי בר רצוא
 2 לנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק
 3 ודי לא יתקבר בכפרא דנה להן אצדק
 4 באצדק ודי לא יתובן ולא יתרהן כפרא
 5 דנה ומן די יעבד כעיר די עלא פאיתי
 6 עמה לרושרא אלה מראנא [כסף סלעין] אלף
 7 חרתי בירח ניסן שנת 3 ... 1
 8 לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה אפתח
 9 פסלא עבד

This is the tomb which Shullai, son of Radwa, made ² for himself and his children and his posterity, each legal kinsman; ³ and that no one is to be buried in this tomb except each legal ⁴ kinsman, and that this tomb is not to be sold or mortgaged. ⁵ And whoever does otherwise than is above, he shall be ⁶ charged to Dûshara, the god of our lord, [in money] a thousand [sela's] ⁷ Ḥarethite. In the month Nisan, the ... year ⁸ of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. Aftah ⁹ the mason did the work.

L. 1. שלי 93 4 probably = Συλλαῖος (ὁ τῶν Ναβαταίων ἐπίτροπος Strabo 663 ed. Müll.). This presupposes a form سُلَى or سُ, from سَلَّ, which, however, is not known. Prop. nn. of the form فُعَلَى are fem., e.g. سُلَمَى; Nöld. prefers a form سُلَاء. رَضَوَاءُ = רצוא; in which case, though not known in Arab., it will be one of the few mas.

names of the form *فَعْلَاءُ*, fem. of *أَفْعُلُ* (Nöld.). Wellhausen takes it as *رُضَاءُ*, the name of an ancient Arab deity, and compares the Palm. names *רצו תים* 115 i. *נר רצו* Vog. 84 3; *Reste Ar. Heid.* 58 f. Cf. perhaps *Risuil* (? = *רצואל*) CIL v 4920.

L. 3. להן 79 8 n.

L. 4. יתובן Ethpa. This unusual form (for *יזרבן*) appears to have been current; cf. *מתובנא* ptc. fem. 147 ii c 33 and 94 4 n.

L. 6. אלה if it qualified *דושרא*, would be *אלהא*; see 61 29 n.

L. 7. Eut. fills the lacuna with *3* i.e. 15, making a total of 36. The Corp. would add two or three strokes, making 38 or 39.

89. El-Hejra. CIS ii 209; Eut. 12. A.D. 31. In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבר חלפו בר קסנתן לנפשה ולשעידו ברה 1

ואחוהי מה די יתילד לחלפו דנה מן דכרין ולבניהם ואחרהם 2

אצדק באצדק עד עלם ודי יתקברון בכפרא דנה ו... שעידו דנה 3

ומנועת וכנושת וריבמת ואמית ושלימת בנת חלפו דנה ולא רשי 4

אנוש כלה מן שעידו ואחוהי דכרין ובניהם ואחרהם די יזבן כפרא דנה 5

או יכתב מוהבה או עירה לאנוש כלה בלעדהן יכתב חר מנהם 6

לאנתתה

או לבנתה או לנשיב או לחתן כתב למקבר בלחר ומן יעבר כעיר 7

דנה פאיתי

עמה קנס לדושרא אלה מר[אנא כס]ף סלעין חמש מאה חרתי 8

ולמראנא כות כנסחת דנה יהיב בבית קישא בירח ניסן שנת ארבעין 9

לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה רומא ועבדעבדת פסליא 10

This is the tomb which Halafu, son of Qos-nathan, made for himself and for Sha'ïdu his son ² and his brothers, as many male children as shall be born to the said Halafu, and for their sons and their posterity, ³ each legal kinsman, for ever; and that there be buried in this tomb... the said Sha'ïdu, ⁴ and Manû'ath and Kenûshath(?) and Ribamath(?) and Umayyath

and Shalimath, daughters of the said Ḥalafu. And no man shall be allowed, ⁵ either Sha'îdu, or his brothers male, or their sons, or their posterity, to sell this tomb, ⁶ or write a (deed of) gift or anything else to any man, with the sole exception that one of them write for his wife, ⁷ or for his daughters, or for a kinsman, or for a son-in-law, a deed of burial. And whoever does otherwise than this, he shall be ⁸ charged with a fine to Dûshara, the god of [our] lord, [in mon]ey five hundred *sela's* Ḥarethite, ⁹ and to our lord the same amount, according to the copy hereof deposited in the temple of Qaisha. In the month Nisan, the fortieth year ¹⁰ of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. Rauma and 'Abd-'obedath, the masons.

L. 1. חלפו i.e. חָלַף 86 10 n. קסנתן = *Qos gives*, cf. Κοσνατανος in a Gk. inscr. from Memphis (200–150 B.C.), where Κοσγηπος, Κοσβανος, Κοσµαλαχος &c. also occur; Miller *Rev. Archéol.* (1870) 109 ff. קס was apparently the name of an Edomite deity, cf. Käušmalaka, Käušgabri, Edomite kings, Schrader *COT* 150; and the Edomite Κοστόβαρος Jos. *Ant.* xv 7 9 f. In Sin. the name קוסעור is found, Eut. 423, though the reading is not quite certain; and in Hebr. ברקום Ezr. 2 53. It is natural to compare קישא l. 9 (79 5 n.), but Nöld. is against the identification, *ZDMG* xli 714. שעידו i.e. سَعِيدٌ *Fortunatus*, cf. שעור (سَعْدٌ) Sin. 106, Palm. 127 3, and שעורת 95 3.

L. 2. מן דכרין An Arabism, cf. l. 5 שיעידו מן and 86 6 n. אנוש כלה מן שיעידו l. 5 5. Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 48 g. מא . . מן = من . . מן

L. 4. מנועת Cf. مَنِيْعَةٌ pr. n. fem. = *defended*, and 83 2. מנועת The two names which follow are uncertain. אמית Prob. dimin. שלמו cf. سُلَا, سَلِيْمَةٌ i.e. שלימת from أَمِيَّةٌ *handmaid*. (fem.) CIS ii 210 2. רשאי i.e. رَشِيَ 90 3; Targ., Talm. רשאי *one to whom something is allowed*.

L. 5. אנוש כלה 94 5 i.e. כֻּלָּהּ = *every one*; cf. כֻּלָּהּ CIS ii 219 5, and חֲבֵטָא חֲבֵטָא, חֲבֵטָא Nöld. *Syr. Gr.*² § 218; see 62 17 n.

L. 6. או עירה = או غَيْرُهَا, lit. *or (any deed) other than it*. בלעדנה Lit. *except if*; 80 9.

L. 7. נשיב i.e. نَسِيبٌ = *kinsman* in the male line; but as these would naturally have the right of burial, the meaning here may be a descendant in the female line, a daughter's child; Rob. Smith

Kinship 315 f. בלחור In CIS ii 215 6 בלחור, Targ. בלחור *only*, alone, to be taken with בלעדן; cf. 90 6.

L. 8. קנס 80 8.

L. 9. נסחת See p. 189, = نُسَخَة; Assy. *nishu* 'excerpt' (*ZA* iv 267); cf. the late Rabbin. נוסחא *a variant, another reading*. The word appears to be of N. Semitic origin, rather than native to Arab., the fem. ending in نُسَخَة being equivalent to the Aram. emph. st.; see Fränkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 251. יהיבא For יהיב. קישא See 79 5 n.

L. 10. רומא 91 2 perhaps رُوماء, or abbrev. from رُومان, a common name.

90. El-Hejra. CIS ii 212; Eut. 14. A. D. 35. In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבד עבדעבדת בר אריבם לנפשה 1
 ולואלת בריתה ולבני ואלת דא ובנתה וילדהם די יתקברון בקברא הו 2
 ולא רשין ואלת ובניה די יזבנון או ימשכנון או יוגרון כפרא דנה או 3
 יכתבון בכפרא הו כתב כלה לכל אלוש לעלם להן די יהוא כפרא 4
 הו לואלת ולבניה
 ובנתה וילדהם קים לעלם וקם על ואלת ובניה די הן יהוא חורו 5
 אח עבדעבדת
 דנה בחגרא ויהוא בה חלף מות די יקברון יתה בקברא דנה לחודוהי 6
 ולא ינפק יתה אנוש ומן די יעיר ולא יעבד כדי עלא כתיב 7
 פאיתי עמה למראנא כסף סלעין אלפין תרין חרתי בירח 8
 טבת שנת ארבעין וארבע לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה 9
 אפתח בר עבדעבדת פסלא עבד 10

This is the tomb which 'Abd-'obedath, son of Arîbas, made for himself, ² and for Wa'ilath his daughter, and for the sons of this Wa'ilath and her daughters and their children, that they may be buried in the said sepulchre; ³ and neither Wa'ilath nor her sons shall be allowed to sell or pledge or let this tomb, or ⁴ write in respect of this tomb any deed for any man, for ever; but that the said tomb shall hold good for Wa'ilath and for her sons ⁵ and her daughters and for their

children for ever. And it is incumbent upon Wa'ilath and her sons, if Hûru, brother of this 'Abd-'obedath, be ⁶ in Hējra, and the fate of death befall him, to bury him, and none but him, in this sepulchre; ⁷ and no man shall take him out. And whoever shall change (this provision), and not do according to what is above written, ⁸ he shall be charged to our lord in money two thousand *sela's* Hārethite. In the month ⁹ Tēbeth, the forty-fourth year of Hārethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. ¹⁰ Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, the mason, did the work.

L. 1. אריבם Hardly an Aram. name; possibly 'Αρύβας.

L. 2. ואלת See 80 1 n.

L. 3. רשין 89 4 n.

L. 4. אלוש An error for אנוש. 79 8 n.

L. 5. קים The ptc. goes with יהוא l. 4. חורו Perhaps a merchant who was often absent from home (Nöld.).

L. 6. חגרא = ܡܚܝܪܐ, the emph. st. in Aram. representing the Arab. art., lit. 'the guarded, forbidden place.' In the Targg. and Talm. חגרא occurs as a name of various places; the חגרא mentioned in *Jebamoth* 116a as the home of a Jew living at Neharde'a (Babyl.) may be El-Hējra (Nöld.). A good many Jews were settled in the N. of the Hējaz. חלף מות Lit. 'a mortal change.' לחודוהי Lit. *he alone*; cf. בלחר 89 7.

91. El-Hējra. CIS ii 213; Eut. 15. A. D. 36. In situ.

1 דנה כפרא די עברו ענמו בר גזיאת וארסכסה

2 ברת תימו אסרתגא על רומא וכלבא

3 אחיה פלענמו תלת כפרא וצריחא דנה

4 ולארסכסה תלתין תרין מן כפרא וצריחא

5 וחלקה מן גוחיא מדנחא וגוחיא

6 ולענמו חלקה מן גוחיא מד[נ]ח ימינא

7 וגוחיא די בה להם ולילדהם אצדק באצדק

8 בי[ר]ח טבת שנת 333 לחרתת מלך נבטו

9 רחם עמה אפתח בר [עברעבדת] פסלא עבר

This is the tomb which 'Ānimu, son of Guzayath, and Arisoxe, ²daughter of Taimu the *stratēgos*, made over Rauma and Kalba ³her brothers;—and to 'Ānimu (belongs) the third part of this tomb and vault, ⁴and to Arisoxe two-thirds of the tomb and vault; ⁵and her portion of the niches is the east side and the niches (there); ⁶and 'Ānimu has his portion of the niches on the south-east, ⁷and the niches which are in it;—for them and for their children, each legal kinsman. ⁸In the month Tebeth, the 45th year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, ⁹lover of his people. Aftah, son [of 'Abd-'obedath], the mason, did the work.

L. 1. ענמו 140 B 1. Arab. names like غَنَم, غَانِم are suggested as equivalents. *Avamos, common in Hauran, prob. stands for أَنْعَم = אנעם (CIS ii 191 1) rather than for ענמו. גזיאת The Arab. would be جَزِيَّة or جَزِيَّة; the mas. form occurs, جَزَى. ארסכסה Nöld. suggests that this is an abbreviation, 'Αριστοξή for 'Αριστοξένη; for the omission of τ cf. אסרתנא l. 2; the Corp. merely transliterates *Arsaxa*. She was the wife of 'Ānimu; note in this inscr. the predominance of the woman (80 1 n.).

L. 2. תימו = תִּיִם, CIS ii 203 1 &c. 82 2 n. 89 רומא
10. כלבא An Aram. name = כַּלְכַּל, cf. Phoen. כלבא CIS i 52
1; see 92 2 n.

L. 3. אחיה i. e. אֲחִיָּה; the suff. refers to ארסכסה. 94 1 = צריח lit. *excavation*, so *underground chamber*, in poetry *a grave*; the vb. = 'to dig a grave.' Cf. in Hebr. צריח Jud. 9 46. 49 (see Moore in loc.). 1 S. 13 6, and the use of מערה in Gen. 23 9. 20. For the arrangement of an ancient Arab tomb see Wellhausen *Reste* 179.

L. 4. תלתין תרין Cf. רבע שלשת *three-quarters* 42 11.

L. 5. גוחיא Sing. גוחא CIS ii 211 1 ff., plur. גוחין 94 1 = *loculus* or *niche* for a corpse. In Palm. the form is גומחא 145 3. גמחין 144 7, which suggests the Assy. *kimahhu* 'grave,' 'coffin' (Winckler *AF* ii 61, Del. *Assyr. HWB* 587); hence the word is prob. of foreign origin. For the quiescence of the מ cf. אֲרָמִין and the Aram. אֲרָמִין, ܐܪܡܝܢ. מִדְּנָח i. e. מִדְּנָחָא, from דָּנָח *to rise*, of the sun; in Heb. מִזְרָח. For the interchange of נ and ר cf. מָמֶן and מִמֶּן, נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר and נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר &c.; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 67. The Arab. ذَرِيْع (Wellh. *Reste* 65), prob. the god of the rising sun, comes from this root.

L. 6. מדה An error for מדנה; other errors are ביה for בירה l. 8, בר עבדעבדת (?) l. 9.

92. El-Hejra. CIS ii 218; Eut. 21. A. D. 39. In situ.

1 דנה מסגרא די עבר
 2 שכוהו בר תורא לאערא
 3 די בבצרא אלה רבאל בירח
 4 ניסן שנת חדה למלכו מלכא

This is the cippus which ² Shakuḥu, son of Thôra, made to A'ra ³ who is at Boṣra, the god of Rabel. In the month ⁴ Nisan, the first year of Mâliku the king.

L. 1. דנה מסגרא So usually, but CIS ii 176 'דא מ'. The $\sqrt{\text{سجد}} =$ to prostrate oneself; as used in Nab., מסגרא means, not 'the place where one prostrates' (مَسْجِدٌ mosque), but 'an object before which one prostrates'; the verbs used with it are די עבר (frequently), די קרב, 101, די הקים, 97 i, די בנה ועבר, CIS ii 188 (corr. by Dussaud et Macler *Voy. Arch.* no. 30). The *mesgida* was, in fact, a votive stele or column, in this case carved in relief under a canopy upon the face of the rock, but sometimes standing by itself in the sacred enclosure; thus 97 is a hexagonal column ornamented with busts, fillets, &c., CIS ii 185 is a square pillar with a moulding and plinth, 190 a pillar 6 ft. high. In the case of 188 the *mesgida* is a squared stone now serving as the abacus of a pillar in the narthex of an ancient church, and still the object of local veneration; see Dussaud et Macler l. c. 161 f. The *mesgida* was more than a memorial stone, it was dedicated to a deity, as here to A'ra, 101 to Dûshara and A'ra, CIS ii 190 to Dûshara. Perhaps it was regarded as a kind of votive altar, not, however, intended for sacrifice; 97 is shaped very much like a Gk. altar, 188 may have been originally an altar table or base. At any rate the monument was supposed to represent the person who erected it, and to plead for him before the deity. See Lagrange *Rel. Sémi.* 206 f.

L. 2. שכוהו Prob. Aram., from שכח to find. The form פעולו is rare in Nab. names. תורא Also Aram., תורא = ox (Hebr. שׁוֹר); for the animal name cf. כלבא 91 2. The dedication perhaps implies that the donor came from Bostra. אערא Again in 101, and with the description די בבצרא; the god is not otherwise known. Dussaud and Macler, *Voy. Arch.* 169 f., take אערא as the Aram. form of אַצִּיר, one of the sons of Se'ir, Gen. 36 21 &c. This would corre-

spond to the Arab. *اضر*, which, however, is not the name of a tribe. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 330, suggests that the root is *غفر*, which in Aram. would become *עער*, and, to avoid the double guttural, *אער*, *אערא*; cf. *חפ* = *חפ* double, *Driver Tenses* 223. In this case *אערא* will correspond to the Roman *Abundantia*, *Ops*; *غَفَاءٌ* *wealth, plenty*. Possibly the name *אערא* gives the clue to the mysterious *Ὀροτάλ* mentioned by Herodotus as the consort of *Ἀλιλάτ* (see p. 222 n. 2); *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* ii 374. *Ὀροτάλ* may = *אערא אלהא*; but the *τ* is not easy to account for, and *Cl.-Gan.* has since offered a better explanation¹.

L. 3. *די בבצרא* 101 7 f.; cf. *די בצלחדי* 99. The idiom *די ב'* indicates the transference of the worship from Bostra, in the N. of the Nab. kingdom, to El-Hejra. For the idiom see 24 2 n. *אלה* *the god of Rabel*; contrast *עבדת אלהא* *the god 'Obedath* 95 1. For a god as patron of an individual cf. *אלת חמישו* 95 2. *אלה קציו* 100 2. *דושרא אלה מראנא* *CIS* ii 176 4. 101 6 f. *(ε)is θεὸν [A]μέρου* *Duss. et Macl.* 205. *אלה* may be either the king of that name (see 97 iii n.), or a private person, for the name is not uncommon. If Rabel here is king R., then *מלכו מלכא* l. 4 must have come after him, and reigned between A. D. 96—the latest year of Rabel (ii) known from inscr.—and A. D. 106, when the Nab. kingdom was absorbed into the Roman province of Arabia; so *Duss. et Macl.* 171 f., who regard this *מלכו* as *Mâliku* iii (iv). But there is nothing in this inscr. to prove that Rabel was more than a private individual; and if he were a king, he may have been an earlier R. (see on 97 iii) and not necessarily Rabel (ii), for the expression 'A'ra the god of R.' may imply that a devotion to this deity was by ancestral custom especially connected with the name and family of R. (*Cl.-Gan. Rec.* iv 178 f.; *Schürer*³ i 742).

L. 4. *מלכו* i. e. *Mâliku* ii, son of Aretas iv Philopatris, 99 3, the last Nab. king but one, A. D. 48–71 circ. He is mentioned by Jos. as contributing troops to the army of Vespasian in A. D. 67 for the Jewish war (*War* iii 4 2). It was during his reign that Damascus passed into the hands of the Romans, prob. under Nero, see p. 215 n. 1. The name *מלכו* = *مَالِك* was pronounced *Mâliku*, as appears from the form *Μαλίχας*²; in Jos. *Μάλιχος* or *Μάλχος*; cf. *Μάλχος* Jn. 18 10. There is not sufficient reason for supposing that *מלכו* was a successor of Rabel, usually considered the last Nab. king; see note above.

¹ *Ὀροτάλ* (= *Διόνυσος* ap. Herod.) is the actual name of the god otherwise called by the title *Dûshara* (p. 218); see *Rec.* v § 24.

² *Periplus maris Erythraei* (written circ. A. D. 70) *Λευκὴ κώμη, διὰ ἧς ὁδὸς ἐστὶν εἰς Πέτραν πρὸς Μαλίχαν, βασιλέα Ναβαταίων*, *Müll. Geogr. Gr. Min.* i 272.

93. El-Hejra. CIS ii 221; Eut. 24. A. D. 49. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר עידו הפרכא בר עבירו
 2 לה ולילדה ולאחרה ודי יתקברון בכפרא
 3 דנה אפתיו אם עידו דנה ברת חביבו
 4 ונאתת אנתתה ברת שלי ומן די ינפק
 5 בידה שטר מן יד עידו דנה וכפרא דנה
 6 עביר בירח אדר שנת עשר וחדה למלכו
 7 מלכא מלך נבטו עברעבדת בר והבאלהי
 8 והנאו בר עבירדת ואפצא בר חותו פסליא עברו

This is the tomb which 'Aïdu the eparch, son of 'Ubaidu, made ² for himself and for his children and for his posterity; and that there may be buried in this tomb ³ Aftiyu, mother of the said 'Aïdu, daughter of Ḥabîbu, ⁴ and Na'ithath his wife, daughter of Shullai, and whoever shall produce ⁵ in his hand a deed from the hand of the said 'Aïdu. And this tomb ⁶ was made in the eleventh year of king Mâliku, ⁷ king of the Nabataeans. 'Abd-'obedath, son of Wahb-allâhi, ⁸ and Hânî'u, son of 'Obaidath, and Afşa, son of Ḥuthu, the masons, did the work.

L. 1. עידו 79 1 n. הפרכא 87 2 n. עבירו 140 B 1 =
 عُيَيْدٌ, *Oḡaiḏos Wadd. 1977.

L. 3. אפתיו 81 3 n. חביבו = حَبِيبٌ, Syr. سَحَب, Gr. *Aβιβος,
 *Aβειβος Wadd. 2099 &c.

L. 4. נאתת in Arab. probably would be نَاتَتْ from نَات vacillare
 (Nöld.). שלי 88 1 n.

L. 5. שטר 84 3 n.

L. 6. מלכו See 92 4 n.

L. 7. והבאלהי 80 11 n.

L. 8. הנאו 97 i = هَانِيٌّ, prob. *Aveos, *Avaîos Wadd. 2185. 2021
 &c. אפצא 87 8 n. חותו Perhaps = حَوَات, or حَوْتُ = Aûthos
 Wadd. 1986 &c.

94. Petra 1. CIS ii 350. Circ. 1st cent. A. D. In situ.

- 1 קברא דנה וצריחא רבא די בה וצריחא זעירא די גוא מנה די בה
בתי מקברין עבידת גוחין
- 2 וכרכא די קדמיהם וערכותא ובתיא די בה וגניא וגנת סמכא ובארות
מיא וצהותא וטוריא
- 3 ושארית כל אצלא די באתריא אלה חרם וחרג דושרא אלה מראנא
ומותבה חרישא ואלהיא כלהם
- 4 בשטרי חרמין כדי בהם פפקדון דושרא ומותבה ואלהיא כלהם די
כדי בשטרי חרמיא אנו יתעבד ולא יתשנא
- 5 ולא יתפצין מן כל די בהם מנדעם ולא יתקבר בקברא דנה אנוש
כלה להן מן די כתיב לה תנא מקבר בשטרי חרמיא אנו עד עלם

This sepulchre, and the large vault within it, and the small vault inside, within which are burying-places fashioned into niches, ² and the wall in front of them, and the rows (?) and the houses within it, and the gardens and the garden of the ?, and the wells of water, and the ridge (?), and the hills (?), ³ and the rest of all the entire property which is in these places, is the consecrated and inviolable possession of Dûshara, the god of our lord, and his sacred throne (?), and all the gods, ⁴ (as specified) in deeds relating to consecrated things according to their contents. And it is the order of Dûshara and his throne (?) and all the gods that, according to what is in the said deeds relating to consecrated things, it shall be done and not altered. ⁵ Nor shall anything of all that is in them be withdrawn; nor shall any man be buried in this sepulchre save him who has in writing a contract to bury, (specified) in the said deeds relating to consecrated things — for ever.

The façade of the tomb, carved with Gk. columns, Egypt. cornice, and Assy. battlements, like some of the tombs at El-Hejra, exhibits the style of Nab. monuments belonging to the 1st cent. A.D.; see

Vogüé *JA* viii (1896) 486. A ground-plan of the two chambers and the atrium in front of them is given ib. xi (1898) 140 f. A good description of Petra and the re-discovery of the inscr. is given by Lagrange, *RB* vi (1897) 208 ff.

L. 1. צריחא 91 3 n.; cf. the use of מערתא in Palm., 144 3 and Vog. 67 2 קברא ומערתא די בנוה גו מנה Cf. גו מן 147 ii c 47; here גו has final א as in Dan. 3 6 &c. (Arab. جاء *intrare*), elsewhere in Nab., גו. מקברין Cf. בת מקברתא Palm. Vog. 64 1. מקברין is a noun (מקבר or 'מק'); the sing. מקברתא occurs in 96 1 &c. Note the double plur. of a compound term; cf. שטרי חרמין l. 4. עבירת גוחין Lit. *a work of niches*, describing בת מקברין; for גוחין *loculi* see 91 5 n. Two *loculi* exist in the tomb; prob. it was intended to make more if required.

L. 2. כרכא *the wall* surrounding the atrium in front of the tombs; ✓כרך = *surround*, cf. חָלָל *fenced city*. ערכותא Plur. of ערכתא, prob. *rows* of pillars or arcades; cf. Hebr. מערכה *a row* Ex. 39 37. Vogüé explains by ערכת 3 6, but ערפת is prob. to be read there. גניא *Gardens* near a tomb were common in antiquity, e. g. John 19 41 and the Roman *cepotaphia* i. e. a grave with fields and gardens round it; Marquardt *Das Privatleben der Römer*² 369, quoted by Barth *Hebraica* xiii (1897) 275¹. גנת סמכא Possibly *a garden of reclining* (גִּנַּת סִמְכָא), i. e. a garden for funeral feasts. As Nöld. remarks, it is better to give גנת the same meaning as גִּנַּת, rather than derive it from גָּנָא *to lie down* (*ZA* xii 3 f.), though it is tempting to compare גִּנַּת *convivio accumbe* &c., Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* coll. 2662 and 744. צהותא The meaning of this and the foll. word is very uncertain. The Arab. سَهْوَةٌ = (1) *a cave from which water wells forth*, so here perhaps *water-tank* (Barth), cf. سَهْوَةٌ *fish-pond*; or (2) *the ridge of a mountain, a tower on a hill-top*; cf. the place-names Şahwet el-Hidr, Şahwet el-Belât in Ḥauran (Baed. *Paläst.*³ 205 f.). Either meaning may be right here; but since in 95 2 צהות is more suitably rendered by (2), the latter rendering may be adopted in both places: it is unlikely that the same word would have different meanings in the two inscrr. Cl.-Gan. renders *roof* in 95 2, and here *terrace*, i. e. the upper part of the tomb. Nöld.'s *dry places*, from יָבֵשׁ *be thirsty*, is not probable. מוריא *Rocks* or *rocky heights*; or possibly *low walls surrounding the wells and tank*, cf. طَارَ *circle*, or تَارَ *go round*, דור, תור.

¹ Strabo mentions the gardens and wells for irrigating them at Petra, πηγὰς ἀφθόνοους . . . εἰς τε ὑδρείαν καὶ κηπίαν p. 663 ed. Müll. Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 93. 129.

L. 3. אצלָּ Prob. = أَصْل landed property, lit. root, lineage; أَصِيلَة a man's whole property. The precise meaning of most of the foregoing terms is not clear, nor is the disposition of the various appendages of the tomb. Vogüé (*JA* xi 143 f.) includes them all within the atrium in front. Some of them may be placed there, 'the portico with its buildings' (ערכותא ובתיא), the wells and tank (?)—a conduit has been discovered in one corner of the atrium; but it may be doubted whether the space (77 by 66 ft.) is sufficient for *the houses, the gardens, the hills* &c., the most obvious meaning of בתיא, גניא, טוריא. These may have been outside the precincts; די באתריא אלה, 'which are in these places' suggests, not the enclosed space, but localities outside of it. Perhaps the general plan resembled that of the Roman garden-tombs (supr.), with their *area* in front of the sepulchre, their *aediculae*, pavilions, wells, *taberna* &c. (Barth l. c.). Winckler suggests the arrangement of a Moslem mosque-tomb, and, disregarding the natural meanings of the words, takes גניא, גנת ס' to mean a covered cloister and shrine; *AF* ii 60 ff. חרם 87 3 n. אלה

79 8 n. חרג = Arab. حَرَجٌ that which is forbidden, unlawful. The two nouns are so closely connected that they govern a common genit. (Nöld.). 88 6 &c., אלה מראנא, 'our lord,' either Aretas iv (78 4 n.) or one of his immediate predecessors, Obodas ii, Malchus i. 80 4 n. ומותבה. The form with ה, and the absence of ו from the foll. חרישא, are against taking מותבה as the name of a deity. Nöld. favours the explanation that (وئب) מותבה = *his council*, seated round the god; cf. مَجْلِسَة council. Cl.-Gan.'s rendering *she who is seated*, i. e. his Πάρεδρος (*Rec.* ii 131), and Winckler's, *his spouse* (Ethiop. *wasaba* iv = 'to marry'), are etymologically improbable. חרישא Ptcp. pass. emph. st. agreeing with מותבה, prob. = حرس guard, watch, so protected, holy.

L. 4. שטרי Plur. constr., 84 3 n. These documents were no doubt preserved in the temple archives. דברן Nom. = فَعْمُكُن as Palm. Vog. 74 = فَعْمُكُن; Hebr. פְּקָדוֹן, וְפָרֹן. Plur. of הא, apoc. from אָנוּ; BAram. הַפּוֹן, הַפּוֹן, הַפּוֹן; Talm. אֵינְהוּ (pl. of אֵיהוּ). Elsewhere in Nab. CIS ii 210 6; in Aram. 76 B 4. Cf. יתשנא. Ezr. 6 11. Dan. 6 9. 18. In this dialect the ת stands before the sibilant, e. g. 88 4 n. יתובן.

L. 5. יתפצץ Ethpa. impf. of פָּצַץ = فَصَّ extract, disjoin, in iv to separate a part and give it away. 75 2 n. מנדעם. אנוש כלה 89 5 n. להן 79 8 n. תנא CIS ii 69 perhaps = Targ. תְּנָא, Syr. تَنْأ agreement, contract; in Nab. תְּנָא may have been

written for דָּנִי. Winckler explains by the Assy. *dannitu* 'a piece of writing.' מקבר Inf. constr. 89 7 (Lidzb.); or a noun l. 1.

95. Petra 2. El-Mer. CIS ii 354. A. D. 20. In situ.

דנה צלמא די עבדת אלהא די עבדו בני חנינו בר חטישו בר
 פטמון
 תלוך בר ותר אלה חטישו די בצהות פטמון עמהם על חיי חרתת
 מלך נבטו רחם ע[מה ושקילת]
 אחתה מלכת נבטו ומלכו ועבדת ורבאל ופצאל ושעודת וחגרו
 בנוהי וחרתת בר חג[רו בנה]
 בשנ[ת] 3 ווו ווו ווו לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה עלה שלם 4

This is the statue of the divine 'Obedath, which the sons of Ḥunainu, son of Ḥotaishu, son of Paṭmon, made
² Teluk, son of Withra, the god of Ḥotaishu, who is on the ridge (?) of Paṭmon, their ancestor (?); for the life of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his pe[ople, and Shuqailath] ³ his sister, queen of the Nabataeans, and Mâliku and 'Obedath and Rabel and Peṣael and Sha'ûdath and Ḥigru his children, and Ḥarethath, son of Ḥig[ru his grandson]
⁴ in the 29th year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans. Peace be upon him!

The inscr. was found at Petra in an artificial grotto, now called El-Mer, once used as a sanctuary. De Vogüé *JA* xi (1898) 129 ff.; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 73.

L. 1. עבדת אלהא The statue was that of 'Obedath, one of the Nab. kings. It was a custom among the Nabs. to deify kings after their death: e. g. Uranius, quoted by Steph. Byz., *Ὀβόδα, χωρίον Ναβαταίων, Οὐράνιος Ἀραβικῶν τετάρτῳ, ὅπου Ὀβόδης ὁ βασιλεύς, ὃν θεοποιοῦσι, τέθαπται *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 525 (cf. Tertullian *Ad nat.* ii 8 . . . Obodan et Dusarem Arabum); and among the Palmyrenes, 121 3 אלהא אלכסנדרוס קסר. 122 3 אלהא [הדרי]נוס; cf. 10 7 n., 80 11 n. The king here was a predecessor of Aretas iv (l. 4), i. e. prob. Obedas ii,

28 to 9 B.C. He is mentioned by Strabo (663 f. ed. Müll.) in connexion with the campaign of Aelius Gallus against S. Arabia, 25-4 B.C., and by Josephus in the later period of Herod's reign, when Syllaeus his ἐπίτροπος was a suitor for Salome (*Ant.* xvi 7 6. *War* i 24 6), and at the time of Herod's expedition against Trachonitis (*Ant.* xvi 9 1. 4). חנינו 82 2. חטישו = *Οταισος, *Οτασος Wadd. 1984. 2226; cf. חטיש 1 Chr. 3 22. Neh. 3 10 &c. פטמון Perhaps from *be fat*, or فطم wean, cf. فاطمة; for the ending cf. זכרון, פקרון. An Egypt. derivation, Pet-ammon (69 9 n.), is not so likely. At the end of the l. either another set of donors was mentioned, or there was a verb, still governed by בני חנינו, describing the association of the new cult of 'Obadath with that of the family god of Ḥoṭaishu (Cl.-Gan.).

L. 2. ותרֹא Cf. O.T. יתרו (Midianite), יתֶר, יתֶרֶא, and the Minaean ותרֹא Glaser 299 3 (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 116), Οὐθρος Wadd. 2537 h¹. Yaquṭ mentions a village in Ḥauran, وتر N. of Bostra, in Nab. country. אלה חטישו See 92 3 n. In these cases the god is not named as a rule; here it was prob. Dûshara, אלה מראנא 88 6. בצהוח The Arab. صهوة means both *fountain* and *crest of a hill, tower upon a hill*. In 94 2 צהוחתא may have the former sense; the latter would be suitable here. Cl.-Gan., however, explains צ' as the *roof* of the house, where the statue or altar of the family god was set; cf. Strabo (p. 667) ἡλίου τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος ἰδρυσάμενοι βωμόν (of the Nabataeans), 2 K. 17 12. עמהם The context implies *kinsman, ancestor*. פטמון was great-grandfather to the בני חנינו; hence both here and in 99 2 Cl.-Gan. gives עם the specific sense of *great-grandfather*. But though this was the relationship in both cases, it is hardly expressed by the word עם, which at most implies *kinsman*; cf. Arab. عَم paternal uncle, and the O.T. names אליעם &c., Gray *Hebr. Pr. N.* 51 ff. In רחם עמה the meaning is certainly *people*, not *ancestors*; Schürer *Gesch.*³ i 738. על חי

¹ The name occurs in the foll. inscr. on an altar (disc. 1895) from Kanatha (Josephus), now el-Qanawāt, NE. of Bostra, in Jebel Ḥauran:

נדר וצער אל בני וחרו רחמי גרא שלם
קציו בר חנאל אמנא שלם

'Vowed and sacrificed (?) by the family of the Benê Withro, lovers of Gad. Greeting! Qaṣîu, son of Ḥann-el, the master-workman. Greeting!' צער is explained by Cl.-Gan. as Pael of سعد = *to mount*, صَعِيدٌ = O. T. עולה in Saadya's version; *Rec.* iii § 10. The vb. سعد is not actually used in the sense *to sacrifice*, nor is נדר found in Aram. inscr. with the meaning *to vow*. Hence Lidzb. prefers to read ברר וצערֹא as pr. nn. (*Ephem.* i 74), though the names do not occur elsewhere. אל = Arab. آل CIS ii 164 f. גרא = Τύχη, whose cult was popular in Ḥauran. See also *Rép.* no. 53.

חרתת Cf. 102 3 and לחיי נפשה 70 4; see 29 11 n. חיים here practically = σωτηρία. שקילת So restored by Vog. Shuqailath must have been the second wife of Aretas iv, and, as we learn from this inscr., his sister too. Her name appears on copper coins at the closing period of Aretas' reign. His first wife was Huldu (102 4), associated with him for at least 20 years. Probably the second marriage took place not long before this 29th year of the king's reign. There was another queen Shuqailath¹, perhaps the daughter of this one, sister-consort of Malchus ii (92 4) and mother of Rabel (97 iii n.).

L. 3. The six children are prob. those of the first marriage. The first three are all dynastic names. פצאל Cf. the Palm. פציאל Euting *Epigr. Misc.* 131, either mas. or fem., cf. Φασηέλης, Οὐλπία Φασαιέλη Wadd. 1928. 2445. שעורת Prob. fem., as names of this form usually are, e. g. מנועת 89 4. כמולת CIS ii 225; for the name cf. שעירי 89 1 n. If these were princesses, one of them may well have been the unnamed wife of Herod Antipas (p. 215). בנוהי Not necessarily sons, but children, cf. Palm. להון . . אלהבל . קברא דנה בנא אלהבל . . להון Cl.-Gan. restores [רו דנה] חג. At the end of the line

¹ Mentioned in an inscr. lately found at Petra, De Vogüé JA viii (1896) 496 f.: . . . ענישו אח שקילת מלכת נבטו בר . . . Cl.-Gan. has acutely discerned that אח = not brother, but grand-vizier; cf. Strabo p. 663 ed. Müll. ἔχει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐταίρων τινά, καλούμενον ἀδελφόν (*Rec.* ii 380).

MOAB

96. Medeba. CIS ii 196. . A. D. 37. Vatican Museum.

- 1 דא מקברתא ותרתי נפשתא די
 2 עלא מנה די עבד עבדעבדת אסרתגא
 3 לאיתיבל אסרתגא אבוהי ולאיתיבל
 4 רב משריתא די בלחיתו ועברתא בר עבדעבדת
 5 אסרתגא דנה בבית שלטונהם די שלטו
 6 זמנין תריין שניין תלתין ושת על שני חרתת
 7 מלך נבטו רחם עמה ועבדתא די
 8 עלא עבדת בשנת ארבעין ושת לה

This is the sepulchre, and the two monuments ²above it, which 'Abd-'obedath the *stratēgos* made ³to Aithi-bel the *stratēgos* his father, and to Aithi-bel ⁴chief of the camp at Luhîthu and 'Abarta, son of the said 'Abd-'obedath ⁵the *stratēgos*, in the seat of their jurisdiction which they exercised ⁶twice, for a period of thirty-six years, in the time of Harethath, ⁷king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people; and the above work ⁸was executed in the forty and sixth year of his (reign).

It is a peculiarity of this inscr. that the words are separated.

L. 1. מקברתא See 94 i n. תרתי נפשתא 78 i n.

L. 2. עלא מנה i. e. עֲלָא מְנָה, cf. Dan. 6 3 and Palm. לעל מנה Eut. *Epigr. Misc.* 5 3 f. אסרתגא Cf. CIS ii 195, where a *nefesh* is erected (עבד) by יעמרו אסרתגא to his brother, the son of עבישו אסרתגא (A. D. 39). The inscr. 195 comes from Umm-er-Reşaş, 16 miles SE. of Medeba. These two inscrr., which are almost contemporary, indicate that the Nab. *stratēgos* was the governor of a small district, and that the office was to some extent hereditary¹; cf. 97 ii n. It is not impossible that both these *stratēgoi*, 'Abd-'obedath and Ya'amru, may have assisted the wife of Herod Antipas in her

¹ Strabo says of the Nabs. κατὰ πρεσβυγένειαν καὶ βασιλεύουσιν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχουσι p. 666 ed. Müll.

flight to her father Aretas iv at Petra; she was passed on, says Josephus, from one *stratēgos* to another, κομιδῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς *Ant.* xviii 5 1. The castle of Macherus would prob. have been in the district of Ya'amru; the boundary between the two governors was perhaps the W. Zerqa Ma'in. *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* ii 202.

L. 3. אִיתִיבֵּל i.e. אִיתִיבֵּל *Bel has brought* (i.e. the new-born), Afel of אַתָּא, cf. the Syr. pr. n. ܐܬܝܒܠ, Nöld. *ZA* (1891) 149 n.; or, אִיתִיבֵּל *Bel exists*, cf. אִתִּי אֱלֹהִים Dan. 2 28 and אִתִּיבֵּל Neh. 11 7. אִתִּי 1 Chr. 11 31. *Bel* is the Babylonian deity (p. 269), and not another form of the Canaanite *Ba'al*. The only other Nab. name in which בֵּל has been found is בְּנֵהבֵּל 102 5, and that is uncertain; in Palm. בֵּל and בּוּל are frequent in pr. nn. The second אִיתִיבֵּל was grandson of the first; it was a custom to repeat family names at this interval in the genealogy.

L. 4. מִשְׁרִיתָא 140 B 3. 122 5, Syr. ܡܫܪܝܬܐ *camp, army*; in Targ. שְׂרָא = *encamp*. לַחֲצִיתוֹ must have been within the jurisdiction of the *stratēgos*, and therefore near Medeba. The name suggests מַעְלֵה הַלְחִית *Is.* 15 5. *Jer.* 48 5; but according to the *Onomasticon* (136 23 ed. Lag.) this was between Areopolis (Rabbath-Moab, Rabba) and Zoar = Ṣarfa, to the N. of Wadi Kerak (Buhl *Geogr.* 272), and therefore too far south¹. עֲבֵרְתָא Site unknown; evidently a fort commanding a *pass* in the highlands near Medeba or the *ford* of a river. The name recalls the O. T. הַר הָעֲבָרִים = the Nebo range, *Num.* 27 12. In Roman times there were several camps in the neighbourhood; e. g. cohors tertia . . in ripa vadi Apharis fluvii in castris Arnonensibus, *Notitia dignitatum* xxx.

L. 6. זְמַנִּין תְּלָתָה Cf. זְמַנִּין תְּלָתָה Dan. 6 11. CIS ii 186 3. Palm. זְבִנִּין סְגִיָּא 121 5.

L. 7. עֲבִידְתָּא Noun formed from Pe. ptc. pass., cf. 94 1. *Ezr.* 4 24 &c. עֲבִידְתָּא בֵּית אֱלֹהִים; see Marti *Gr. Bibl. Aram.* 86.

¹ If מ' הַלְחִית = Tal'at Heisa, on W. slope of Mt. Nebo, some 5 or 6 m. NW. of Medeba, this would answer to the conditions; but the grounds on which Conder (*PEF Mem., East. Pal.* i 228. 253), followed by G. A. Smith (*Map of Pal.*), bases the identification, are extremely questionable; see Driver *Exp. Times* (1902) 460.

DAMASCUS

97. Dumêr. CIS ii 161. A. D. 94. Louvre.

Col. ii

בגרת אם אדרמו אסרתגא
ונקידו מן על טעמא
בני עבדמלכו

Col. i

[דנה מ]סגרא די הקים
[ה]נאו בר חרי גדלו ברת

Col. iii

אסרתגא בירח איר
שנת X 9 במנין ארהומיא
די הו שנת X 3 לרבאל
מלכא

C

B

A

F

נקידו ברה אדרמו ברה הנאו לענו אתתה ...

Col. i [This is the c]ippus which Hâni'u set up, the freed-man of Gadlu, daughter ⁱⁱ of Bagarath, mother of Adramu the *stratēgos* and Neqîdu, by adoption sons of 'Abd-mâliku ⁱⁱⁱ the *stratēgos*, in the month Iyar, in the year 405, by the reckoning of the Romans, which is the 24th year of king Rabel.

The place now called Dumêr (ضمير) was the first station on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra. The inscr. is written on the sides of a hexagonal column, a little over 3 ft. high, resembling a Greek altar. Round the upper part is a series of busts, each with a name below it (A B C F); two busts (D E) are missing.

Col. i. מסגרא See 92 i n. הנאו 93 8 n. בר חרי Lit. *filius libertatis*, so *libertus*; in Hebr. cf. Qoh. 10 17; in Palm. 147 ii b 12 קיסר בר חרי קיסר, and the inscr. found at South

Shields (Lidzb. 482) רגניא בת חרי ברעתא חבל¹. In Syr. ܡܢ Pa. = *set free*, and similarly the Pi. of חרר in NHebr., whence חר *freeman*.

Col. ii. בגרת See 85 1 n. אדרמו = ܐܕܪܡܐ² *toothless*. Cf. נקודא. Ezr. 2 48 = Neh. 7 50 &c. מן על Lit. *on the ground of, by reason of*; cf. על in 147 i 6 על צבוחא אלן. To be explained by the Syr. ܥܠܐܐܐܐܐ *a graff*, ܥܠܐܐܐܐܐ³ *he graffed*; hence used of adoption (Cl.-Gan. Rec. i 61). בני עברמלכו It is clear that Hânî'u was both the freedman and husband of Gadlu². Their sons were adopted by 'Abd-mâliku, prob. a kinsman of Gadlu, in order to secure a social position which their father could not give them. It would seem that 'Abd-mâliku transmitted his own office to the elder of the two sons, cf. 96 2 n. For עברמלכו see 80 11 n.

Col. iii. איר 85 10 n. The sign of the numeral 4 is unusual. The date is given by the Seleucid era, which began in 312 B. C.; see 9 5 n. במנין ארהומיא i.e. ܐܪܗܘܡܝܐ, for the orthography cf. Clement's ܐܪܗܘܡܝܐ³ *Thes. Syr. s. v.*; מנין lit. = *counting*. The reference, as Cl.-Gan. l. c. 71 f. has shown, is to the Seleucid era reckoned, not by the old style or Macedonian calendar, which was on the lunar system, but by the Roman or Julian calendar (solar), which had been introduced recently into Syria. רבאל Rabel, the last Nab. king (92 3 n.), known only from inscr. (e.g. 95 2 n. 101 9) and coins³.

¹ The Lat. part of this inscr. runs: D[is] m[anibus]. Regina liberta et conjuge Barates Palmyrenus natione Catuallauna an[nis] xxx. The stone, now in the Free Library, S. Shields, was found in the neighbouring Roman camp.

² The relation was not unknown: Cl.-Gan. quotes Orelli 3024 Ti. Claudius Hermes . . Claudiam M. Titi filiam . . patronam optimam, item conjugem felicissimam—id. 3029 D. M. Lucretiae Eutychedi, Lucretius Adrastus conjugi et patronae dulcissimae. Cf. preceding note.

³ The name occurs in an inscr. lately found (1897) at Petra; see Cl.-Gan. Rec. ii § 58, *Album Pl. XLV*; Schürer *Gesch.*³ i 732. 742 f.

[דנה צ] למא די רבאל מלך נבטו
 ח מלך נבטו די הקים לה
 ב' ? ימ ? ? י רבא וחרתה
 בירח כסלו די [הו] שמרא
 . . . [שנת] xvi לחרתה מלכא [מלך נבטו]

This statue must have belonged to another king Rabel, for his father's name ended in ח, and he was succeeded by a king Harethath, who reigned at least for 16 years; Rabel, the last Nab. king, is therefore out of the question. On the strength of a passage in Steph. Byz. which says that Antigonus the Macedonian was slain by Rabilus the king of the Arabians, Cl.-Gan. dates this inscr. 70–69 B. C., correcting Antigonus to Antiochus (i.e. A. xii). Josephus, however, clearly implies that the Arabian king who defeated and slew Antiochus at Cana was Aretas (*Ant. xiii 15*

This inscr. tells us that his reign began in A. D. 71; the latest inscr. is dated in his 26th year, i. e. A. D. 96 (p. 255 *n.* 1); the Nab. kingdom came to an end in A. D. 106. Rabel, as this inscr. from the NE. of Damascus shows, must have ruled over an extensive territory.

The series of busts and inscrr. is not complete. It began with Hâni'u in the centre, and followed from the left with Adramu, the eldest son, and then with Neqîdu. Whose wife was represented by F, to the right of A, is not certain; the Corp. restores עבדמלכו for E; the remaining name at D was prob. גרלו.

1. 2)—i. e. Aretas iii. There is evidently some confusion in the statement of Steph. Byz. (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 525). It is not at present clear where this king Rabel is to be placed.

HAURAN

98. Hebran. CIS ii 170. A. D. 47. Louvre.

1 בִּירַח תִּשְׁרִי שְׁנַת שֶׁבַע לְקִלְדִּים

2 קִיסָר

3 דְּנָה תִרְעָא דִּי עֶבֶד מַלְכוּ בֵּר

4 קַצְ[יֹו] כִּמְר אֵלַת שְׁלָם קִרִּי

In the month of Tishri, the seventh year of Claudius Caesar: this is the gate which Mâliku, son of Qas[îu], priest of Allath, made. Call a greeting!

L. 1. תִּשְׁרִי The 7th month, Sept.–Oct.; in 123 5 = Ὑπερβερεταῖος. קִלְדִּים Claudius, Jan. 41–Oct. 54 A. D. The inscr. dates from the interregnum (44–52) between Herod Agrippa i and ii, when Hauran and Trachonitis were governed directly by the Roman imperial power. For קִלְדִּים the more correct form would be קִלְדִּים, as אֹרְלִים in Palm.

L. 2. קִיסָר The form with י is derived from the Gk. Καῖσαρ, in Palm. usually קִסָּר 121 3 &c.

L. 4. קַצְיֹו 99 2 is everywhere the name of a person, not of a god, 100 2 n. כִּמְר See 64 1 n. אֵלַת 80 4 n. קִרִּי Imperat.; cf. the Arab. formula قرا عليه السلام.

99. Ṣalḥad. CIS ii 182. A. D. 65. In situ.

1 דְּנָה בֵּיתָא דִּי בְנָה רוּחוּ בֵּר מַלְכוּ בֵּר אַכְלָבוּ בֵּר רוּחוּ
לֵאלֹת אֱלֹהֵתָהֶם

2 דִּי בַצְלַחַד וּדִי נִצַּב רוּחוּ בֵּר קַצְיֹו עִם רוּחוּ דְּנָה דִּי עֵלָא

3 בִּירַח אֲב שְׁנַת עֶשֶׂר וּשְׁבַע לְמַלְכוּ מֶלֶךְ נִבְטוּ בֵּר חֲרַתַּת
מֶלֶךְ נִבְטוּ רַח[ם] עִמָּה

This is the temple which Rûḥu, son of Mâliku, son of Aklabu, son of Rûḥu, built to Allath their goddess ² who is in Ṣalḥad, and whom Rûḥu, son of Qasîu, ancestor (?) of the said above-named Rûḥu, had established. ³ In the month Ab, the seventeenth year of Mâliku, king of the Nabataeans, son of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. רוחו 140 B 2 = Arab. *joyous*, 'Povaios Wadd. 2034. אכלבו
= Arab. *rabidus*. אלת אלהתהם See 80 4 n. and cf. אלהתא
CIS ii 336 3; the suff. as in שלמונהם 96 5.

L. 2. די בצלחר 92 3 n. This idiom implies that the worship of Allath at Ṣalḥad was introduced from some other place (24 2 n.); this appears to have been done by an ancestor of the Rûhu who now builds a temple for the goddess. צלחר is the present *صلحة*, in Yaquṭ *مرحد*, situated on one of the southernmost heights of Jebel Ḥauran. It has been identified with the O.T. סלכה Deut. 3 10. Josh 12 5 &c., mentioned along with Edre'i as marking the S. frontier of Bashan. נצב The pf. to be rendered by plupf.: the introduction of the worship would take place before the building of the temple (Lidzb. 150 n.). קציו 98 4. 100 2. עם רוחו may be rendered *with R.*, i. e. the introduction of Allath was the joint enterprise of R. son of Qaṣîu and R. son of Mâliku. But in 95 2 עם = *kinsman, ancestor* (*great-grandfather*, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 373 f.), and this seems to be the meaning here. The worship of Allath had been established at Ṣalḥad for three generations, or about 100 years, before the date of the inscr., i. e. at a period which corresponds with the occupation of this region by the Nabataeans after the capture of Damascus by Aretas iii in B.C. 85 (see p. 216). It is possible, as Cl.-Ganneau points out, that the קציו of Bostra (100 2) was the קציו of this inscr., evidently an important person; if this was the case, the father introduced his family god (prob. אערא 92 2 n.) at Bostra, the son did the same for Allath at the neighbouring Ṣalḥad.

L. 3. אב The 5th month, July–Aug. מלכו 92 4 n. Between the death of Aretas iv in A.D. 40 and the reign of Malchus ii we must probably insert the reign of Abias, ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς Joseph. *Ant.* xx 4 1. Hence the accession of Malchus ii cannot be placed earlier than about 48 A.D. (Schürer 739); his 17th year will then be A.D. 65.

100. Bostra. CIS ii 174. Circ. 40 B.C. Louvre.

1 די קרב נטראל בר
2 נטראל לאלה קציו
3 בשנת 1 / למלכו מלכא

Offered by Naṭar-el, son of Naṭar-el, to the god of Qaṣîu; in the 11th year of king Mâliku.

Bostra, in Gk. Βοστρά, now بُصْرَى, was the chief city of Ḥauran in the 1st cent. A.D. The Nabataeans made it a great centre for commerce with Palmyra, Babylonia, and the south. Cf. 125 5.

L. 1. נטראל i. e. *El keeps*, Ναταρήλος Wadd. 2351; an Aram. name.

L. 2. אלה קציו See 92 3 n.; the god was perhaps אערא, the patron of the family (99 2 n.).

L. 3. מלכו The inscr. is evidently an early one, judging from the rude and somewhat archaic style of the writing. Hence the king will be the earlier rather than the later Mâliku (92 4), i. e. Malchus i (Schürer 735, not ii), circ. 50–28 B.C., who appears again in 102. His relations with Herod the Great are described by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv 14 1–2. *War* i 14 1–2). He refused Herod assistance at the time of the Parthian invasion B.C. 40, and was subsequently fined by Ventidius for the support which he gave to the invaders (Dio Cass. 48 41). Part of his territory was made over by Antony to Cleopatra; after a time the tribute was withheld, and by Antony's order Herod made an expedition into the territory of the Nabataeans, and in the end succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon Malchus, B.C. 32–31 (Joseph. *Ant.* xv 5. *War* i 19). The last that we hear of him is in connexion with a plot against Herod, which led to the death of the aged Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xv 6 2–3).

101. Imtân. A. D. 93. In situ.

1 דנה מסגרא

2 די קרב

3 מנעת בר

4 גדיו ל

5 דושרא ו

6 אערא אלה

7 מראנא די

8 בבצרא בשנת

9 לרבלא ל

10 מלכא מלך

נבטו די 11

אחיי וש 12

יזב עמה 13

This is the cippus offered by Mun'ath, son of Gadiyu, to Dûshara and A'ra the god of our lord who is in Boşra, in the 23rd year of king Rabel, king of the Nabataeans, who brought life and deliverance to his people.

Imtân lies SE. of Bostra. The inscr. was discovered by Dussaud and Macler; *Voy. Arch.* (1901) no. 36. See also *Rep.* nos. 83 and 86.

L. 1. מסגרא See 92 1 n.

L. 3. מנעת See 83 2 n.

L. 4. גריו In Sin. Eut. 93. 95 &c.; in Palm. גריא = Arab. جَدَى.

L. 6. אערא See 92 2 n. 3 n. אלה מראנא the god of our lord i. e. of the king, as in 88 6. 89 8.

L. 9. רבאל 97 iii n.

L. 12. For the title cf. CIS ii 183 . . . די אחיי עמה ו (25th year) and the inscr. below¹. It may point to some historical act of deliverance, or perhaps rather (like the רחם עמה of Aretas iv) to a patriotic policy at a time when the independence of the Nab. kingdom was threatened by Rome; cf. the Hellenist title Σωτήρ. In the earlier inscr. of the reign Rabel has no such title; it is omitted, however, in 97 iii (24th year) possibly for political reasons. Af. of אחיי, cf. the pr. n. חייאל CIS ii 224 7. For שיוזב see 69 9 n.

¹ Duss. et Macl. no. 62; *Rép.* no. 86:—

a דנ[ה] ארכתא די עבר עזורו

בר גשם לשיע אלקום [אלה]

b א בשנת עשרין ו[ח] שנת לרבאל מלכא מל

ך נבטו די אחיי ושוב עמה

D. et M. explain ארכתא as = Lat. *arca*, i. e. sarcophagus. Cl.-Gan. thinks of part of a building, *Rec.* iv 175; but it is prob. that أَرْكَة *couch, bridal seat* = מיהבא 70 1 n., Lidzb. *Eph.* i 332. At the end of the next l. Cl.-Gan. plausibly reads לשיע אלקום *to the god She'a-alqûm*; the reading is brilliantly confirmed by 140 B 4 n. The 26th year of Rabel was A. D. 96.

ITALY

102. Puteoli. CIS ii 158. A.D. 5. Naples Museum.

- 1 דא מחרמתא [די ח]רתו ת ועלי נחשא
- 2 ל ומרתי די מתקרא זברת
- 3 צי צידו בר עבת מן דילה על חיי חרתת מלך נ[בטו ודי]
- 4 [ח]לדו אתתה מלכת נבטו ודי בניהם בירח אב שנת / 1 [111] למלכותה]
- 5 אחר זמן אבני מחרמתא קרמיתא די עבר בנהבל בר במ
- 6 [בשנת 111] 111 111 למלכו מלך נבטו יהבו בגו מחרמתא דא

This is the sanctuary [which] restored, and 'Ali the copper-smith² and Marthi, who is called Zubdath³ Şaïdu, son of 'Abath, at his own expense, for the life of Ḥarethath, king of the N[abataeans, and of]⁴ Ḥuldu his wife, queen of the Nabataeans, and of their children, in the month Ab, the 14th (?) year [of his reign]⁵ . . . after the time when the former sanctuaries were built (?), which Ben-hobal, son of Bm . . . made⁶ [in the 8th (?) year] of Mâliku, king of the Nabataeans, they placed within this sanctuary.

L. 1. מחרמתא See 79 8 n. חרתו 23 2 n. עלי = Arab. Sin. עלי, 'Alaios Wadd. 2520. נחשא a worker in bronze, Syr. نَسَّأ, or possibly, *diviner*.

L. 2. מרתי Cf. Palm. 120 1 = Μάρθειν (fem.). די מתקרא Ethpe. ptc., cf. 123 2. זברת = Arab. زَبَرْتُ.

L. 3. צידו = Arab. صَائِدٌ, cf. Palm. 137 2. עבת Perhaps from لعبت to play. מן כיסה i.e. ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, cf. Palm. 116 4. 122 6. על חיי ח' 95 2 n. The usual title רחם עמה is omitted.

L. 4. חלדו 95 2 n., cf. O.T. חִלְדָּה 2 K. 22 14 (fem.) and חִלְדָּה weasel Lev. 11 29; so in the Mishnah חולדא, Arab. حُلْدٌ. בניהם Prob. children, not merely sons; 95 3 n. אב 99 3 n. To fill up the space three units are required, and prob. למלכותה, Corp.

L. 5. זמן 84 3 constr. st. before a verbal clause. אבני Prob. pf. 3 plur. fem.; but the form is not clear: it has been explained as contracted from אבתני, or as an internal pass. מחרמתא ק' Both plur. fem. Either בנהבל (96 3 n.) or בנהבל, Hobal being an old Arab deity, هبل at Mekka, the chief god of the Ka'aba; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 113. For compounds with בנא cf. O.T. בנהדר (בנהדר?), בניה &c.

L. 6. The Corp. supplies בשנת and two units to fill the lacuna. למלכו i.e. Malchus i, 100 3 n. The inscr. is too mutilated to enable us to make out the general sense with certainty. It appears that Saïdu in the 14th year of Aretas iv dedicated some object for the life of the king and his family, and deposited it (l. 6) in the recently restored sanctuary, which had been built some 50 years before. This inscr., like CIS ii 157 (also from Puteoli), is a witness to the extent and enterprise of Arabian commerce during the prosperous days of the Nab. kingdom. Nab. merchants had established themselves and the worship of their native deity on the shores of Italy, at the important harbour of Puteoli (cf. Acts 28 11. 13).

NABATAEAN: SINAITIC

The Sinaitic inscriptions are written in the Nabataean dialect and script¹. Most of them are to be seen on the rocky sides of the Wadi Mukatteb ('covered with writing'), through which one of the ancient trade routes passed; they occur also in other valleys of the Peninsula, e. g. W. 'Aleyyât, W. Leja', W. Ferân, W. Ma'ârah. For the most part they consist of proper names with short formulae of greeting ('שלם פ'), or blessing ('ברוך פ'), or commemoration ('דכיר פ'), varied in different ways. Very few are dated (see 107. 108 n.); but from the character of the writing, a ruder and more cursive form of the normal Nab., we may conclude that they belong to the first four centuries A. D.; not later, for by the 6th cent., when Cosmas Indicopleustes travelled through this region, their origin was already forgotten². It may be explained in the manner suggested by Euting. The caravans which brought merchandise from India to the markets of Egypt and the Levant travelled up from S. Arabia by the Red Sea coast, and then struck inland through the passes of the Sinaitic Peninsula. For the stage from S. Arabia to El-'Ölâ or El-Hejra they would have an escort of Himyarites; for the next stage, from El-'Ölâ to Petra, a Nab. escort would take them through Nab. territory. Here the caravans would be joined by Nab. clerks, writers, customs officers; and these were the authors of the inscriptions. When their services were not wanted they would spend their leisure with the Bedouin and their camels at the pasture-grounds. This explains how the inscriptions are found both along the trade routes and in out-of-the-way valleys which only lead to pasturage. Euting has published the standard collection of Sin. inscrr., numbering 677; *Sinaitische Inschriften*, 1891.

¹ A few are in Greek, Arabic, and Latin.

² "Οθεν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Σιναΐτου ὄρους ἐν πάσαις καταπαύσεσι, πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν αὐτοθι, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων ἀποκλωμένους, γεγραμμένους γράμμασι γλυπτοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πεζεύσας τοὺς τόπους μαρτυρῶ. ἅ τινα καὶ τινὲς Ἰουδαῖοι ἀναγνόντες διηγοῦντο ἡμῖν λέγοντες γεγράφθαι οὕτως, ἄπαρσις τοῦδε, ἐκ φυλῆς τῆσδε, ἔτει τῷδε, μηνὶ τῷδε, καθὰ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πολλάκις τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ξενίαις γράφουσιν Migne PG lxxxviii 217; Lidzb. 91.

103. Eut. 519. W. Mukatteb.

שלם אוישו בר פציו בטב

Greeting! Uwaisu, son of Faṣiyyu; good luck!

The inscr. begins with a greeting and ends with a farewell. שלם Lit. *peace* (106); similarly in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 152, and in Nab. at El-Ḥejra ib. 253 &c. אוישו = אוֹיִס dim. of אוֹש = אוֹס gift, both common names in Sin.; cf. אושאלהי Eut. 566. 104, and the frequent Αῖσος Wadd. 2034 &c. The pr. nn. in Sin. are generally Arabic, seldom Aramaic. פציו Found in various forms, פציו, תפצא, פציאו, פצי, פצי Lit. *in good*, similarly at El-Ḥejra CIS ii 243 &c.; cf. הָיָה בְּטוֹב Qoh. 7 14.

104. Eut. 559. W. Mukatteb.

שלם עברדושרא בר תנתלו
ואושלבעלי בר גרמלהי בר חיטמו

Greeting! 'Abd-dushara, son of Thantalu, and Aus-alba'ali, son of Garm-allâhi, son of Ḥaitamu.

Cf. the Arab. نَتَلَة rotten egg, from نَتَل to soil oneself. See 103, gift of the Ba'al, elsewhere אושאלבעלי. The ל or אל is the Arab. art., cf. אלבעלו 105. Eut. 548. אלאברשו 539 &c. The combination of Arab. and Aram. in this name is noteworthy. גרמלהי = גרמאלהי Eut. 79 &c., Garmallae (dat.) CIL x 2638; cf. גרמאלבעלי 106 &c. The prefix גרם, which occurs frequently before the name of a deity in Sin., may = جَرَم body (cf. Hebr. נֶגֶם bone), so member of Allah &c.; cf. the Phoen. ברעשתרת 6 2 n. Another suggestion is that the word = fear, like the Eth. gērām; in modern Abyss. many names begin with germa (Cook Aram. Gloss. s. v.). חיטמו Nöld. quotes the Arab. names خَطَامَة, خَطَامَة with a large nose.

105. Eut. 327. W. Ferân.

שלם ואלו בר חלצת קדם אלבעלו

Greeting! Wa'ilu, son of Ḥâliṣat, before the Ba'al.

ואלו See 38 4 n. (יאל). Like חלצת, a very common name in these inscrs.; it is found also at El-Ḥejra CIS ii 307 and in Ḥauran, ᾽Αλασαθός Wadd. 2042. 2047 (but according to Nöld.= עלשת, *ZDMG* xlii 474). Wellhausen suggests a derivation from خَلَصَ, *a creeping plant* resembling the vine, which is prob. the meaning of Dhu 'l Ḥalaṣa, the name of a heathen Arab deity. חלצת itself cannot be the name of the god used as the name of a man, because ذوالخلصة is merely a title, 'of the creeping plant' (which perhaps had wreathed itself round the sacred stone), the actual name of the deity not being uttered (see on דושרא 79 5); *Reste Ar. Heid.* 47 f. The pronunciation of חלצת was prob. خَالِصَةً. before the Ba'al (104 n.); prob. supply in thought 'may there be remembrance,' as in CIS ii 338 מן קדם דושרא. For the ellipse here cf. ib. 320 F קדם דושרא ומנתו and Eut. 437 בטישו בר ואלו.

106. Eut. 186. W. 'Aleyyât.

דכיר בטב ושלם
שעדו בר
גרמאלבעלי
עד עלם V
ש.

Remembered in welfare and peace be Sa'adu, son of Garm-alba'ali, for ever! . . .

שעדו CIS ii 231 &c., Palm. 127 3 (in Gk. σοαδου), also in the Sin. names 107 שעדאלהי and 140 B 2. שעדלת; = Arab. سَعْدٌ happiness, good fortune. 104 n. גרמאלבעלי.

107. Eut. 463. A. D. 189. W. Mukatteb.

ברוך ואלו בר שעדאלהי
דא בשנת 6666 להפרכיה די
בה אחרבו ע[רב]יא ארעא

Blessed be Wa'ilu, son of Sa'ad-allâhi. This (was written) in the year 85 of the Eparchy, in which the Arabs (??) devastated (?) the land.

שְׁעָרָא לְהִי See 106 n. A similar sign for 20 occurs in an early Arab. inscr. from Harran given by Vogüé in *Syr. Centr.* 117; for the usual Nab. form see 97. 101. The date is reckoned from the Eparchy (87 2 n.), i. e. the establishment of the Roman *governorship* over Arabia in A. D. 106 (see p. 216). This reckoning was known as the Era of Bostra (March 22, 106 A. D.)¹, and was used throughout the province of Arabia. אַחַרְבּוֹ עַל[רַב]יָא So read by Eut., Lidzb. (or עַרְיָא *the strangers*, *Eph.* i 339), supposing an allusion to some Bedouin attack upon the oases of Sinai. Cl.-Gan., however, prefers אַחַרְבּוֹ עַל[נ]יָא—a reading certainly justified by Euting's copy, Taf. 26—and renders the line 'in which the poor of the land were allowed to glean (the fruit)'; אַחַרְבּוֹ he explains as = أَخْرَفُوا (conj. iv), or pass. أُخْرِفُوا *allow or be allowed to gather fruit*, and עַל[נ]יָא as constr. st. = עֲנוּי אֶרֶץ with א as in Palm. הִיא, בְּנֵא (but see below), cf. עֲנוּי אֶרֶץ Am. 8 4 &c. He finds in the words thus interpreted a religious institution, analogous to the Jewish Sabbatical year, which assigned at fixed yearly intervals the fruit-gleanings to the poor; see *Rec.* iv § 33 = *Rép.* no. 129. There is absolutely no evidence, however, that such an institution ever existed; and it may be doubted whether אַחַרְבּוֹ, an Ofal, passive, form, would be used in Nab. instead of the usual Ethp.; خَرَف means only 'to gather fruit fallen on the ground.' In the *Rev. Bibl.* xi (1902) 137 it is proposed to read 'אַחַרְבּוֹ עֲנוּיָא *the wells of the land were dried up*, עֲנוּיָא for עֲנוּיָא; the objection to this is that the plur. constr. in Nab. does not end in א (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 339). The inscr. has recently been examined afresh on the spot by Fathers Jaussen and Savignac of Jerusalem; their investigations confirm Eut.'s reading אַחַרְבּוֹ, *RB* xi 467.

108. Eut. 457. A. D. 210–211. W. Mukatteb.

דְּכִיר תִּמְאַלְהִי בֶר יַעֲלִי שְׁנַת מֵאָה ע ו
דְּמִין עַל תִּלְתָּת קִיסְרִין

Remembered be Taim-allâhi, son of Ya'ali! The year one hundred (and) 6, equivalent to (the year of) the three Caesars.

¹ So in Gk. inscr., e. g. ἔτους . . τῆς Βοστρονηῶν [scil. ἐποχῆς], or ἔτους . . τῆς ἐπαρχίας[-as] Wetzstein *Ausgew. Inschr.* (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1863) 111. 112.

תימאלהי See 84 1 n. יַעֲלִי = יעלי. דְּמִין i. e. דמין ptcpl. fem. of דמא agreeing with שנין understood; the usual prep. after דמא is ל. The 106th year of the Era of Bostra = 210–211 A. D. During this year the Emperor Septimius Severus died (Feb. 4th, 211), and both his sons Caracalla and Geta became joint emperors; the year, therefore, was remarkable for having witnessed three Caesars on the throne. With תלתת קיסרין cf. the form AVGGG (i. e. tres Augusti) on Lat. inscr. (Cagnat *Cours d'épigr. Lat.*³ 373); it is possible that קיסרין may be the equivalent of the official title Augustus. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iv § 32 = *Rép.* no. 128, interprets the date differently; for the numeral, which is irregular in form (see 107), he reads על, and רמין for דמין. Supposing רמין to be an error for מרין *lords, or our lords* (= מרינא), he renders 'the year 100. For (the salvation of) our lords, the three Caesars.' But it may be doubted whether an inscr. of this fugitive, personal character would be written *for the sake of* (על) such august beneficiaries; analogy leads us to expect merely a date after the pr. nn. Moreover, there are historical objections; the 100th year (Bostra) = 204–205 A. D.; it would thus fall well within the reign of Severus (193–211 A. D.)¹, and though Caracalla became joint emperor in 201, he and his brother did not share the imperium with their father till 210–211.

109. Eut. 410. W. Mukatteb.

דנה סוסיא די
 עבר שעדלהי בר אעלא

This is the horse which Sa'd-allâhi, son of A'lâ, drew.

Rude drawings sometimes accompany the Sin. inscr.; cf. the pictures on the rocks near Têma and El-Hejra, Eut. *Nab. Inscr.* 8 f. In this case Sa'd-allâhi has drawn his horse; cf. Eut. 416. אַעֲלִי = אעלא. The form is Aram., cf. סוסיא. *most illustrious.*

¹ The fact that in several Lat. inscr. from Africa Geta is styled Augustus before 209 (CIL viii p. 974) is not sufficient to support Cl.-Gan.'s contention.

PALMYRENE

Palmyra, called in Gk. Πάλμυρα, in the O.T. and in the native inscriptions Tadmor¹, lay 150 m. NE. of Damascus in an oasis of the Syrian desert. Its situation afforded a meeting-place for the trade which crossed from E. to W., or came up from Petra and S. Arabia. The city existed for commerce. The 'chief of the caravan,' the 'chief of the market,' appear in the inscriptions among the principal citizens, 116. 121, holding magistracies and imperial posts; influential trade-guilds witness to the importance of the local industries, 126; the splendour and wealth of the city may be judged from the ruins of temples, streets, and tombs which still exist. The prosperity of Palmyra began to rise probably about the time when the Romans established themselves on the Syrian coast; for political reasons it was desirable to keep the direct route between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean in the hands of a vassal power. Probably in the reign of Augustus Palmyra became a part of the Roman empire, but the exact date is not known; later on it received special favours from Hadrian, who visited the city about 130 A.D. and granted it the privileges of the *jus Italicum*, perhaps also the rank of a colony², and adorned it with new buildings; from his time it took the name of Hadriana Palmyra, הרִינָא תרמר 147 ii. With the Romans on the one side and the Parthians on the other, the Palmyrenes had a difficult part to play³, but they always knew how to use the rivalry of the two empires for the advancement of their trade, and in the later Parthian wars both their policy and their active services were attended with signal success. For 150 years, from 130–270 A.D., Palmyra's fortunes were at their height. Under Odainath and Zenobia, during a brief period, the state held a foremost place in the Eastern empire; after Zenobia's overthrow in 273 it fell into decay and never recovered.

¹ 2 Chr. 8 4 is the earliest reference to the city. The original source had תמר, a place in Judah, 1 K. 9 18 Kt.; this was altered by the Chronicler or a later scribe to הרמר (so in 1 K. 9 18 Qeri) evidently with a view to increasing the extent of Solomon's kingdom. Jos. says that the Syrians pronounced the name *Thadamora*, Θαδάμορα, *Ant.* viii 6 1: the Arabs call it تَدْمُر.

² By the 3rd cent., at any rate, it had become a colony, 121. 127.

³ Pliny 5 21 Palmyra urbs . . . privata sorte inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia semper utrinque cura.

As a vassal of Rome, Palmyra enjoyed a liberal measure of military and civil independence. It was allowed to use the native language for official purposes, and, like other communities in the Asiatic and Syrian provinces¹, to farm the customs for the benefit of the community, independently of the sovereign power (147). The organization of the city was that of a Greek municipality under the empire. The government was vested in the Council and People (בולא ודמס), and administered by civil officers with Greek titles, the proedros (פלהדרותא, title of the office), the grammateus (גרמטוס), the archons (ארכוניא), the syndics (סדקיא), the dekaprotoi (עשרתא); see 147 i and 122. Along with these there was, at least in the 3rd cent., a *Ras* or *head* of the state (רש 125), virtually a prince, chosen from the leading family, of senatorial rank (סנקלטיקא 125) and Roman appointment. The office was handed on by Septimius Hairân (125) to his son Sept. Odainath, who received even higher rank, the consular dignity (הפטיקא 126). After his death, Odainath was actually styled *king of kings* (130), but no inscription contains the title during his life-time. See Mommsen *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* ii 92-112.

The language spoken at Palmyra was a dialect of Western Aramaic². In some important points, indeed, the dialect was related to Eastern Aram. or Syriac, e. g. the plur. in א—, 113 3. תגרא 130 1; the dropping of the final *î* and *û* in אבוה, אחוה, בנוה (but אבוהי &c. also occur), 113 4. נחת 113 3. אקים 130 4 (but אקימו 114 2); the adverbial ending *āith*, שכתיח 121 6; the infin. ending *û*, מתחשבו 147 ii c 4; also the words מטל 121 6. תנן 121 3. כלמא 147 i 12. עמרא life 121 6. עלתא 135 1. תטלילא 117 5 &c. But the relation to Western (Palestinian) Aram. is closer. Specially characteristic are the following features: the impf. with י, not as in Syr. and the E. dialects with נ or ל; the plur. in אִי—; the rel. די as in Bibl. Aram. and in the Targ. Ps.-Jon. (Dalman *Gr.* 85); the conj. ברילדי; the pers. pron. רנה, רה, אלן; בות 121 6 &c.; the distinction between ש and ס, as in Bibl. Aram., e. g. סניאן and 'ש, סהר 121 5. 6. 147 i 4. The bulk of the population of Palmyra was of Arab race, hence many of the proper names are Arabic, and several Arabic words occur, e. g. מנר 112 3. חרם 112 4. פחר 136 6. The technical terms of municipal and administrative life are mostly Greek; even under the Roman government the Greek terminology

¹ See Dessau *Hermes* xix 528 ff.

² Like the Egypt. Aram. and Nabataean. Cf. Epiphanius *Haer.* 66 13 [PG xlii 48] Ἄλλοι δὲ δῆθεν τὴν βαθυτάτην τῶν Σύρων διάλεκτον σεμνύνονται, τὴν τε [τὴν] κατὰ τὴν Παλμύραν διάλεκτον, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν στοιχεῖα εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ταῦτα ὑπάρχει.

was retained, e. g. אסטרטניא, אכסניא, בילוּטא, גנס, דגמא, היגמנא, הפקא, נמוסא, תגמא, and the titles mentioned above. The Latin words in the inscriptions are קלניא, קסר, קטריא, לגיונא, דוקרנא. On the characteristics of the dialect see Nöldeke *ZDMG* xxiv 85–109, cited as Nöld.

The inscriptions are often given in a Gk. version after the Palm.; and as a further result of Roman influence many natives bore Latin in addition to Aram. names. The writing is a modified form of the old Aram. character, and in many respects approximates the Hebr. square character. A noteworthy feature is the diacritic point which is often used, as in Syr., to distinguish 𐤒 from 𐤓. The letters א, ב, 𐤒, 𐤓, 𐤔, 𐤕, 𐤖 often have ligatures binding them to the letter which precedes or follows; 𐤕 has a final form. The words are sometimes separated, and occasionally the end of a clause is marked by the full stop 𐤔. The inscriptions belong to the first three centuries A. D.; the earliest is dated B. C. 9 (141), the latest Aug. 272 A. D. (Vog. 116; see p. 293). The standard collection is that of de Vogüé *Syrie Centrale* 1868, cited as Vog.; supplementary collections are those of A. D. Mordtmann *Neue Beiträge z. Kunde Palmyras* 1875, cited as Mordtm.; Clermont-Ganneau *Études* i § 9; Sachau *ZDMG* xxxv 728 ff.; D. H. Müller *Palm. Inschr.* 1898; J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 1899 &c.

HONORARY INSCRIPTIONS

110. Vogüé 1. A. D. 139. In situ¹.

1 בולא ודמס עברו צלמיה אלן תרויהון
 2 לאעילמי בר חירן בר מקימו בר חירן מתא
 3 ולחירן אבוהי רחימי מדיתתהון ורחלי אלהיא
 4 בדילדי שפרו להון ולאליההון בבל מבו בלה
 5 ליקרהון בירח ניסן שנת 33

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀαιλάμειν Αἰράνου τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μαθθα καὶ Αἰράνην τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοπάτριδας καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ φιλοτείμως ἀρέσαντας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους νύ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ. Wadd. 2586.

¹ The Palmyrene inscrs. are all *in situ* except where otherwise stated.

The Council and People have made these two statues ² to A'ailami, son of Hāirân, son of Moqîmu, son of Hāirân, (son of) Mattâ, ³ and to Hāirân his father, lovers of their city and fearers of the gods, ⁴ because they were well-pleasing to them and to their gods in everything whatsoever: ⁵ to their honour. In the month Nisan, the year 450.

The honorary inscrs. (110–132) are written upon Corinthian columns which were ranged along the principal streets, or stood in the courts and porticos of the temples. On the column there is generally a bracket for the bust to which the inscription refers.

L. 1. בּוֹלָא וְדַמַּס i. e. בּוֹלָא וְדַמַּס. Plur. of דְּנָה, regularly in Palm.; see add. note ii p. 26. תְּרוּיָהוֹן Lit. *the two of them*, תְּרוּיָהוֹן (= תְּרוּיָהוֹן), cf. 111 2 and the Palest. forms תְּרוּיָהוֹן, תְּרוּיָהוֹן, Dalman *Gr.* 98.

L. 2. אַעִילָמִי 'Ααιλάμεις. The name is Arab., and may be explained as a diminutive of the elative form with the ending ^ة (‘relative’), i. e. اُعْيَلَقِي from علم *know*, cf. اُزْهَر from ازهر &c. As the Gk. form shows, the pronunciation does not strictly represent the Arab.; perhaps this is due to the influence of Aram., which rarely recognizes dimin. forms; cf. also Χεῖλος = كَهْل, Σεμίας = سَحِيْمِيَة &c. The pr. n. Αἶλαμος Wadd. 2086 is similarly explained as = عَيْلَم (J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 15 f.). חֵירָאֻן = חֵירָאֻן an ancient name in the tribe of the Beni Hamdân (Blau *ZDMG* xxviii 75), very common in Palm. 78 2 n.¹ מַתָּא The preceding בַּר is left out, as frequently in Palm.—a strong proof of Gk. influence; see the Gk. version. מַתָּא is abbreviated from some form like מַתָּא בּוֹל (= מַתָּא-בּוֹל).

L. 3. מְדִיתָהוֹן 111 3 f. i. e. מְדִיתָהוֹן. (147 ii b 7 &c.) = מְדִיתָהוֹן (from דִּין); in Palm. and Syr. *city*, *πάτρίς*; in Bibl. Aram. *province*. For the assimilation of נ cf. אַתָּת (= אַנְשַׁת), and in foreign words סַדְקִיָּא 147. סַקְלָטִיקָא Vog. 21 (p. 285 n. 1).

L. 4. בְּדִילָדִי 113 4 f. &c. *on account of*, frequent in Palest. Aram. but not in Syr., Dalman *Gr.* 187. בְּדִיל is Hebraized בִּשְׁל Jonah 1 7 (= בִּשְׁל v. 8). 12. Qoh. 8 17. מְבוֹ An error for צְבוֹ lit. *purpose, intention*, as in Syr. with a vague sense, *matter, thing*, Dan. 6 18; plur. צְבוֹתָא 147 i 6.

¹ Final *z* in Palm. is represented in Gk. by *eis*, *ei*, *ein*, e. g. בְּרִיכִי 111 2 Βαρείχειν; also medial *z*, e. g. מְקִימו Μοκείμου and Μοκίμου, זְבִידָא Ζεβείδαν 113 2. Where *i* = diphth. *ai* the Gk. writes *ai*, as here, חֵירָא Αἶρανος, בִּידָא 113 3 Βαιδᾶ &c.; Nöld. 88 f.

L. 5. שנת Constr. st. before the number. The name of the month in the Gk. version comes from the Macedonian calendar. The date is reckoned by the Seleucid era which began Oct. 312 B. C.; see 9 5 n. 97 iii n.

111. Vog. 2. A. D. 139.

1 בולא ודמם עבדו צלמא אלן
 2 תרויהן לבריכי בר אמרשא בר
 3 ירחבולא ולמקימ[ו] ברה רחימי
 4 מדיתהון ורחלי א[לה]יא ליקרהון
 5 בירח ניסן שנת /// 33

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Βαρεῖχειν Ἀμρισάμου τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Μόκιμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοπάτριδας τιμῆς χάριν . . . Wadd. 2587.

The Council and People have made these two statues ² to Baríki, son of Amri-sha, son ³ of Yarḥi-bôlê, and to Moqîm[u] his son, lovers ⁴ of their city and fearers of the g[od]s: to their honour. ⁵ In the month Nisan, the year 450.

The form is identical with that of the preceding inscription.

L. 2. בריכי i. e. *Benedictus*. אמרשא An abbrev. for אמר שמשא (see the Gk.) *Shamash has promised*, cf. the O.T. אמריהו 1 Chr. 24 23 &c., and the Sab. יתעמר *KB* ii 54; for שא = שמשא cf. תימשא, אלהשא Vog. 34. Prob. the Hebr. pr. n. בעשא (= בעלשא) is to be explained in this way; see S. A. Cook *Expos. Times* x (1899) 525 ff.

L. 3. ירחבולא Derived from the name of the Palm. deity ירחבול 121 6 n.; cf. 115 5 n. The nom. of Ἰαριβωλέου would end in -ης, cf. בונא 112 2 Βωννέους; hence the final vowel in both names was pronounced ē, cf. בולא = βουλῆ; Nöld. 90.

112. Vog. 3. A. D. 140.

1 צלמא דנה די אצ[ט]לי בר חירן שבא בר
 2 חירן בונא שבת די עבדת לה בולא די
 3 מגר לה. ח. . . לעלמא ו. . . מל. תא ואקם

4 . חר[מן] ל[מ]לכב[ל ולג]ר תימי ולעתרעתה

5 [א]לה[יא] טב[יא] בת . די . ת ליקרה בירח

6 [תמוז שנ]ת /// 33 / 6

ῬΗ βουλὴ Ἀστάλειν Αἰράνου τοῦ Σαβᾶ τοῦ [Αἰρά]νου
τοῦ Βωννέους ἐπανγελάμενον αὐτῇ ἐπίδοσιν αἰωνίαν
[εἰς] θυσίαν κατ' ἔτος ἀναθέματα [Μαλα]χβήλω καὶ
Τύχῃ Θαιμείως καὶ [Ἀτερ]γάτει πατρώοις θεοῖς τειμῆς
καὶ μνήμης χάριν ἔτους ανύ πανήμου. Wadd. 2588.

This statue is that of Aṣṭali, son of Ḥairan, (son of) Sabâ, son ² of Ḥairân, (son of) Bônnē, (son of) Shabbath, which has been made to him by the Council to whom ³ he presented . . . for ever . . . and set up ⁴ consecrated things to Malak-be[1 and to the Fort]une of Thaimi and to 'Athar-'attheh, ⁵ the good gods to his honour. In the month ⁶ Tammuz, the year 451.

L. 1. אצמלי An Ethpe. form from צלא ? *pray*; cf. אתפני
118 1. שבא Sometimes סבא, prob. = Talm. שבא, Nab. שבי
CIS ii 215, from شب *befall*, cf. Βαρσαββᾶς Acts 1 23; Dalman *Gr.*
143 n.

L. 2. בונא Perhaps = בול נא [א] Ból is dear, or = בולנא Vog. 95 2
from בול ענא or בול לנא; but see 143 6 n. The Gk. form with
double ν shows that ל has been assimilated; cf. בעשמים 39 1 and
111 3 n. שבת may be a cognomen.

L. 3. מנר 123 4 = مَنَر to make a generous gift; in Aram. the noun
is used, מנרה a costly gift. After מנר some word corresponding to
ἐπίδοσιν is to be supplied; Vog. מתנא.

L. 4. חרמן See 79 8 n. מלכבל A solar deity who stood at
the head of the Palm. gods, as the inscr. below shows ¹. The Gk. and
Lat. transcriptions Μαλαχβήλος, *Malachibelus*, *Malagbelus* indicate

¹ Rom. 2, in the Capitoline Mus., A. D. 236.

עלתא דה למלכבל ולאלי הדמר

קרב שברים קלודים פלקסי

ותדמריא לאליהוקן שלם

Soli sanctissimo sacrum. Ti. Claudius Felix et Claudia Helpis et Ti. Claudius
Alypus fil[ius] eorum votum solverunt libens merito Calbienses de coh[orte] iii.

מִלְכָּבֶל = מְלָאךְ בֵּל messenger of Bel (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 256 f.) rather than מִלְכָּבֶל Bel is king. The god Bel came from Babylon. The name is not found on public inscrr., but only on small tesserae, and often accompanied by the symbol of the sun with rays, e. g. Vog. 132 ff. בֵּל בֵּל יִבְרַךְ לְבָנִי חֵלָא &c. 143. As a sun-god Bel could easily be adapted to שֶׁמֶשׁ, undoubtedly the chief god of Palmyra; he was further identified with Ζεύς, Wadd. 2606 a, 140 A 2 n. Lidzb. suggests that the native שֶׁמֶשׁ was interpreted as מְלָאךְ בֵּל, the messenger, or the revealer of Bel. If this is correct we can understand how שֶׁמֶשׁ, בֵּל, מִלְכָּבֶל are all really the same chief deity, under various aspects. Malak-bel is sometimes associated with 'Agli-bôl, the latter, as the moon, being named before the sun, 139 6 n., cf. 61 2 n. [וּלְגַן] ר' תִּימִי or [וּלְגַן] ר' תִּימִי. Cl.-Gan. reads [גַּן] ר' in appos. to מִלְכָּבֶל (*Rec.* iii 244 f.), but the Gk. has καί. The two deities are named together on a Palm. seal, מִלְכָּבֶל מִלְכָּבֶל מִלְכָּבֶל Mordtm. no. 88. גַּד תִּימִי = Τύχη Θαιμείος, gen. of Θαιμείος (Nöld. 88), the patron deity of the clan תִּימִי¹. The name תִּימִי = תִּימִי slave requires, like עֶבֶד, the name of a god to complete its meaning, e. g. 84 1. תִּימָאֵלֵהּ. The worship of Gad-Tyche was widely popular in Syria and Ḥauran; cf. the pr. nn. גִּדְעָתָה Vog. 143, גִּדְרָצוֹ ib. 84, and 27 3 n. עֲתֶרְעָתָה Ἀτεργάτις, the great goddess of the Aramaeans. The chief centres of her cult in Syria were at Hierapolis in Mesopotamia and Damascus²; outside Syria her most famous temple was at Ashqelon³. Another temple occupied an ancient shrine at 'Ash-taroth-qarnaim, the Ἀτεργάτιον at Karnion 2 Macc. 12 26, τὸ τέμενος ἐν Καρνάιν 1 Macc. 5 43; both here and at Ashqelon Atergatis took the place of an earlier Astarte. The name is compounded of עֲתֶר = עֲתֶרְעָתָה and עֲתֶר. As עֲתֶר (mas.) the deity was worshipped in S. Arabia (see 4 1 n.). There are traces of the form עֲתֶר among the Aramaeans, e. g. the pr. n. עֲתֶר־שֹׁר Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118 (עֲתֶרְעָתָה CIS ii 52 is doubtful); it was known to Strabo, who writes it Ἀθάρα⁴, the θ being a softening of the original doubled letter; cf. Hesych. Ἀτταγάθη

¹ Cf. בֵּל בֵּרַךְ לְבָנִי תִימִי Mordtm. no. 50.

² Strabo p. 636 ed. Müll. ἡ Βαμβύκη ἦν καὶ Ἐδεσσαν καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾗ τιμῶσι τὴν Συρίαν θεὸν τὴν Ἀτεργάτιν. Her name occurs on coins of Hierapolis, Babelon *Pers. Ach.* pp. liii. 45. For Damascus see Justin xxxvi 2 Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum, in cuius honorem Syri sepulcrum Athares [MSS. Arathis] uxoris eius, pro templo coluere deamque exinde sanctissimae religionis habent.

³ Diod. ii 4. Near Askalon is a temple of the goddess ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Σύροι Δερκετοῦν κ.τ.λ.; her image was that of a woman with a fish-tail. See Schürer *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*³ ii. 23 f.

⁴ P. 667 Ἀτεργάτιν δὲ [ἐκάλεσαν] τὴν Ἀθάραν. Δερκετὼ δ' αὐτὴν Κτησίας καλεῖ.

Ἀθάρη παρὰ τῷ Ξάνθῳ *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 629. A hint as to the nature of the deity is given by an inscr. of Ašurbanipal, *KB* ii 220 f., which mentions a N. Arabian tribe as worshippers of *Atar-samaim* i.e. Atar of the heavens. The second part of the compound, עתה, עתא, or עתי¹, occurs frequently in pr. nn., e.g. זברעתה, ברעתה, עתנורי, and with a mas. verb, e.g. עתעקב, עתנתן; but whether עתה was a male or female deity is not clear. The Syr. 𐤀𐤁 of Adiabene was a goddess (*Cureton Spic. Syr.* 9); in a Gk. inscr. from Batanaea, Wadd. 2209, a god Ἐθαος is named, perhaps = עתא. The usual Gk. transcription is -γαθη². Of the nature of this deity nothing certain is known. As Ἀthar-Ἀtheh was specially connected with Hierapolis, it is possible that Ἀtheh was the Phrygian god Attis = Adonis, whose cult was established there; Ἀthar-Ἀtheh will then represent a union between the Syrian goddess and the youthful god of foreign origin (*Lagrange RB* x 559 f. = *Rel. Sém.* 132, following E. Meyer, Hommel &c.); at any rate עתרעתה denotes Ἀshtart who has assumed the attributes of Ἀtheh, cf. מלכבל above. At Ashqelon she was a fish-goddess, but her worship seemed to Herod. to be that of Ἀφροδίτη οὐρανίη (i 105), and such no doubt was her character at Palmyra; cf. an inscr. from Delos quoted by Schürer l.c. 24 Ἀγνή Ἀφροδίτη Ἀταργάτι. In the Talm. her name is תרעתא *Ab. Zar.* 11 b; in Gk. and Lat. it is often Δερκετώ, Derceto.

L. 6. Πάνημος = תמוז, the 10th month, July.

113. Vog. 4. A.D. 247.

צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים 1
 זבירא בר מקימו בר זבירא עשתור 2
 בירא די אקים לה תגרא בני שירתא 3
 די נחת עמה לאלגשיא ליקרה בדיל 4
 די שפר להון בירח ניסן שנת ע 5
 33 𐤃 𐤁 𐤃

¹ The differences are merely orthographical; *Lidzb. Ephem.* i 84 (against Cl.-Gan.).

² *Athenaeus* viii 37 . . . Γάτις ἡ τῶν Σύρων βασίλισσα . . . ὑπ' ἀγνοίας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτὴν μὲν Ἀτεργάτιν ὀνομάζειν . . .

Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβείδαν Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβείδου
 Ἀσθώρου Βαιδᾶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογε-
 σιάδα ἔμποροι ἀνέστησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάριν
 Ξανδικῷ τοῦ ηγνφ' ἔτους. Wadd. 2599.

This statue is that of Julius Aurelius ² Zebîda, son of Moqîmu, son of Zebîda, (son of) Ἀσhtôr, ³ (son of) Baida, which has been set up to him by the merchants of the caravans ⁴ who went down with him to Ologesias: to his honour, because ⁵ he was well-pleasing to them. In the month Nisan, the year 558.

L. 2. זבִּידָא i. e. *Donatus*, cf. זבִּדבול, זבִּדנבו 133 1; O.T. זָבִיד, זָבִידִי, זָבִידִיָּהוּ, זָבִידִיָּהוּ, N.T. Ζεβεδαῖος; Arab. زَبْد gift, Aram. זבִּר to present. עֲשֵׁתוֹר Mas. form of עֲשֵׁתֶרֶת; the full form would be בֵּר ע', cf. the name of the Jewish proselytes בֵּר עֲשֵׁתוֹר (ת) Talm. J. *Bikk.* 64 a. The long *ō* has, of course, nothing to do with the Massor. punctuation עֲשֵׁתֶרֶת; it is an original long vowel, represented sometimes by —, e.g. Phoen. עוֹלִים Οὐλῶμος, Assy. *Hirummu* חִירָם &c. The name here was prob. borrowed from the Phoenicians; cf. עבִרעֲשֵׁתֶר 22 1 n. and עֲשֵׁתֶרֶת 143 2. See Hoffmann *Über ein. Phön. Inschr.* 6. 22 n.

L. 3. בִּידָא Perhaps abbr. from זבִּידָא. אַקִּים Afel pf. 3 plur., the final vowel being quiescent, as in the Syr. ܐܩܝܡ; cf. נַחַת l. 4 and p. 264. תִּנְרָא 147 i 7. ii c 16, i. e. תִּנְרָא plur. emph., with the ending —א (shortened from —אִי), as in Syr. ܬܢܪܐ, from תִּנְר Pa. to sell. For the form cf. עִבְרָא 126 4. מִלְכָּא 130 1; it was prob. common in the spoken language (see p. 264). בְּנֵי שִׁירְתָּא 114 2 lit. sons of the caravan, συνοδία (Lk. 2 44); cf. 116 2 רַב ש' συνοδιάρχης, and Syr. ܪܒܐܝܬܐ, Arab. سَيَّارَة; the Aram. word is perhaps borrowed from Arab. (Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 180). For בְּנֵי ש' cf. בְּנֵי מְרִיתָא 122 4.

L. 4. נַחַת Pf. 3 plur.; see l. 3 n. אֲלֵגִישִׁיא Vologasias, a town on a tributary (Νααρσάρη, Ptolemaeus) of the Euphrates, about 55 m. SE. of Babylon, and 62 Rom. miles S. of Seleukeia and Ktesiphon, founded by Vologasus i, who became king of the Parthians in A.D. 51. This able ruler succeeded in diverting the trade of Palmyra towards his new city, whence it was carried by river to Charax, the great emporium of the Persian Gulf (114. 115).

114. Vog. 5. A.D. 155.

1 [צל]ם מרקם אלם תיד[רום די מתקרא
 2 שמ]עגד די אקימו לה בני שירתא די
 3 [סלק]ת מן כרך אספסנא בדילדי עדרה
 4 [בכל צב]ו [כל]ה ליקרה ברבנות שירת[א]
 5 [די זברע]תא בר זברלא ידי בירה אב שנת 333 י

. . . . [ῆ Σπασίνου] Χάρακος συνοδία βο[ηθή]σαντα
 αὐτῇ παντὶ τρόπῳ διὰ Ζαβδεαθοῦς Ζαβδελά τοῦ Ἰα-
 [δδαίου] συνοδιάρχου. Ἔτους 55 μὲν λώου. Wadd.
 2590.

[Stat]ue of Marcus Aelius Theod[ōros who is called
² Shem]a'-gad, which has been set up to him by the members
 of the caravan which ³ [cam]e up from Karak Hispasina,
 because he helped it ⁴ [in everyth]ing [whatso]ever: to his
 honour; the chief of the caravan being ⁵ [Zabde-'a]thē, son of
 Zabd-ila, (son of) Yaddai. In the month Ab, the year 466.

L. 1. The restoration is that of J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 17 f.,
 based upon Mordtm.'s copy. תידרום Again in Sachau no. 1,
 Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 157.

L. 2. שמעגד Cf. the Phoen. שמעבעל 33 2. בני ש' See 113 3 n.

L. 3. [סלק]ת 115 2. The outward journey to the Euphrates was
 called *going down* נחת 113 4, the return journey *coming up*. כרך
 אספסנא = Σπασίνου Χάραξ, the great mercantile town at the mouth
 of the Tigris, near the modern village Bassra, founded first by
 Alexander the Gt. and called Alexandria, then after its destruction
 by a flood called Antioch, prob. after Antiochus the Gt., and finally
 re-founded by Ὑσπασίνης, an Arab chief who made it the capital
 of a small kingdom and gave it his name, early in the 2nd cent.
 כרך, כרכא 115 is Aram., from כָּרַךְ *surround*, כָּלָה *fenced city, citadel*,
 cf. כרכא 94 2 and *Kerak* the capital of Moab. כ' = *the*
fortress or city of Hispasina; in ordinary pronunciation the first
 syll. was dropped, as appears in the Gk. Spasinou Charax (115 Gk.
 version). עדרה i.e. עדרה.

L. 4. בכל צבו כלה So restored by Reckendorf *ZDMG* xlii 397 n.;

110 4; cf. the Gk. ברבנות Lit. *in the chieftainship*, 'ר being the title of the office of 'ש רב 115 2.

L. 5. זבדלא = זבד אלא, cf. זבדלה 140 A 3. 115 ידי &c. 'Iaddaios. The doubled letter indicates a pet name, which is also abbreviated from some such form as ידיעבל; cf. בני Vog. 34 Bέννιος from . . . בנה, 130 Ζαββαίος from . . . זבי, Vog. 116 Μακκαίος from מקימו; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 76. אב Λῶος, the 5th month, July–August.

115. Vog. 6. A.D. 193.

1 צלמא דנה די תימרצו בר תימא בר מקימו
2 גרבא רב שירתא די עברו לה בני שירתא די סלקו
3 עמה מן כרכא בדילדי חסכנון זוד דנרין די דהב
4 עתיקין תלת מאה ושפר להון ליקרה וליקר ידי
5 [ועבר] בול בנוהי [ב]ירח ניסן שנת ע —

Τὸν ἀνδρ[ιάντα ἀ]νέστησαν [Θαιμαρ]σᾶ Θαιμῇ τοῦ [Μο]κίμου τοῦ [Γ]α[ρβᾶ συν]οδιάρχῃ οἱ σὺν[ν αὐτῷ ἀ]ναβάντε[s ἀ]πὸ Σπασίνου Χάρ[ακος ἀ]φειδήσαν[τι αὐτοῖ]ς χρυσᾶ παλαιὰ δηνάρ[ι]α τριακόσια ἀναλ[ω- μ]ά[τ]ω[ν καὶ ἀρέσ]αντι αὐτοῖς εἰς τειμὴν [αὐτοῦ] καὶ 'Ιαδδαίου καὶ 'Αβδιβώλου νίῳν αὐτοῦ ἔτους δφ' Ξανδικοῦ. Wadd. 2596.

This statue is that of Taim-arṣu, son of Taimē, son of Moqîmu, ² (son of) Garbâ, chief of the caravan, which has been made to him by the members of the caravan who came up ³ with him from Karak, because he saved them (their) expenses, three hundred denarii of gold, ⁴ ancient currency, and was well-pleasing to them: to his honour, and to the honour of Yaddai ⁵ [and 'Abdi]-bôl his sons. In the month Nisan, the year 504.

L. 1. תימרצו 140 A 5 Θαιμάρσας, and prob. *Themarsa* (in an African inscr., Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 165) = *slave of Ruddâ*, رُدَّاءُ, an ancient Arab god; 88 1 n., and p. 295 n. 1 (ארצו).

L. 2. גרבא Vog. גבבא after Wadd. 2591 Γαββâ, which, however, is prob. to be emended Γαββâ; for גרבא cf. 147 ii b 27 and גריבא Vog. 141, Hebr. גִּרְבַּ 2 S. 23 38 &c., = *scabby*.

L. 3. כרכא 114 3 n. חסכנן 121 5 Pa. pf. with suff. נון' from חסך, חסכ, Hebr. חָשַׁךְ to hold back, spare, here followed by two accusatives, lit. *he held them back from expense*, i.e. he paid their expenses himself; hence the word comes to = ἀφειδεῖν to bestow lavishly. לְמִיתָן לְהוֹן וְזָרִין i.e. וְזָרִין expenses for a journey, e.g. דנרין Onk. Gen. 42 25. The Gk. equivalent is ἀναλώματα. = δηνάρια, with Aram. pl. ending.

L. 4. עתיקין *ancient*, i.e. belonging to an earlier currency, heavier in weight; παλαιὰ δηνάρια. In 1 Chr. 24 22 'ע occurs as an Aramaism.

L. 5. עברבול *servant of Bôl*, the Palm. god; cf. the divine names זברבול 111 3. ירחבולא 121 6. עגלבול 139 6, and the pr. nn. ירחבולא 140 A 6 &c. The form is peculiar to Palm. It has been explained as 'the god of the month Bûl,' or as a dialectical form of בל *Bel* in מלכבל 112 4 or of בעל in שמן ב' 122 6; but the Palm. ♂ could not have arisen from 'a (Nöld. *ZDMG* xlii 474), and the first explanation is very doubtful.

116. Vog. 7. A.D. 257-8.

צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים 1
שלמלת בר מלא עבדי רב שירתא 2
די אקימת לה בולא ודמס ליקרה 3
די אסק שירתא מגן מן כיסה 4
שנת ע 333 — 5

Ἡ βουλ[ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον Αὐρήλιον
τὸν καὶ Σαλμάλ]λαθον Μαλῆ τοῦ [Ἀβδαίου ἀ]ρχέμπορον
ἀνακομίσα[ντα τὴν] συνοδίαν προῖκα ἐξ ἰδίων τειμῆς
χάριν ἔτους θξϛ'. Wadd. 2603.

This statue is that of Julius Aurelius ² Salm-allath, son of Malē, (son of) 'Abdai, chief of the caravan, ³ which the Council and People have set up to him to his honour, ⁴ because he brought up the caravan gratis, at his own expense. ⁵ The year 569.

L. 2. שלם אלח = שלמלת. For אלח see 117 6 n.; and for the abbreviation cf. ובלח Vog. 21. עברלת 94. אמתלת Lidzb. p. 221. מלא In Gk. Μαλῆς (nom.), -ῆ (gen.), -ῆν (acc.) 122 1, the Aram. ܡܠܐ representing the Gk. ἡ(ς), 111 3 n.; for the name cf. Talm. מלאי, Lk. 3 31 Μελεά, Nab. מלא CIS ii 215, possibly connected with מלא *be full*, cf. the pr. n. ימלא Vog. 85; Lidzb., however, suggests that מלא is abbr. from מלכי, cf. μελχεα Chron. 458 (Tischendorf on Lk. 3 31).

L. 4. אסך i.e. אֶפֶס Af. of סלק; cf. 114 3 n. מן i.e. מִן Lit. *emptiness*, Arab. مَجْلًا, used like the Hebr. חֲנָם in the sense *for nought*, e.g. Targ. Job 1 9. מן כיסה Lit. *out of his purse* 117 5. 122 6, cf. Nab. מן דילה 102 3.

117. Vog. 8. A. D. 129.

[צלמא דנה די . . . די אקימו בני . . .] 1
 כלהון ליקרה בריל [די שפר להון] 2
 ועבר הו ולשמש אחוהי באב . . . 3
 ק ה עמודין שתא ושריתהון 4
 ותטלילהון מן כיסהון ליקר שמש 5
 [ו]אלת ורהם אלהיא טביא בירח 6
 אדר שנת 33 7

[This statue is that of . . . which the sons of . . . have set up] ²all of them to his honour, because [he was well-pleasing to them], ³and made, himself and Lishamsh his brother . . . ⁴. . six pillars and their beams ⁵and their coverings, at their own expense, to the honour of Shamash ⁶[and] Allath and Rahâm, the good gods. In the month ⁷Adar, the year 440.

L. 3. לשמש i.e. *Belonging to Shamash*, cf. Λισάμσου (gen.) Wadd. 2458. For the form cf. Phoen. Λεάσταπος (Jos. c. Ap. i 18), Arab. ٱل, Hebr. לַאֵל Num. 3 24 *Belonging to El*, לַמֶּלֶךְ Prov. 31 1. At the end of the line J. Mordtmann suggests [סדרא] *in this exedra*; Lidzb. ב[א]סלקא 119 3 n.

L. 4. עמודין שתא It is a peculiarity of Palm. that the numeral follows its noun, cf. 115 3 f. 119 3. We gather from this inscr. that the colonnades which lined the streets of Palmyra were built by degrees at the cost of public-spirited citizens. 133 1; Targ. שריתהון *beam*.

L. 5. תטלילהון = Syr. ܬܬܠܝܬܐ *covering* from ܬܬܠܝܬܐ, 133 1. שמש
For the worship of Shamash at Palmyra see 136, and 61 2 n.

L. 6. אלת See 80 4 n. and 116 2 n. רחם The name of a god,
the attribute *Compassionate* being personified and treated as a distinct
divinity, cf. רחמא 139, elsewhere רחמנא 138; the pronunciation was
prob. רחם, רחמא i. e. رَحَام, Nöld. 89. The deity occurs in Sabaeen, e. g.
רחם סגח *Rahām Sujūḥ* CIS iv 40 5; similarly רחמן = الرحمن ib. 6 3.

L. 7. אדר The 12th month, Δύστρος, Feb.–March.

118. Vog. 9. A.D. 162.

1 צל[ם ח] ליפי בר אתפני בר חליפי
2 [די] עבר לה חליפי [ב]ר חגנו בר מלכו
3 [בדי] ל די [שפ]ר לה ליק[ר]ה יאשמה ...
4 ... בעמודא דנה למקמו ועלוהי
5 ... ן תנכדי יחא בירח [אד]ר שנת
6 /// — 333 — ///

Stat[ue of Ḥa]lîfi, son of Ethpani, son of Ḥalîfi, ²[which]
has been made to him by Ḥalîfi, son of Ḥaggâgu, [s]on of
Mâliku, ³[be]cause he was [well-pleas]ing to him, to his
honour: ... ⁴... on this pillar to set up, and upon it ⁵...
while (?) he shall live. In the month [Ad]ar, the year 473.

L. 1. חליפי Cf. חלפו 89 1 n. אתפני For the form cf. אצמלי
112 1.

L. 2. חגנו 140 A 3 = حَجَّاج, cf. חגוגא *Rép.* no. 148 and חגי Lidzb.
270, Phoen. חגת, Hebr. חגי *festal* (?), LXX Ἀγγαιός.

L. 4. למקמו If the reading is correct, an infin. לְמַקְמוּ, as in Syr.
ܠܡܩܡܘ, Nöld. 104.

L. 5. בדי יחא Reading uncertain; perhaps impf. יִחַא, Nöld. ib.

119. Vog. 11. A.D. 179.

1 צלמא דנה די שריכו בר חירן בר עלינא
2 צפרא די אקימת לה בולא ליקרה

This statue is that of Marthi, daughter of Yad[ē, son of Wahab-allath], ² son of Shim'on, which has been set up to her by Sorai[ku, son of Hairân, her husband], ³ because she was ? : to her honour. In the month Adar, the y[ear 4]90.

L. 1. צלמתא Fem., because the statue is that of a woman; cf. Phoen. נפשא דה 13 2 n. דנה, however, keeps its mas. form; contrast Vog. 31. מרתִי Cf. N.T. Μάρθα and 102 2. ידא 'Iadḥs, cf. ידִי 'Iaddaîos 114 5 n.

L. 2. שמעון Like מרתִי, a Jewish name. These persons prob. belonged to the Jewish colony in Palmyra, or were related to Jewish families there. שריכו See 119 1 n.

L. 3. מלחת Perhaps = Arab. مَلْحَتْ she was pleasant, instead of the usual שפר; cf. the Arab. pr. n. مَلِيحَة (Nöld. 106). But the omission of לִי (the prep. always follows שפר) makes this explanation doubtful.

121. Vog. 15. A.D. 242-3. Plate VIII.

1 צלם יולים אורלים זבדלא בר מלכו בר מלכו
2 נשום די הוא אסטרטג לקלניא במיתותא די
3 אלהא אלכסנדרוס קסר ושמש כדי הוא תנן
4 ק[ר] ספינוס היגמונא וכדי אתי לכא ית לגיניא
5 זבנן סגיאן והוא רב שוק וחסך רזאין שגיאן
6 ודבר עמרה שניתית מטלכות סהר לה ירחבול
7 אלהא ואף יולים === די ספא ורחים מרתא
8 אקים לה בולא ודמוס ליקרה שנת ע 33 ——— IIII

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζηνόβιον τὸν καὶ Ζαβδίλαν δις Μάλχου τοῦ Νασσούμου στρατηγήσαντα ἐν ἐπιδημίᾳ θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὑπηρετήσαντα παρουσίᾳ διηνεκεῖ Ρουτιλλίου Κρισπείνου τοῦ ἡγησαμένου καὶ ταῖς ἐπιδημησάσαις οὐξηξίλλατίοσιν ἀγορανόμησαντά τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων καὶ καλῶς πολειτευσάμενον ὥς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθῆναι

ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἰαριβώλου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου ===== τοῦ
ἐξοχωτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ τῆς
πατρίδος τὸν φιλόπατριν τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους δνφ'. Wadd.
2598.

Statue of Julius Aurelius Zabd-ilâ, son of Mâliku, son of Malikû, ²(son of) Nassûm, who was *stratēgos* of the Colony at the coming ³ of the divine Alexander Caesar; and he served when ⁴C[r]ispinus the governor was here, and when he brought hither the legions ⁵ many times; and he was chief of the market, and spent money in a most generous manner; ⁶and he led his life peaceably(?); on this account the god Yarhi-bôl has borne witness to him, ⁷ and also Julius ———, who fosters and loves the city: ⁸ the Council and People have set (this) up to him, to his honour. The year 554.

L. 1. זבדלא 114 5 n. The *stratēgos* had another name beside this, Zenobios (Gk. text); cf. 123. Here and in 123. 127 all three *stratēgoi* are called Jul. Aurelius in addition to their native names; the emperors [Aurelius] Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius no doubt made these names popular.

L. 2. אסטרטג One of the chief civil magistrates. Another title for the executive officials of the municipality was ארכוניא 147 i 2 ἄρχοντες; both were equivalent to the Rom. *duumviri* (Cagnat *Cours d'épigr. lat.*³ 150); contrast the Nab. אסרתגא 96 2 n. קלניא 127 4. At what period Palmyra received the Jus Italicum and the title of Colonia is not known; probably it was under Hadrian, when he visited the city in 130–1 A. D. (see p. 263). במיתיותא An infin. noun, of the form مَفْعُولَةٌ (see Barth *Nominalb.* 257), from אתא, i. e. מִיתִיָּתָא = Pal. Syr. אַלְאֻסְא *adventus* Mt. 24 3: Pesh. אַלְאֻסְא.

L. 3. אלהא = the title *divus*, given to the emperor after his death; cf. 95 i n. 122 3. אלכסנדרוס i. e. Severus Alexander 222–235 A. D. He stayed at Palmyra prob. in 230–1 A. D., during the indecisive campaign against the Persians under Ardashir or Artaxerxes; see Mommsen *Provinces* ii 90. שמש Pa. 123 3. תנן = Syr. ܬܢܢ; cf. תנה 68 5.

L. 4. היגמונא 147 ii b 15. 24 = ἡγεμών i. e. praeses provinciae. אתי i. e. אֵתִי, Targ. O. Gen. 39 14 אֵתִי, Af. of אתא. לכא = Pal. Syr. ܠܟܐ. ית The old accus. particle is not found in Palm. elsewhere.

discovered at Homs, not as yet published; *RB* xi 410 n. 7. Cf. the pr. n. ירחבולא 111 3 n.

L. 7. Both in the Palm. and Gk. texts a name has been erased after *Julius*; it was prob. *Philippus*, i.e. Jul. Philip, an Arabian from the Trachonitis, who was praefectus praetorio = ἑπαρχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου (Gk. text) in A.D. 242-3, the year of this inscription. He instigated the murder of Gordian iii, and succeeded him as emperor (A.D. 244-249).

ספא i.e. ספא ptc. lit. *gives to eat, nourishes*; cf. Targ. Ps.-Jon. Num. 11 18 מִן יִסְפִּינָנָא בִּישָׁרָא 'who will give us flesh to eat?'

מרתא So Mordtm., rather than מרתה *his city*; elsewhere the form is מדיתא. Cf. זרקתא 131 1.

L. 8. אקים Prob. plur., 113 3 n.

122. Vog. 16. A.D. 131.

- 1 [בולא ודמם עבדו צלמא דנה למלא הגרפא]
 2 בר ירחי [לשמש?] רעי די הוא גרמטוס די תרתיא
 3 וכדי את[א תנן] הדרינוס אלהא יהב משחא
 4 לבני מר[יתא ול] אסטרטור[יא] ולאכסניא די א[ת]א
 5 עמה [מש]ריתה בכל מדען ובנא הכלא
 6 ופרנאי . . [ותצב]יתה כלה מן כיסה לבעל שמ[ן]
 7 ולדר ה ד מן בני ידיעבל
 8 ב[ירח] . . . שנת [///] 33 //

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ] ὁ δῆμος Μαλῆν τὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν Ἰαραίου καὶ Ρααίου γραμματέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτερον ἐπιδημία θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἄλιμμα παρασχόντα ξένοις τε καὶ πολεΐταις ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ τε τῶν στρατευμάτων ὑπο[δοχ]ῇ καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν [τοῦ Ἡ]λίου σὺν τῷ . . . ναιω . . . [καὶ τ]αῖς ἄλλα[ις] . . . το . . . Wadd. 2585.

[The Council and People have made this statue to Malē Agrippa], ² son of Yarhai, (son of) [Lishamsh?] Ra'ai, who was secretary for a second time; ³ and when the divine

Hadrian ca[me here], he gave oil ⁴ to the people of the ci[ty and to] the *strator*[es] and to the strangers who ca[m]e ⁵ with him . . . his [ca]mp with everything. And he built the temple ⁶ and . . . [and its decor]ation, all of it, at his own expense, to Ba'al-sham[in] ⁷ and to of the Benê Yedî'a-bel. ⁸ In [the month] . . . the year [4]42.

The above text is based upon the restoration of Cl.-Gan. *Él.* ii § 9; cf. Mordtm. 22 ff., J. Mordtmann *Palmyren.* 19 50.

L. 2. ירחי An abbreviation of ירחבולא 111 3. לשמש The ל is barely visible; cf. 117 3 n. γραμματεὺς 147 i 2 = the Rom. title *scriba*. The Palm. ו = Gk. εὑ, as in סלוקום 123. בילומא 124. די תרתיא = Syr. ܕܝܬܪܝܐ, emph. form of ܕܝܬܐ; the form actually met with in Syr. is ܕܝܬܐܝܐ, Hexapl. Is. 61 7. Jer. 33 1 &c. ܕܝܬܐܝܐ (Nöld. 102 and *Syr. Gr.* 96).

L. 3. וכדי וגו' See 121 2 f.

L. 4. בני מדינת Cf. בני שירתא 113 3 n. [יא] = *stratores*, 'equerries,' Cl.-Gan.; [מא] = *στράτευμα*, G. Hoffmann; [יא] = *στρατιῶται*, Vog. אכסניא = *ξένοι*, formed with the adjectival ending *āi* from *ξένος*. א[ת]א Plur., like אקים 113 3.

L. 5. After עמה Cl.-Gan. reads [ופרנס מש] *and supplied his camp* (see 132 3 n.); cf. the Gk. ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ τε τῶν στρατευμάτων ὑποδοχῇ. For משריתה cf. 96 4. מרען = *ἐν πᾶσιν*. בכל מרען = *ἐν πᾶσιν*. היכלא 147 i 10 הכלא 147 i 8. 11 &c. = מנדעם 75 2 n.

L. 6. ופרנאי So Cl.-Gan., admitting that the ר may be ד, and that the י is indistinct. The Gk. fragment . . . *vaiω* he restores [προ]ναίω, and the Palm., פרנאיסה or פרנאינה *its pronaos or vestibule*. ותצביתה 119 4.

לבעל שמן The Gk. text of Wadd. given above is to be corrected τὸν [τὸν] Διὸς σὺν τῷ κ.τ.λ. The reading שמן לבעל, adopted by Cl.-Gan. and J. Mordtm., is conjectural; Lidzb. prefers לברוך שמה *Eph.* i 257 n.

L. 8. The month may be [נים] Vog.

123. Vog. 17. A.D. 254.

1 בולא ודמוס ליולים אורלים

2 עגא די מתקרא סלוקום בר

3 עזיו עזיו שאילא די שמש ושפר

להון באסטרטגותה ומגד לבולא 4
 זווין רבו ליקרה בירה תשרי שנת 5

ⲥ / ⲩ 333 — ⲡ ⲩ ⲥ 6

Ἡ β[ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον Αὐρή[λιον Ὀγγαν
 τὸν καὶ] Σέλευκον [δὲ τοῦ Ἀζίζο]υ τοῦ Σεειλᾶ δυα[ν-
 δρικὸν φιλοτεί]μῳ στρατ[ηγῆσαντα κ]αὶ μαρτυρηθέν[τα
 καὶ φιλ]οτειμησάμεν[ον τῇ αὐτῇ] κρατίστη βουλῇ Ἀτ[τι-
 κᾶς] μυρίας τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους 566 Ὑπερβερεταίῳ.
 Wadd. 2601.

The Council and People to Julius Aurelius ²Ὀgga, who is called Seleukus, son ³ of Ἀzîzu, (son of) Ἀzîzu, (son of) She'eilâ, who served and was well-pleasing ⁴ to them in his office of *stratēgos*; and he presented to the Council ⁵ ten thousand drachmae: to his honour. In the month Tishri, the year 566.

L. 2. עגא Prob. an abbreviation of עגלבולא (Lidzb.), as ירחי from ירחבולא. 102 2. די מתקרא סלוקום For the additional name see 121 1 n., and cf. 122 2 n.

L. 3. עווין = ܥܘܝܢ *strong*. The name is found in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 136, in Nab. ib. 311 B, in late Hebr. עווין Ezr. 10 27, and elsewhere in Palm. In the inscr. given on p. 295 עווין is the name of a god = Ares. שאילא Σεειλᾶ, with the consonantal value of ⲥ preserved; contrast the Talm. שילא (Dalm. Gr. 124) and the Syr. ܫܝܠܐ = Σίλας (i. e. שאילא) Acts 15 22. The meaning is the same as that of the O.T. שׂאִיל. 121 3. שמש

L. 4. מגד See 112 3 n.

L. 5. זווין = drachmae, Ἀττικᾶς (Gk. text). The drachm was a quarter of a shekel in Jewish money; thus 1 Sam. 9 8 רבע שקל כסף is rendered by the Targ. זווין חדא דכספא. The Attic drachm was the universal silver unit in the East; after the Roman conquest it was adopted as practically equivalent to the Roman denarius, hence in Josephus δραχμὴ Ἀττικὴ or Ἀτθίς always = denarius. The value of the drachm-denarius was about 9½d. תשרי Ὑπερβερεταῖος = Sept.-Oct., the 7th month.

124. Vog. 20. A. D. 258-9.

1 לאורלים ורוד הפקא
 2 ובילוטא תדמריא עבד
 3 בלעקב בר חרשא ליקרה
 4 שנת 333

Αὐρήλιον Οὐορώδην ἱππικὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν Παλμυ-
 ρηνὸν Βηλάκαβος Ἀρσᾶ τὸν φίλον τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους
 570. Wadd. 2604.

To Aurelius Worod, knight ² and counsellor, of Tadmor,
 made by ³ Bel-ʿaqab, son of Ḥarshâ, to his honour. ⁴ The
 year 570.

L. 1. ורוד 127 &c., a name of Persian origin, borne by several
 Arsacid kings. הפקא Here with an Aram. ending, in 129
 3 סנקלטיקא ἱππικός. For the ending א' = os cf. הפטיקא 126. סנקלטיקא
 125. אפטרפא 127.

L. 2. בילוטא βουλευτής, cf. 122 2 n. תדמריא Adj. sing.; the
 plur. has the same form, see Rom. 2 on p. 268, l. 3. The vowel in
 the second syll. was *ō*, e. g. תדמור 125; the Arab. تَدْمُر, however, has
 preserved what was prob. the original pronunciation.

L. 3. בלעקב 140 B 8 probably *Bel follows* (? ptc.); this is the
 meaning of עקב both in Arab. and Syr. The name occurs in a Gk.
 inscr. from Coptos, Βηλάκαβος (as here), Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 118; cf.
 עתעקב Vog. 32 &c. חרשא Ἀρσᾶ = *ἄρσα* enchantment.

125. Vog. 22. A. D. 251.

1 צלמא דנה די ספטמיום חירן בר
 2 אדינת סנקלטיקא נהירא ורש
 3 תדמור די אקים לה אורלים
 4 פלינוס בר מריא פלינא רעי פלחא
 5 דבלגיונא די בצרא ליקרה בירח
 6 תשרי די שנת 333

Σεπτίμιον Αἰράνην Ὀδαινάθου τὸν λαμπρότατον συν-
κλητικὸν ἔξα[ρχον Παλμυ]ρηνῶν Αὐρήλι[ος Φίλινο]ς [Μα]ρ.
Ἡλιοδώρου στρατιώτης λεγ[εῶνος Κυρηνα]ϊκῆς
τὸν πάτρωνα τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας χάριν ἔτους γξϛ'.

This statue is that of Septimius Ἡairân, son ² of Odainath, the illustrious senator and chief ³ of Tadmor, which has been set up to him by Aurelius ⁴ Philinus, son of Marius Philinus, (son of) Ra'ai, the soldier ⁵ who was in the legion of Bostra: to his honour. In the month ⁶ Tishri of the year 563.

L. 1. ספּטמיוס חירן was at this time the head of the house of Odainath, the leading family of Palmyra, which by the 3rd cent. had acquired almost the position of a reigning dynasty; see p. 264. This Sept. Ἡairân appears to have been the first of his race to receive the title of *Ras* l. 2, in addition to his Roman rank as a senator. He was the son of Odainath the senator ¹; and though the relationship is nowhere stated, it is prob. that he was the father of the famous Sept. Odainath (126), the grandson bearing the same name (see footnote) as the grandfather according to Palmyrene custom. Vogüé suggests that the name Septimius was given to the family by the Emperor Sept. Severus (193-211 A.D.), in recognition of their services during the Parthian wars; it was also borne by Sept. Worod (127), who was probably connected with the family of Odainath by alliance or otherwise; cf. 129 3. 130 2.

L. 2. אדינת Cf. the Arab. diminutive أَذْيَنَة ² a little ear. סנקלטיקא = *συγκλητικός* of senatorial rank. נהירא *λαμπρότατος* = clarissimus, a title which went with the dignity of senator; see Cagnat l. c. 89. 131. רש *Head* i.e. prince; Arab. رَأْس, Syr. ܩܡܥܐ, in the same sense; cf. רשה 1 20.

L. 4. רעי 122 2 *Ῥαίον*. The Gk. here gives Ἡλιοδώρου. פלחא = *στρατιώτης*, from פלח *work, serve*; cf. פלחה 75 4 *worshipper*.

L. 5. דבלגיונא So Mordtm., as there is no diacritic point over the first letter. Vog.'s reading רב לגיונא is, moreover, inconsistent with the Gk.: the donor is merely *στρατιώτης*. For ר in Palm. cf. דנבת for רבנת Vog. 71. דענה 83 a 3 (corr.). 105 3. דשנת 18. The legion stationed at Bostra was the iii Cyrenaic; hence the restoration of the Gk. text. בצרא The capital of the Province of Arabia; 100 n.

¹ Vog. 21: קברא דנה בנא אדינת סקלטיקא בר חירן והבלת נצור לה ולבנוהי [י] ולבנאבנוהי לעלמא. The Gk. has *Τὸ μνημεῖον . . ἔκτισεν . . Σεπτίμιος Ὀδαίναθος ὁ λαμπρότατος συγκλητικὸς κ.τ.λ.*

126. Vog. 23. A.D. 258.

צֶלֶם סַפְטִמְיוֹס אֲדִינָת 1
 נִהִירָא הַפְטִיקָא מֶרֶן דִּי 2
 אַקִּים לָהּ תַּגְמָא דִּי קִינִיָּא 3
 עֲבָדָא דֶּהֲבָא וְכַסְפָּא לִיקְרָה 4
 בִּירַח נִיסָן דִּי שְׁנַת ע 333 5

Σεπ[τίμιον Ὀδαίναθον] τὸν λαμ[πρότατον ὑπατικ]ὸν
 συντέ[λεια τῶν χρυσοχ]όων καὶ ἀργ[υροκόπων τ]ὸν
 δεσπότην τειμῆς χάριν [ἔτ]ους θξϕ' μηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ.
 Wadd. 2602.

Statue of Septimius Odainath, ² the illustrious consul, our lord, which ³ has been set up to him by the guild of smiths ⁴ who work in gold and silver: to his honour. ⁵ In the month Nisan of the year 569.

L. 1. אֲדִינָת 125 1 n. 130. The famous prince under whom Palmyra reached the summit of its fortunes (p. 263). He came to the front by the effective aid which he gave to the Romans in the Persian wars, especially in the defeat of the Persian king Sapor. After this event, during the rivalries for the purple, he took the side of Gallienus, and to the end, whatever his ultimate intentions may have been, maintained his allegiance when the latter became emperor. Gallienus, much engaged in the affairs of the West, practically left the East to the government of Odainath, who became, 'not indeed joint-ruler, but independent lieutenant of the emperor for the East' (Mommsen *Provinces* ii 103); see 130 1 n. In the local administration of Palmyra Sept. Worod (127 ff.) acted as his viceroy and imperial procurator; while Odainath himself, by a series of brilliant victories over the Persians, succeeded in re-establishing the frontiers and prestige of the Eastern empire, A.D. 264-5. He was assassinated in A.D. 266-7 at Hemesa ¹. His authority passed to his wife Zenobia

¹ His eldest son Herodes, 'non Zenobia matre, sed priore uxore genitus' (Treb. Pollio *Trig. Tyr.* § 16), was killed at the same time. The same authority states that Odainath left two sons by Zenobia, besides Wahb-allath, Harennianus and Timolaus. The statement is open to question; other authorities know of only one son, who succeeded his father. Mommsen l. c. 106 n.

(131) and their son Wahb-allath, who endeavoured not merely to maintain but to surpass the extensive powers held by Odainath.

L. 2. נהירא הפטיקא λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός = vir clarissimus consularis. At this period, and up to the time of Diocletian, the title denoted not the office of consul but the consular rank. Note the progression of dignities in the family (p. 264). מרן 130 4 δεσπότης. The name does not necessarily imply a *king* or *ruler*, because in 128 it is given to a procurator (Sept. Worod); cf. מרתהון 131 4 τὴν δέσποιναν, of Zenobia.

L. 3. תגמא = τάγμα, Syr. ܛܡܐ *ordo*; here the Gk. equivalent is συντέλεια. קיניא i. e. קיניא plur.

L. 4. עבדא i. e. עבדא ptc. plur. constr. For the ending see תגרא 113 3 n.

127. Vog. 24. A.D. 263.

1 ספטמים ורוד קרטסטס אפטרפא
 2 דוקנרא די אקים ליקרה
 3 יולים און[ר] לים נבובד בר שעדו חירא
 4 אסטרגא די קלניא רחמה
 5 שנת ע 333 — 333 בירח כסלול

Σεπτί[μιον Οὐορώδην τὸ]ν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπ[ον Σε-
 βαστοῦ δ]ουκηνάριον Ἰούλιος Αὐρή[λιος Νεβό]βαδος
 Σοάδου τοῦ Αἰ[ρᾶ] στρατηγὸς τῆς λαμπροτάτης κολω-
 νείας [τ]ὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους δοφ' μηνεὶ
 Ἀπελλαίῳ. Wadd. 2607.

Septimius Worod, most excellent *procurator* ² *ducenarius*, which has been set up to his honour ³ by Julius Au[r]elius Nebu-bad, son of So'adu, (son of) Hairâ, ⁴ *stratēgos* of the Colony, his friend. ⁵ The year 574, in the month Kislul.

L. 1. ספטמים ורוד 128. 129. The inscr. and statues dedicated to his honour show that he was one of the most distinguished citizens of Palmyra at the time of its greatest prosperity, in position next to the prince himself. He held an imperial office under the emperor Gallienus (128 2 f.), as well as the highest local dignities. A Gk.

inscr. (Wadd. 2606 a) mentions that he was the chief of a caravan and defrayed the cost of the return journey, and *agoranomos* (121 5 n.), and *stratēgos* i. e. chief magistrate, and president of the banquets of Bel (συμποσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερέων). He was viceroy, *argapetes* (129 2 n. 126 1 n.), of Odainath. The inscr. say nothing about his family; the name ספטמים may indicate an alliance with the reigning house (125 1 n.), while ורוד (124 1 n.) perhaps points to a Persian or Armenian origin (Vog.). אפטרפא ר' = ἐπίτροπος δουκηνάριος, procurator of the second class (*ducenarius*), an imperial revenue officer.

L. 3. נבוכר Prob. contracted from נבו עבד; J. Mordtm. would read נבובר 134 2. In Palm. the god Nebo is met with only in pr. nn., e. g. זברנבו 133 1. ברנבו 134 2; in Aram. pr. nn. it is frequent, e. g. גרנבו CIS ii 139 B, 2. נבוסרדן = Assy. *Nabû-šar-iddin* ib. 29. שערדו See 106 n. חירא An Arab. name, cf. חירן 110 2.

L. 4. רחמה i. e. רַחֲמֶיהָ lit. *his lover*, 129 5. 140 B 8.

L. 5. בסלול 'Απελλαῖος = Jewish בסלו, the 9th month, Nov.–Dec.

128. Vog. 25. A.D. 263.

1 צלמא דנה די ספטמיום

2 ורוד אפטרפא דוקנרא די

3 קסר מרן די אקים לה

4 בולא ודמוס ליקרה

5 בירח ניסן די שנת ע 333

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιον [Ο]υ̐ορώδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπί[τρ]οπον [Σεβ]αστο[ῦ τοῦ κυρίου] δουκη[νά-
ριον] τειμῆς χ]άριν [ἔτους δοφ' μηνὶ Ξ]αν[δικῶ].
Wadd. 2606.

This statue is that of Septimius ² Worod, *procurator ducenarius* of ³ Caesar, our lord, which has been set up to him by ⁴ the Council and People: to his honour. ⁵ In the month Nisan of the year 574.

See on 127.

L. 3. קסר i. e. Gallienus. The official in Lat. inscr. is called procurator Augusti. מרן See 126 2 n.

129. Vog. 26. A. D. 264.

ספטמיום ורוד קרטסטום אפטרפא 1
 דקנרא וארגבטא אקים יולים 2
 אורלים ספטמיום ידא הפקום 3
 בר אלכס[נר] רום חירן סריכו ליקר 4
 רחמה וקיומה בירח סיון די 5
 שנת 333 6

Σεπτίμιος[ν] Οὐορώδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σε-
 βαστοῦ δουκηνάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος
 Σεπτίμιος Ἰάδης ἱππικὸς Σεπτιμίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
 Ἡρώδου ἀπὸ στρατιῶν τὸν φίλον καὶ προστάτην τειμῆς
 ἔνεκεν ἔτους εοφ' μηνεὶ Ξανδικῷ. Wadd. 2610.

Septimius Worod, most excellent *procurator* ² *ducenarius*
 and commandant, (this statue) has been set up to him by
 Julius ³ Aurelius Septimius Yadē, knight, ⁴ son of Alexander
 Hairân, (son of) Soraiku, to the honour ⁵ of his friend and
 patron. In the month Sivan of ⁶ the year 575.

L. 2. ארגבטא *ἀργαπέτης*, a Persian word, compounded of *arg* ارك 'fortress' and *bed* بد 'lord' or 'chief,' hence 'commander of a fortress.'
 The title is actually found in Persian at this period (Nöld. 107); in
 the Targ. it appears as ארקבטא 2 Chr. 28 7; in Wadd. 2606 a it
 seems to be paraphrased by *δικαιοδότης τῆς μητροκολωνίας*. The office
 was an exceptional one in this case, owing to the unique position of
 Odainath as practically emperor of the East. A deputy became
 necessary for the local administration of Palmyra; hence the military
 command of the city as well as the chief civil authority was committed
 to Sept. Worod.

L. 3. ידא 120 1 n. הפקום Cf. הפקא 124 1 n.

L. 4. סריכו Cf. שריכו 119 1 n.

L. 5. קיומה A verbal noun of the form פָּעוּל, Syr. مَوْسَا, lit. *one
 who stands up* (to protect &c.)=the Lat. *patronus*, Gk. *προστάτης*. In
 the Pesh. it occurs in the sense of *prefect*, e. g. 1 K. 4 5. 7; in 3 Esdr.
 2 12 מַסַּחָה = ὁ προστάτης τῆς Ἰουδαίας. סיון The 3rd
 month, May-June. The Gk. text gives Ξανδικός i. e. ניסן, April.

130. Vog. 28. A. D. 271.

1 צלם ספטמיוס אדי[נת] מלך מלכא
 2 ומתקננא די מדיתא כלה ספטמיא
 3 זבדא רב חילא רבא וזבי רב חילא
 4 די תדמור קרטסטא אקים למרהון
 5 בירח אב די שנת ע 3333 //

Statue of Septimius Odai[nath], king of kings,² and restorer of the whole city. The Septimii,³ Zabdâ, general in chief, and Zabbai, general⁴ of Tadmor, the most excellent, have set (it) up to their lord.⁵ In the month Ab of the year 582.

L. I. אדינת ס' See 126 I n. מלך מלכא 113 3 n. is an oriental title borrowed from the Persian kings, 71 3 n. There is no evidence that it was adopted by Odainath himself; this inscr. was not erected till after his death, at a time when his generals were organizing a revolt against Rome¹. It is perhaps not without significance that there is no Gk. version of this inscr.; the Romans would scarcely have allowed Od. to be called 'king of kings' had the title been publicly exhibited in a language which they could understand. That Od. assumed the title of king is not unlikely (*Hist. Aug.* xxiv 15 2 *adsumpto nomine regali*); but that he ever usurped the name of *Augustus*, or received it from the emperor as Treb. Pollio asserts², is not borne out by the evidence. As a reward for his distinguished services Od. received from Gallienus the title of *αὐτοκράτωρ* or *imperator* in 264 A. D., a dignity which no doubt implies a position beyond that of a governor or vassal-king; it was probably this which gave rise to Pollio's statement. The absence of *Augustus* from the coins of Od., and the designation *vir consularis*, *ὑπατικός* (126 2), only possible for a subject, are sufficient, in Mommsen's opinion, to prove that the assumption of the imperial title is imaginary. After the death of Od., Zenobia is called *βασίλισσα*, and her son Wahab-allath governed Egypt under Claudius with the title *βασιλεύς*. In 270 A. D. his coins

¹ A Gk. inscr. lately found at Palmyra is dedicated [βασ]ι[λ]εῖ [βα]σιλέων, and may refer to Od.; but the text is too fragmentary to justify definite conclusions. Cl.-Gan.'s reconstructions in *Rec.* iii § 36 can hardly be supported; see 126 I footnote.

² *Vit. Gallieni* 10 Odenatus rex Palmyrenorum optinuit totius Orientis imperium. *Ib.* 12 Gallienus Odenatum participato imperio Augustum vocavit.

display *v(ir) c(onsularis) R(omanorum) im(perator) d(ux) R(omanorum)*, and his head appears beside Aurelian; in an inscr. from Byblus (CIG 4503 b, Vog. p. 32) Aurelian and Zenobia are mentioned together as Σεβαστός and Σεβαστή¹. Then, during the year 270-1, the breach with Rome becomes apparent. In Palmyra Zenobia is still βασίλισσα (131=Wadd. 2611, cf. 2628²), but in distant quarters, as in Egypt, both she and her son claim the dignity of *Augustus*; Wahab-allath (5th year) begins to issue coins, struck in Alexandria, without the head of Aurelian and bearing the imperial title, and Zenobia's coins bear the same. The assumption marked a definite rejection of all allegiance to Rome; it was strenuously avenged by Aurelian, the true Augustus, in 273. See Mordtm. 26; Mommsen *Prov.* ii 103 f. n.; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 28; Bury's *Gibbon* i Appendix 18. 19.

L. 2. מתקננא A verbal noun formed from Pael ptc. of תקן *make straight, establish*, with the ending *ān*, i. e. מתקננא. It is the equivalent of κτίστης, a title used by the Arsacid kings; in Syr. ܡܬܩܢܢܐ is used in the same sense, and of God as *conditor, stabilitor*. Cl.-Gan. (l. c.) proposes to make the whole title די מדינתא כלה = the technical *corrector totius provinciae*. 'מ may well mean *corrector*, but Roman titles are avoided in this inscr., and native ones ostentatiously substituted. ספטמיא Σεπτιμιοι, in 131 ספטמיוא, with the Gk. plur. ending, cf. קרטסטוא 131. Perhaps they were related to the family of Odainath, 125 i n.

L. 3. Cf. 131 2 f. זבדא Zάβδας, like זבי Zαββαῖος and 133 i, is abbreviated from some name beginning with זבר, cf. זברלא for זבר אלא; see 114 5 n. זבי occurs in the O. T., Ezr. 10 28. Neh. 3 20; cf. בתזבי 131 i.

L. 4. קרטסטא Plur., referring to the two generals; either for קרטסטוא, or a plur. in א—, like מלכא l. i. אקים=אקימו 113 3 n.

L. 5. אב i. e. July–August; 131 4.

131. Vog. 29. A. D. 271.

צלמת ספטמיא בתזבי נהירתא וודקתא 1

מלכתא ספטמיוא זבדא רב חילא 2

רבא וזבי רב חילא די תדמור קרטסטוא 3

אקים למרתהון בירח אב די שנת ע 3333 // 4

¹ This may have been allowed to pass, for *Augusta* was an honorary title, while *Augustus* belonged to an office.

² Δι' ὑψίστῳ καὶ ὑπηκόῳ ἡ πόλις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Σεπτιμίας Ζηνοβίας τῆς λαμπροτάτης βασιλίσσης μητρὸς τοῦ λαμπροτάτου βασιλέως Οὐαβαλλάθου Ἀθηνοδώρου.

Σεπτιμίαν Ζηνοβίαν τὴν λαμπροτάτην εὐσεβῇ βασί-
λισσαν Σεπτίμιοι Ζάβδας ὁ μέγας στρατηλάτης καὶ
Ζαββαῖος ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατηλάτης οἱ κράτιστοι τὴν
δέσποιναν ἔτους βπφ' μηνεὶ Λώω. Wadd. 2611.

Statue of Septimia Bath-zabbai, the illustrious and the
pious, ² the queen. The Septimii, Zabdâ, general ³ in chief,
and Zabbai, general of Tadmor, the most excellent, ⁴ have set
(it) up to their mistress. In the month Ab of the year 582.

L. 1. צלמת 120 1 n. בתובי For the form cf. בתובידה Vog. 84,
'בתוהב', בתחנא &c.; for זבי see 130 3 n. The queen is better known
by her Gk. name Ζηνοβία, which perhaps marks relationship with
Ζηνοβίος; several persons of this name are mentioned in the
inscriptions. 'נהירתא = *clarissima pia*; see 125 2 n. זרקתא =
צדיקתא; for the omission of י cf. מדתא 121 7: here perhaps the *i* was
pronounced short in a shut syllable. The final א can be faintly traced
on the stone.

L. 2. After the death of Odainath in 266–7 Zenobia succeeded to
his position, and practically governed the state on behalf of her young
son Wahab-allath = Athenodōrus (p. 291 n. 2). Not content with
pursuing her husband's policy, she determined to make Palmyra
mistress of the Eastern empire; see 130 1 n. Under her general
Zabdas, the Palmyrenes possessed themselves of Egypt in 270,
garrisons were pushed even into the W. of Asia Minor, and Zenobia
still professed to be acting in concert with the Roman government.
But when Aurelian became emperor (270), he detected at once the
object of this aggressive policy and took strong measures to arrest it.
At the end of 270 Egypt was recovered for the Empire by Probus,
but not without a struggle. The Palmyrenes were now in open
conflict with Rome. Towards the close of 271 Aurelian marched
through Asia Minor, overthrowing Zenobia's forces in Chalcedon, and
capturing Ancyra and Tyana, and passed into Syria. The main army of
the Palmyrenes in vain endeavoured to check his advance at Antioch;
they were driven to Hemesa (now Ḥoms), where a great battle was
fought; again, under Zabbai and Zenobia herself, they were de-
feated, and compelled to fall back upon their native city. Undeterred
by the 70 miles of desert, Aurelian led his army up to Palmyra and
laid siege to it. In the spring of 272 the city surrendered; Zenobia
and her son were captured on the banks of the Euphrates as they

were flying to Persia for help; the queen was carried a prisoner to Rome to grace the conqueror's triumph. A few months later, in the autumn of 272¹, the Palmyrenes again revolted; Aurelian instantly returned, surprised the city, and without mercy destroyed it in the spring of 273.

L. 2. ספטמיוא קרטסטוא For the plur. forms see 130 2 *n*.

L. 4. מרתהון See 126 2 *n*.

132. Eut. 102. A. D. 21.

צלם חשש בר נשא בר בולחא חשש די 1
עברו לה בני כמרא ובני מתבול מן די קם 2
ברשהון ועבר שלמא ביניהון ופרנס 3
ברמנהון בכל צבו כלה רבא וזערא 4
ליקרה בירח כנון שנת 5

Μάλιχον Νεσᾶ τοῦ Βωλλᾶ τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀσάσου
φυλῆς Χομαρηνῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ὁ δῆμος εὐνοίας ἔνεκα.
Wadd. 2578.

Statue of Hashash, son of Nesâ, son of Bôl-ḥa Hashash, which ²the Benê Komâra and the Benê Mattâ-bôl have made to him, because he stood up ³at their head and made peace between them, and superintended ⁴their agreement (?) in everything whatsoever, the great and the small: ⁵to his honour. In the month Kanûn, the year 333.

L. 1. חשש Ἀσάσου, בני חשש Mordtm. no. 57; cf. Arab. حَسَّاسٌ *bad fortune*. The Gk. Μάλιχον = מלכו is difficult to account for; perhaps it is not correctly copied. נשא 147 i 3 prob. abbreviated from נשאל Νασαήλου Wadd. 2070 c. בול 144 4 prob. = בול אחא *B. is brother* (Lidzb.), or = בול להא *B. washes away (sin)*, Syr. ܠܚܐ, cf. ܠܚܐ Wright *Martyrol.* 10 (*Journ. Sacr. Lit.* ser. 4, vol. 8). Cl.-Gan. rightly corrects ΚΩΜΑ in the Gk. text to ΒΩΛΛΑ, *Rec.* ii § 33.

L. 2. בני כמרא i.e. φυλὴ Χομαρηνῶν, again in Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118 (inscr. G); cf. 140 A 3 and the pr. n. Χόμρον (gen.) Wadd. 2389. The Gk. forms point to כַּמְרָא, cf. Targ. כַּמְרָא, Syr. ܕܡܪܝܐ *priest*.

¹ The latest inscr. is dated Aug. 272, Vog. 116.

In the Palm. text the בני ב' are the joint donors of the statue; in the Gk. they are the tribe to which Bôl-ḥa belongs, and the dedication is made by ὁ δῆμος. Cl.-Gan. l. c. rightly renders the Gk., 'of the tribe of the Palmyrene Chomarenians'; the expression Παλμυρηνῶν ὁ δῆμος = 'the People of the Palmyrenes' is unsupported. Possibly, as Cl.-Gan. suggests, the mention of ὁ δῆμος without the usual ἡ βουλὴ καὶ implies that the local senate was not yet in existence; it may not have been constituted till the time of Hadrian (circ. 130 A. D.), and the grant of the *jus Italicum*. This inscr. is dated A. D. 21, and after 141 (A. D. 9) is the second oldest known. בני מתבול i. e. Μαθητα-βωλίων φυλή Wadd. 2579, not named in the Gk. text; מתבול = מתן בול. 110 4 n. בריל די = מן די

L. 3. פרנס In Syr. فَرَس = *administravit, aluit, curam gessit*; in the Targ. it is used for *nourish, feed*, e. g. Eze. 34 8 = רעה; cf. 122 5 n. The rendering given above is indefinite, owing to the uncertain sense of the following word.

L. 4. ברמנהון Evidently not Aram. It is perhaps a noun (with suff. *ān*) from the Arab. بَرَم *twist*, in conj. iv *to twist two threads*, so *to make firm, consolidate*; thus ابرم العقد *he established the contract*. Prof. Margoliouth, in a private communication, suggests a connexion with the Persian فرمان *mandate, order &c.*, 'firman,' which gives a fairly good sense: 'he administered their government.' בכל צבו כלה 110 4 &c.

L. 5. כנון The 8th month, Δίος, Jewish מרחשון, Oct.–Nov. This inscr. was published by Euting *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* (1887) 410.

VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

133. Eut. 4. A. D. 67.

עמודיא אלן חמשא ושריתהון ותטלילהון קרב זבדי בר
 זבדנבו קחון די מן בני מעזין לבעל שמן אלהא טבא
 ושכרא על חיוהי וחיי בנוהי ואחוהי בירח אלול שנת

/// y — 333 — 333 ///

These five pillars and their beams and their coverings Zabdai, son of Zabd-nebu, (son of) Qahzân, who is of the Benê Ma'ziyân, offered to Ba'al-shamin, the good ² and bountiful god, for his life and the life of his sons and his brothers; in the month Elûl, the year 378.

L. 1. 'שריתהון ותט' See 117 4. 5 *n.* קרב Cf. 70 1. 136 3. Rom. 2 (p. 268 *n.* 1). זבדי Cf. 130 3 *n.* זבדנבו 127 3 *n.* מעזין An Arab. pr. *n.* from قَحَزَن or قَحَز push, strike. קחון The name of a tribe, in Arab. prob. مَعَزِيَّان or مَعَزِيَّان Nöld. ap. Eut. *SBBA* (1885) 669 ff., where this inscr. is published. לבעל שמן Elsewhere in Palm. 134, where he is called מרא עלמא, and the inscr. on p. 296 *n.* 1 = Ζεὺς μέγιστος κεραύνιος, and in 122 6 (rest.). In name and attributes the *Lord of Heaven* transcends all other deities. He was not, however, included among the national gods of Palmyra (see 112 4), or officially recognized in public documents; and though he probably had a temple there, his worshippers seem to have been few. See 9 1 *n.*

L. 2. שכרא i.e. שִׁכְרָא 140 B 4, lit. *giving reward*, Hebr. שִׁכְר reward, wages (שִׁכְר Pi. not used). The אלהא שכרא is a god שמשלם טוב לצדיקים Talm. B. *Berakoth* 4 a, quoted by Lidzb. *Eph.* i 202; cf. the Minaean pr. *n.* ישכראל Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 113. 136. In the inscr. below the word is written סִכְרִיא plur.¹, as סכרים for ש in Ezr. 4 5. על חיוהי וגו' Cf. 29 11 *n.* אלול Aug.—Sept.

¹ [ל] ארצו ולעזיו אלהיא טבא וסכריא עבר בעל . . . 1

2 בר ירחבולא אפכלא די עזיוו אלהא טבא

3 ורחמנא על חיוהי והיא אחוהי בירח תשרי

4 שנת 500 דכיר ירחי ג'לופא

'To Arṣu and 'Azîzu, the good and bountiful gods, (this) has been made by Ba'al . . . , son of Yarḥi-bôlê, augur (?) of 'Azîzu, the good and compassionate, for his

134. Vog. 73. A. D. 114.

1 לבעל שמן מרא עלמא עברו
 2 נבוזבר וירחבולא בני ברנבו
 3 בר נבוזבר בר [מ]לא ארנבי על
 4 [ח]ייהון וחיי [בנ]יהון ואחיהון
 5 בירח אב שנת 3 y 3

To Ba'al-shamin, lord of eternity, (this) has been made by ² Nebu-zebad and Yarḥi-bôlē, sons of Bar-nebu, ³ son of Nebu-zebad, son of [M]alē Arnabi, for ⁴ their [l]ives and the life of their [so]ns and their brothers; ⁵ in the month Ab, the year 425.

L. 1. בעל שמן 133 1 n. מרא עלמא Similarly in the inscr. from et-Tayyibe (near Palmyra)¹; cf. *Deus Aeternus* of Jup. Dolichenus, *Opt. Max. Caelus Aeternus Iuppiter* in Lat. inscr. of this period. But, as Lidzb. has pointed out, the other possible meaning of the title, *lord of the world*, is prob. implied at the same time, and influenced by the Jewish רבון נְל עולם, רבון העולמין. The latter formula has made its way into Islam as رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ; cf. the *šar kiššati* 'lord of all things,' assumed by the Assy. kings (*Eph.* i 258).

L. 2. נבוזבר 127 3 n. ירחבולא 111 3 n.

L. 3. ארנבי So Vog.'s copy; ? from ܐܪܢܒܐ = *a hare*. Mordtm. 28, however, reads אכנבי *Acnebiensis*; J. Mordtm. compares the family

life and the life of his brothers: in the month Tishri, the year 500. Remembered be Yarḥai the sculptor.' ארצו Vog. 139, cf. 115 1 n. עיוו = Ares, the god of the Edessenes, ܐܪܨ ܐܝܘܘ Cureton *Spic. Syr.* 24. Ἀρης, Ἀξίος λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν Ἐδεσσαν Σύρων Ἡλίου προπομπεύει Julian Apost. *Orat.* iv 154. Deo Azizo p(uero conserva)tori CIL iii 875. Θαῖμος Ἀξείζω ἐποίησα Wadd. 2314. 80 8 n. probably borrowed from the Assy. *abkallu* 'a specially wise man,' *KB* vi 320; Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 9. Here the word is a priestly title, such as temple magician; the Arab. ܐܒܟܠܐ gives no suitable sense. See *Rép.* no. 30; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iv § 37; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 201 ff. 349.

¹ Διὸς μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Τρα[ιανοῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβ[αστοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου Ἀγαθάνγγελος Ἀβιληνὸς τῆς Δεκαπόλεως τὴν καμάραν ᾠκοδόμησεν καὶ τὴν κλίνην[ν] ἐξ ἰδίῳν ἀνέθηκεν. Ἔτους ἑμῦ μηνὸς Δώου (= 134 A. D.).

לבעל שמן מרא עלמא קרב

כפתא וערשא אגחגלס

כפתא = a vaulted niche for a statue; Vog. 70. ערשא See 70 1 n. The inscr. is in the Brit. Mus.

τῶν Χεννάβα (*ZDMG* xxxv 747 f.); but if 'א is a gentilic name we should expect אַנְנִיָא. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 198, reads אַנְלִי (surname or title), which is supported by Mordtm.'s facsimile; the name thus written has been found recently in an inscr. published by Sobernheim (Lidzb. l. c.).

L. 4. This line, omitted from Vog.'s copy, is supplied by Mordtm.

135. Vog. 75. A. D. 125.

1 לְבָרִיךְ שׁ[מָה] לְ[ע]לְמָא

2 טַבָּא וִרְ[ח] מְנָא

3 עַבְדֵּי פִרְנֶךְ בֵּר חֲרִי

4 לְשִׁמְשֵׁ בֵּר שְׁמִשְׁגֶּרֶם

5 נִרְקִיס בֵּר חֲרִי מְלָא

6 בִּרְפָּא עַל חֵיהֶן וְחֵי

7 בְּנֵיהֶן בִּירַח כְּסִלּוּל

8 שְׁנַת 327

To him whose na[me] is blessed for [e]ver, ²the good and the com[p]assionate, ³(this altar) has been made by Parnak, freedman ⁴of Lishamsh, son of Shamsi-geram, ⁵(and by) Narcissus, freedman of Malē, ⁶(son of) Borefâ, for their life and the life of ⁷their sons: in the month Kislûl, ⁸the year 437.

L. 1. לְבָרִיךְ שְׁמָה לְעֵלְמָא A common formula in Palm. dedications; grammatically the phrase בְּרִיךְ שׁ' לְע' (138) is treated as a single adj., and ל prefixed. It is remarkable that, like other epithets of the Palm. gods (cf. 134 1 n.), this has a distinctly Jewish character; cf. בְּרוּךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹדוֹ לְעוֹלָם Ps. 72 19, also 113 2. Dan. 2 20, and the Hebr. or early Samaritan inscr. בְּרוּךְ שְׁמוֹ לְעָלָם Lidzb. 440. Out of reverence the actual name of the deity was not used (cf. p. 21), and can only be conjectured: most likely it was שִׁמְשֵׁ = מְלַכְבֵּל = בֵּל (112 4 n.). Though avoiding it in this formula the Palmyrenes did not object to use בֵּל in pr. nn. (זְבִּרְבֵּל, יְדִיעֵבֵל, &c.), any more than the later Jews, who read אֲדָנִי for יְהוָה, objected to such names as יִשְׁעִיהוּ &c. In Gk. the title is rendered Ζεὺς ὑψίστος καὶ ὑπέρκοος Vog. 101. 124 &c.; it implies a monotheism such as appears sporadically in the worship of

Zeûs ὑψιστος, Θεὸς ὑψ. from the 1st cent. onwards¹. The spread of monotheistic ideas was in part due to the Jewish Diaspora, whose influence no doubt made itself felt in Palmyra (cf. pp. 45. 278. 296).

L. 3. פרנך Sachau, *ZDMG* xxxv 737, suggests Φαρνάκης as an equivalent; cf. the Pers. פרנוג = Saturn, and the O.T. פִּרְנָךְ Num. 34 25. Vog. reads פרנר; Mordtm. פִּרְד. בר חרי See 97 i n. Strictly the phrase = *son of a freeman*, בְּרִי חָיִי, i. e. *liber* not *libertus* = בְּרִי חָיִי, but in ordinary speech it was used in the latter sense.

L. 4. שמשגרם 145 י ? *Shamash has appointed*, שִׁמְשִׁי; in Gk. Σαμσιγέραμος Wadd. 2564, Σαμσιγέραμος a king of Hemesa, Jos. *Ant.* xviii 5 4.

L. 5. נרקיס Νάρκισσος, a common name for a freedman in the time of the Empire. Here 'נ' is the joint donor of the altar; the conjunct. ו must be supplied.

L. 6. ברפא Cf. בורפא Vog. 109 = בול רפא.

136. Oxoniensis 1. A.D. 85. Ashmolean Mus., Oxford.

- [3]333 — // שנת 1
 [ע] ברו וקרבו לשמש וזבִיד[א] 2
 בני מלכו בר ידיעבל בר נשא 3
 די מתקרא בר עבדבל די מ[ן] 4
 פחד בני מגדת לשמש 5
 אלה בית אבוהן על 6
 חייהון וחיי אחיה[ון] 7
 ובניהון 8
 9

[In] the month Elul, the year 396², this sun-pillar and this altar ³have been [m]ade and offered by Lishamsh and Zebîd[a], ⁴sons of Mâliku, son of Yedi'a-bel, son of Nesâ, ⁵who was called son of 'Abd-bel, who was o[f] ⁶the family of the Benê Migdath, to Shamash, ⁷god of their father's house, for ⁸their life and the life of their brothers ⁹and their sons.

¹ Thus Gk. inscr. from the Bosphorus (Tanais) contain the remarkable expression εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψιστον, cf. Acts 10 2. 22. 13 43. 50 &c. Jos. *Ant.* xiv 7 2. See Schürer *SBBA* (1897) 200 ff., and *Gesch.*³ iii 123 f.

L. 1. אלול The 6th month, Aug.–September.

L. 2. חמנא A pillar dedicated to שמש, standing beside the altar; see 37 4 n., and cf. מזבחות הבעלים והחמנים אשר למעלה מעליהם 2 Chr. 34 4. עֲלֵתָא altar, common in Syr.

L. 4. יריעבל 140 A 6, in 122 7 the name of a tribe, Ἰεδειβήλος, cf. O. T. יִרְיַעַל 1 Chr. 7 6 &c., and Sab. ירעאל (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 101); ידיע perhaps = יָדֻעַ notable, illustrious one. נשא 147 i 3 = Νεσά.

L. 6. פחר Vog. 32. 33 = فَخْرٌ lit. thigh, cf. Gen. 46 26 &c., a subdivision of a tribe. The word implies a clan whose descent is reckoned by the male line, just as the Arab. *batn* is a clan of female ancestry; see Rob. Smith *Kinship* 33 f. מגרת The name comes from the √ מגד 112 3 n.; cf. the Sin. pr. n. מגריו, Syr. مَجْرِي (Lidzb. 305), the Edomite מגריאל Gen. 36 43, Sab. מגרעל. שמש The sun-god, whose worship was predominant at Palmyra, as appears from numerous pr. nn. and dedications, e.g. 117 5 n., Vog. 108 לשמש, the inscr. on tesserae, e.g. Vog. 135 שמש שרן רבא, see further on מלכבל 112 4 n.; ירחבול 121 6 n. was also worshipped in connexion with the sun. The great temple of the sun-god is still the most imposing building among the ruins of Palmyra.

L. 7. אלה בית אבוהן Cf. 61 29. 95 2.

137. Vog. 76. A.D. 135.

1 לברוך שמה לעלמא עבד שלמן בר נשא

2 צידא ברק על חייה וחיי בנוהי

3 X בירח ניסן שנת 33 — 3 X

To him whose name is blessed for ever (this) has been made by Shalman, son of Nesâ, ²(son of) Šaïda, (son of) Baraq, for his life and the life of his sons. ³In the month Nisan, the year 447.

L. 1. שלמן Again in Vog. 33 a. 49 &c., Σαλαμάνης Wadd. 2147, in Nab. CIS ii 294. 302 = Arab. سَلْمَان, Assy. šalamanu Schrader *COT* 441. The name is not distinctively Jewish.

L. 2. צידא From ציד to hunt, 102 3 n. ברק Either nomen or cognomen, in Sab. ברקם, Pun. *Barcas*, surname of Hamilcar, Hebr. ברק Jud. 4 6 ff.; cf. אברוק 140 A 6.

L. 3. The cross at the beginning and end of the line may be the Christian symbol, somewhat disguised. It is questionable, however, whether the cross was used in this way in the first half of the 2nd cent.; nor is it likely that a Christian would write such an inscr. upon a pagan altar, though in itself the formula in l. 1 might not be objectionable, 135 1 n. The inscr. may have a Jewish origin; the name ברק has a Jewish sound; but no Jew would 'make' a Palm. altar.

138. Vog. 79. A.D. 256.

ברוך שמה לעלמא [טבא] 1
 ורחמא מודא ה... ד... ה 2
 לשמש לרחמנא די ק[ימ]הי 3
 בימא וביבשא וע[ניה] 4
 די קרההו ו... חה 5
 בירח אלול שנת [עפ] 333 6

Blessed be his name for ever, [the good] ² and the compassionate! offered in thanksgiving by... (son of) ³ Lishamsh, to the compassionate one who de[liv]ered (?) him ⁴ by sea and land, and an[swered him] ⁵ who invoked him, and...
⁶ In the month Elûl, the [5]67.

L. 1. בריך וגו' 135 1 n.

L. 2. רחמא 139 3 is perhaps a mistake for the usual רחמנא l. 3. מודא Afel ptc. of ידא (אודי) confess, used in votive inscr. with the special sense of *giving thanks* for some benefit, e.g. Vog. 101 עבר ומודא ευχαρίστως ἀνέθηκεν.

L. 3. הי ק[ימ]הי i. e. קימיהי Pael of קים, so Vog. Nöld. (99), however, restores ק[רי]הי = קריהי, which has the support of the Syr. form. As in Syr., the final י was prob. not pronounced, hence it is usually not written, e.g. עניה l. 4. Vog. 92. 103. קריה 103. In l. 5 קרההו is a form contrary to all analogy, and is prob. incorrectly copied.

L. 4. יבשא ימא Cf. Gen. 1 10. וע[ניה] The restoration is based on Vog. 92 &c. עניה לה קר[א] די; in Gk. ἐνξάμενος καὶ ἐπακουσθεὶς ἀνέθηκεν κ.τ.λ.

L. 5. אלול 136 1 n.

139. Vog. 93. Circ. A. D. 230.

1 מודן כל יום נדרבול
 2 ומקימו בני דדא בר
 3 מקימו דנאל לרחמא
 4 טבא ותירא על חייהון ם
 5 . תיא דנה ו . . . ילהון
 6 כלה . . י לעגלבול ומלכבל אלן
 7 שנת ע 33 . .

Giving thanks every day, Nadar-bôl ² and Moqîmu, sons of Dada, son ³ of Moqîmu, (son of) Daniel (?), (dedicate this) to the compassionate one, ⁴ the good and the merciful, for their life. ⁵ this and their ⁶ all of it . . . to the gods (?) 'Agli-bôl and Malak-bel ⁷ the year 54 . .

L. 1. מודן Ptcp. plur.; 138 2 n. נדרבול ? *Bôl* has vowed.

L. 2. דדא Δάδος Wadd. 2081 &c. = 𐤠𐤠𐤁 paternal uncle; cf. the pr. n. חלא Eut. 103 1 &c. = 𐤠𐤠𐤁 maternal uncle.

L. 3. דנאל ? = Hebr. דְּנִיָּאל, in Nab. CIS ii 258. But such a form in Palm. may be questioned; Nöld. (88) reads חנאל = Ἀννηλος Wadd. 2320 &c. רחמא 138 2 n.

L. 4. ותירא . . רחמא = the Assy. *rémēnu taiāru* (Lidzb. 153 n.); the latter word = *pitiful* (תור) in Assy., see Delitzsch *HWB* 604 f. 703. In *Eph.* i 79, however, Lidzb. suggests תיבא, as in Mand. with ראהמאנא.

L. 5. Perhaps read [ב]נהון [וב]י[ת]הון כלה, J. Mordtm. from his father's copy, and Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 37. The only objection is that the sign after חייהון l. 4 usually marks the end of a clause. If דנה is right, the preceding word ought to be a sing. noun; the suff. הון' must refer to the donors.

L. 6. The suggested reading [כר]י as well as to 'Agli-bôl and M., carrying on לרחמא l. 3, is doubtful because it ignores the full stop at the end of l. 4. עגלבול The Palm. moon-god, associated with Malak-bel, the solar deity (112 4 n.), e. g. 140 A 2. Vog. 140, and the inscr. below ¹ from a stele which represents the god as a young Roman

¹ Rom. 1, in the Capitoline Museum: Ἀγλιβώλφ καὶ Μαλαχβήλφ πατρώοις θεοῖς καὶ τὸ σίγνον ἀργυροῦν σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ ἀνέθηκε T. Αὐρ. Ἡλιοδωρος Ἀντιόχου

warrior, with a large crescent attached to his shoulders (cf. *Syr. Centr.* pl. 12. 141). The meaning of the name is uncertain; the $\sqrt{\text{ענל}} =$ *be round*, in Pa. *to roll*, so perhaps *chariot of Ból*, in Aram. ענל־תא , ענל־תא *chariot*; cf. רכבאל 61 2 n. אלן Apparently for אלהן 69 20. 76 C 7; we should expect אלהיא .

140 A and B. Littmann 1 and 2. A—A. D. 29; B—A. D. 132.
Discovered 1900.

A

- 1 [בִּירַח] שְׁבַט שְׁנַת 33— עלתא דה [עברו]
2 [בני] מְרוּחָא אֵלֵן לַעְגִלְבּוּל וּלְמַלְכַּבֵּל אֱלֵה[יָהוֹן]
3 . . . בִּי בֶר עֲתָנוּרִי עוּדוֹ וְחַגְגּוֹ בֶר זְבַדְלָה כְּמֵרָא
4 [וּנ] בּוּזְבֶר בֶר מַלְכוֹ מִתְנָא וְתִימּוֹ בֶר עֲגִילוֹ רַבְּבַת
5 [וּ] מַלְכוֹ בֶר יֶרְחַבּוּלָא חֲתִי וִירְחַבּוּלָא בֶר תִּימְרָצוֹ
6 אֲבֵרוֹק וְזַבְדְּבּוּל בֶר יֶדִיעַבֵּל אֱלֵהוּ וְעֲגִילוֹ בֶר
7 נוּרִי זְבַדְבּוּל וּמַלְכוֹ בֶר מִקִּימוֹ תִימְעֵמֶר

In the month Shebat, the year 340. This altar [has been made] ² by the following [members of] the *thiasos* to 'Agli-bôl and Malak-bel [their] gods:—³ . . . bai, son of 'Athē-nûri (son of) 'Audu, and Ḥaggâgu, son of Zabd-ilah (son of) Komâra, ⁴ [and N]ebu-zebad, son of Mâliku (son of) Mathna, and Taimu, son of 'Ogêlu (son of) Rabâbat, ⁵ [and] Mâliku, son of Yarḥi-bôlê (son of) Ḥattai, and Yarḥi-bôlê, son of Taim-arṣu ⁶ (son of) Abrôqa, and Zabdi-bôl, son of Yedî'a-bel (son of) Alihu, and 'Ogêlu, son ⁷ of Nurai (son of) Zabdi-bôl, and Mâliku, son of Moqîmu (son of) Taimo-'amad.

Ἀδριανὸς Παλμυρηνὸς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἔτους ζμφ' μηνὸς Περιτίου.

- 1 לַעְגִלְבּוּל וּמַלְכַּבֵּל וּסְמִיתָא דִּי כְּסָפָא וְחַצְבָּא
2 יִתְחָ עֲבַד מִן כִּיסָה יֶרְחִי בֶר חֲלִיפִי בֶר
3 יֶרְחִי בֶר לִשְׁמֵשׁ שַׁעְדוֹ עַל הַיּוֹהִי וְחִיָּא
4 בְּנוֹהִי בִירַח שְׁבַט שְׁנַת 547

Note = Ἡλιοδωπος; cf. 119 4 n. וְחַצְבִּיתָא 122 2 = ἱεραίου. חֲלִיפִי 86 10 n.

These inscr., engraved on small altars, were first published by Littmann, *Journal As.* (1901) ii 374-390.

L. 1. שבט The 11th month, Jan.-February; cf. p. 302 footnote.

L. 2. בני מרוחא The idiomatic expression for *members of* a guild, cf. 113.3 *n.*, and the O.T. בני הנביאים, בני קרה. For מרוחא see 42 16 *n.*; the existence of religious symposia at Palmyra is proved by the inscr. Wadd. 2606 a συμποσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερέων (127 1 *n.*). לעגלכול ולמלכבל 139 6 *n.*

L. 3. Restore prob. והבא להי = והבי. עתנורי Already known in Palm.; cf. Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 96 and 112 4 *n.* עורו = عَوَّ, Aūdōs, a name common in Sin.; cf. عوز مناة Wellhausen *Reste* 6. חגנו 118 2 *n.* 114 5 *n.* זברלה 132 2 *n.* כמרא

L. 4. נבוזבר 127 3 *n.* מתנא Prob. abbreviated from מתנבול, cf. 132 2 *n.*; Lidzb., *Eph.* i 344, compares the Pun. מתנא = [ם]מתנאל, and the Talmudic מתנה = מתניה. Cf. 112 4 *n.* תימו עגילו Oγήλου Vog. 70 1; for the עגל see 139 6 *n.* רבבת = رَبَابَة from رَبَاب *a white cloud*; cf. the fem. pr. n. רבבם in Sab. (Lidzb.).

L. 5. ירחבולא 111 3 *n.* חתי Perhaps abbreviated from the well-known Arab. pr. n. حَاتِم. תימרצו 115 1 *n.*

L. 6. אברוק Prob. a variation of the name ברק 137 2, cf. the Talm. ברקא *flashing light* (cf. מַאִיר); the latter form is found in Palm., Lidzb. *Eph.* i 206 inscr. D. Littmann explains the name as = ابو رَوَاق, and compares the name of the place أُمُّ رَوَاق. יריעבל 136 4 *n.* אלהו Cf. the Šafaïte אלה, Littmann *Zur Entziff. d. Šafâ-Inschr.* 39, where the Gk. Ἀλειος, Ἀλέου, and the Arab. 'Ulaiha are suggested as possible parallels. The fem. form אלהת used as a mas. pr. n. also occurs in Šafaïte, e. g. Littmann *ib.* 57.

L. 7. נורי Abbr. from some such name as נורבל Vog. 124; cf. the Talm. נוריה = נורי. תימעמר Vog. 124 Θαιμοαμέδου.

B

- 1 [ת]רתן עלותא אלן עבר עבירו בר ענמו
- 2 [ב]ר שעדלת נבטיא רוחיא די הוא פרש
- 3 [ב]חירתא ובמשריתא די ענא
- 4 לשיעאלקום אלהא טבא ושכרא די לא
- 5 שתא חמר על חיוהי וחיי מעיתי

- 6 ועבדו אחוהי ושעדלת ברה בירח
 7 אלול שנת 3333 ודכיר זבירא בר
 8 שמעון בר בלעקב גירה ורחמה קדם
 9 שיעאלקום אלהא טבא ודכיר כל
 10 מעיד עלותא אלן ואמר דכירין
 11 א אלן כלהון בטב

These two altars have been made by 'Ubaidu, son of 'Ānimu, ²[s]on of Sa'd-allath, the Nabataean, of the Rûhu tribe, who was a horseman ³in the fort and camp of 'Ana, ⁴to She'a-alqûm, the good and bountiful god, who does not ⁵drink (?) wine, for his life and the life of Mu'îthi ⁶and 'Abdu his brothers, and Sa'd-allath his son; in the month ⁷Elûl, the year 443. And remembered be Zebîda, son ⁸of Shim'on, son of Bel-'aqab, his patron and friend, before ⁹She'a-alqûm the good god; and remembered be every one ¹⁰.. visits (?) these altars, and says, 'Remembered be ¹¹all these .. for good!'

The inscr., though written in Palm., is thoroughly Nabataean in character. The donor of the altars, the deity to whom they are dedicated, and most of the pr. nn. are all Nabataean.

L. 1. עלותא = 𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤕. 93 עבדו i n. 91 ענמו

L. 2. שעדלת = שעד-אלת; see 106 n. i. e. a member of the family of רוחו 99 i. 2 n. פרש Not a member of the equestrian order, *ἵππικός*, but simply a soldier in the cavalry.

L. 3. חירתא = 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 camp, cf. Arab. *ḥayr* sheep-fold; but perhaps this is the name of a place *حيرة*, on the Euphrates. משריתא

96 4 n. ענא The name of a place; Littm. suggests **Avatha*, now *عانة*, on the Euphrates.

L. 4. שיעאלקום A Nab. inscr. from Ḥauran contains a dedication to this deity, see p. 255 n. 1; in the Ṣafâ inscrr. he is frequently mentioned as *פ הלח (= אלת) ושע-הקם וגד-עוד ובעל-סמן ודשר*, e. g. *שע-הקם*, Littm. *Ṣafâ-Inscrr.* p. v. The name = *شيع القوم* protector of the people, the god who accompanies the people, prob. the special deity of the caravan; for the conception cf. Ex. 23 20. 23. 33 14 f. Is. 63 9. שכרא 133 2 n.

L. 5. שתא, or משתא Af. ptc. *who does not allow wine-drinking*, inserting a letter at the beginning of the line. The worshippers of this deity were prohibited from the use of wine, very likely as a protest against the Dionysiac cult of Dûshara (see 79 5 n.)¹. Similarly in the O.T., the Nazirite vow and the principles of the Rechabites (Jer. 35) were protests against the degenerating influence of Canaanite civilization. As a custom among the Nabataeans, abstinence from wine is mentioned by Diodorus xix 94 3²; it was inculcated in Arabia before the time of Mohammed (Robertson Smith *Prophets* 84. 388). מעיתי A Nab. pr. n., Dussaud et Macler *Voy. Arch.* no. 59, in the Gk. version Μοείθου; similarly Wadd. 2483. The form מעיתי is endearing and diminutive, cf. זבדי, מלכי, עזיזי, חביבי &c. (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 218); the Arab. equivalent is مُغِيث from غاث *to succour*, cf. the Palm. pr. names יעתו, יעת i. e. يَغُوث (*Rép.* no. 85), 143 עות 2.

L. 7. אלול Aug.—September.

L. 8. בלעקב 124 3 n. גירה For גר *guest* in Phoen. and Palm. see 17 2 n. Here, however, the word must denote not the receiver, but the giver of hospitality; cf. the pr. n. Κοσγῆρος from Memphis, not 'Kos is client' but 'K. is patron,' K. being a deity (Nöld. *SBBA* (1882) 1187 n.). Thus גר like جار denotes both sides of the relation; it has the double sense of the German *Gastfreund*. The Gk. equivalent of גירה ורחמה would be τὸν αὐτοῦ ξένον καὶ φίλον *his host and friend* CIG 2502 &c., cf. רחמה וקיומה 129 5; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* v 45 f. Zebîda discharged the obligations of hospitality towards the Nab. soldier at Palmyra. רחמה 127 4 n.

L. 10. מעיר or עיר Ptcp. Afel or Peal of עור = عَا, conj. v تَعَوَّد *to visit*; Lidzb. l.c. 346. At the beginning of the line די is to be restored. Another proposed reading is לא מעיר or די לא מעיר *who does not change* (86 8 n.); but there is hardly room for לא. ואמר Ptcp., i. e. וְאָמַר.


L. 11. At the beginning of the line Cl.-Gan. restores שמא *names*, pl. constr. or emph.—a doubtful form; Lidzb. better אנשא or גבריא.

¹ Cl.-Gan. ingeniously discovers a parallel in the struggle between Dionysos and the fabled 'anti-bacchic' king of the Arabs, Lycurgos (cf. [θε]ῶ Λυκούργῳ Wadd. 2286 a); the scene of the legend is placed in Arabia. *Rec.* iv 398 ff.

² Νόμος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μήτε σῖτον σπείρειν μήτε φυτεύειν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφόρον, μήτε οἶνον χρῆσθαι μήτε οἰκίαν κατασκευάζειν.

SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

141. Vog. 30 a. B. C. 9.

- קברא דנה די 1
 עתנתן בר כהילו די 2
 בנו עלוהי בנוהי 3
 כהילו וחירן בנוהי 4
 די מן בני מיתא 5
 בירה כנון שנת  6

This sepulchre is that of ² Athē-nathan, son of Kohailu, which ³ has been built over him by his sons ⁴ Kohailu and Hairân, his sons, ⁵ who are of the Benê Maitha. ⁶ In the month Kanûn, the year 304.

The characteristic form of the Palm. sepulchre is that of the tomb tower. One of these, called Kasr eth-Thunîyeh, is 111 ft. high, 33½ ft. square at the base, 25 ft. 8 in. square above the basement. It contains six stories, and places for 480 bodies. Opposite the entrance is a hall (cf. 143 8) with recesses for coffins; it has a richly panelled ceiling; underground is an immense vault (cf. 143 1). Illustrations of this and another well-preserved tower are given in Wm. Wright's *Palmyra and Zenobia* (1895) 81. 85. Within the towers are found the busts so characteristic of Palm. art (cf. 142 3). The form of these monuments is of Asiatic origin; but the decoration is in the Roman style. The inscriptions outside the towers are often bilingual, within they are Palm. alone.

L. 2. עתנתן See 112 4 n. 79 1 n. כהילו

L. 3. בנוהי In the corresponding inscr. (Vog. 30 b) on the N. side of the tomb, this is twice written ברה = ברה *his son*; but the form with the final vowel is so singular that בנוהי is prob. to be preferred as correct (Nöld. 98).

L. 5. בני מיתא Vog. 32 4, the name of a clan; cf. 132 2. 133 1. 136 6.

L. 6. כנון The 8th month, Oct.–November. The facsimile gives דגון, which is to be corrected to כנון. This is the oldest Palm. inscr. known. The writing is rather more archaic and angular than that of the later inscr., especially the form of ה. Palm. writing shows extraordinarily

little variation during the period of 280 years for which we have specimens.

142. Chediak i (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii § 5). A. D. 94. Qaryatên
(between Damascus and Palmyra).

1 בת עלמא דנה עבר מתני בר נורבל בר מלכו
2 בר תימצא על נורבל אבוהי ועל נבי אמה ליקרהן
3 וליקר בנוהי די עלמא צלמא אלן די מתני בר
4 נורבל בר מלכו בר תימצא בר מתני בר בונא בר
5 מתני די מתקרה מהוי ודי נורבל אבוהי ודי
6 נבי אמה בירח אב שנת 406

This house of eternity has been made by Matnai, son of Nûr-bel, son of Mâliku, ²son of Taim-ša, over Nûr-bel his father and over Nabbai his mother, to their honour, ³and to the honour of his sons, for ever. These statues are those of Matnai, son ⁴of Nûr-bel, son of Mâliku, son of Taim-ša, son of Matnai, son of Bônne, son ⁵of Matnai who is called Mahûi, and of Nûr-bel his father, and of ⁶Nabbai his mother. In the month Ab, the year 406.

L. 1. בת עלמא Frequent in Palm. as a term for the grave, e. g. 143 &c., in bilingual inscr. *μνημείον αἰώνιον, αἰώνιος τάφος* Vog. 36 a, b; cf. in the O. T. בית עלמו Qoh. 12 5, in Pun. CIS i 124 חדר בת עלם, and among the Christians of Edessa ܬܡܢܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ. The idea may go back to the Egyptians, who, according to Diodorus, called the graves of the dead *αἰδίουσ οἴκους* (i 51 2). מתני Prob. an abbreviation from מתן-בול. נורבל Vog. 124 *Νουρβήλου*, cf. 140 A 3.

L. 2. תימצא Vog. 33 b, cf. אמתצא Vog. 51. The divine name צא perhaps = צא[ר] = רצו (Lidzb.), 115 i n. נבי occurs elsewhere, Lidzb. 321; the name is evidently abbreviated, but the derivation is obscure.

L. 3. די עלמא An unusual expression for לעלמא 112 3 or ער עלמא 145 5; but cf. ליקרהן די בת עלמא Vog. 34.

L. 4. בונא 112 2 n.

L. 5. מתקרה Usually מתקרא; for the variation cf. זכרלא and זכרלה, &c. ברעתא and ברעתה מהוי Again in the inscr. given by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 183 = *Eph.* i 85; the derivation is obscure.

143. Müller 46. A. D. 193. Qaryatên.

- 1 מערתא דה די בת עלמא עבר
- 2 פציאל בר עסתורגא בר עות
- 3 בר לשמש בר לשמש לה שקקן
- 4 תרתן חדא על ימינא כדי אנת
- 5 עלל פאחרתא מקבלא
- 6 וזבירא בר מען בר בולנורעתה
- 7 שקקא כדי אנת עלל על שמלא
- 8 אנסדרא דנה מקבלא די
- 9 מערתא די מקבל בבא חפר
- 10 וצבת שוען בר תימא בר
- 11 אבגר לה ולבנוהי ולבני
- 12 בנוהי הדי רחמת לה שגל
- 13 ברת לשמש בר עשתורגא בר
- 14 פציאל בירח אדר שנת חמש
- 15 מאה וארבע

This vault of the eternal house has been made by ² Faṣai-el, son of 'Astôr-ga, son of 'Auth, ³ son of Lishamsh, son of Lishamsh, for himself, two corridors, ⁴ the one upon the right as thou ⁵ art entering, and the other lying opposite. ⁶ And Zebîda, son of Ma'n, son of Bôl-nûr-'athê, ⁷ (has made) the corridor as thou art entering on the left.

⁸ This *exedra* on the opposite side of ⁹ the vault, which lies opposite to the door, has been dugged ¹⁰ and ornamented by Sau'an, son of Taimê, son ¹¹ of Abgar, for himself and his sons and his grandsons ¹² ? ? to him Shegal, ¹³ daughter of Lishamsh, son of 'Ashtôr-ga, son of ¹⁴ Faṣai-el. In the month Adar, the year five ¹⁵ hundred and four.

L. 1. מערתא 144 3 the burial cave, excavated in the side of a hill, entered by the door of the tomb tower (p. 306), Vog. 35 &c., τὸ σπηλαῖον Wadd. 2625; in Hebr. מערה Gen. 23 19 f.

L. 2. **פציאל** Φασαίελη Wadd. 2445; so Lidzb. 479, instead of **חציאל** D. M. Müller *Palm. Inschr.* 19, where this inscr. was first published (1898).

עסתורגא l. 13. Lidzb. suggests that the form is abbreviated from **עשתור גרם** (see 135 4 n.). For the form **עשתור** see 113 2 n.; for the interchange of **ס** and **ש** cf. **ס** and **ש** in 121 5. **עוֹת** = **عَوْتُ**, Γαῦτος Wadd. 2019 &c.; the full name is **עוֹתאלהי** Eut. Sin. 72 &c.; see 140 B 5 n.

L. 3. **שקקן** So Lidzb. Cf. Syr. **ܫܩܩܐ** *via angusta*, pl. **ܫܩܩܐ**; in Targ. **שִׁקְקָא** = *street*.

L. 5. **עלל** Ptcp. sing. of **עלל** *enter*; cf. 147 ii c 16. **פ'** The conjunction **פ'**, here in Palm., as in Nab. and Old Aram., 61 3 n. **מקבלא** i.e. **ܡܩܒܠܐ** Afel ptcp. fem. abs. state, from **קבל** *to meet*; so the infin. **לקבל** = *before, in the presence of* 67. 147 i 10, in Afel *to be opposite* (144 6).

L. 6. **מען** = the Arab. pr. n. **مَعْنَى**; in Nab. and Sin. **מענו**, in Gk. Μάνος, Μάννος Wadd. 2042 &c. 2584. **עתנורי** Cf. **בולנורעתה** 140 A 3. **נורבל** 142 i. Lidzb. (500) suggests that this may be the full form of the abbreviated names **בונא**, **בולנא**.

L. 8. **אנסדרא** 144 6 **ἐξέδρα**, i.e. a hall with recesses, such, for example, as the fore-court of the great temple at Ba'albek, which has recesses or chambers on each side; see the plan in Baedeker *Paläst.*³ 343. Here the *exedra* is the hall with recesses for coffins, in the centre of the tomb tower, leading to the vault; see p. 306. In the Targ. and Talm. **א'** = a porch, or covered passage before a house, e.g. Judg. 3 23 = **תִּהְיֶה פְּרֹסְטָדָא**; *Tamid* 28 b **בנין של אנסדראות** *ex. of masonry* round the temple-court. **מקבלא** here is mas. emph. state, as in 144 6.

L. 9. **בבא** Not otherwise found in Palm., common in Targ. and Talm., rare in Syr. The Arab. **باب** is derived from this word; see Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 14.

L. 10. **צבת** Pael, cf. the noun **תצביתחון** in 119 4 &c. **שוען** Prob. = **Σαυάνου** Wadd. 2537 a, cf. **سَوَاعٍ**, **سَوَاعٍ** *first watch of the night*.

L. 11. **אבגר** **Αβγαρος** Wadd. 1984 d &c., **ܐܒܓܪ** a common Syr. pr. n. = *lame*.

L. 12. **הרי** ? meaning. Lidzb. (503) suggests **מדי** *which* 147 i 4 &c. = Bibl. Aram. **מִיָּה דִּי**, and renders **רחמת** *she bore* (a denomin. vb. from **רָחַמָא** *love*). The word may be read **רחקת** *she gave birth to*, Arab. **دَحَق**; this is to be preferred. **שגל** A common fem. pr. n. in Palm.; cf. perhaps **שנגלא** 69 16 n.

L. 14. **אדר** Feb.–March.

144. Nöld. A. D. 188. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

- 1 בִּירַח כְּנוּן שְׁנַת ע ק ט
 2 אַחְבַּר לִשְׁמֶשׁ בֶּר לִשְׁמֶשׁ
 3 בֶּר תִּימָא מִן מַעֲרַתָּא
 4 דֶּה לְבוּנָא בֶּר בּוֹלְחָא
 5 בֶּר בּוּנָא בֶּר יִקְרוּר
 6 אַחְבַּרְתָּה מִן אַכְסַדְרָא מַקְבֵּלָא
 7 גְּמַחִין תַּמְנִיָּא מִן יְמִינֵךְ
 8 אַרְבַּעָא וּמִן סַמְלֵךְ אַרְבַּעָא

In the month Kanûn, the year 500. ² Lishamsh, son of Lishamsh, ³ son of Taimē, has given a share of this vault ⁴ to Bônne, son of Bôl-ḥa, ⁵ son of Bônne, son of Yaqrûr. ⁶ I have given him a share of the *exedra* lying opposite, ⁷ eight niches, on thy right hand ⁸ four, and on thy left four.

The inscr. was published by Nöldeke *ZA* (1894) pp. 264–267.

L. 1. כְּנוּן 141 6 *n*.

L. 2. אַחְבַּר Afel of חִבַּר *to join, associate*; cf. l. 6.

L. 3. מַעֲרַתָּא 143 1 *n*.

L. 4. בּוֹלְחָא 132 1 *n*.

L. 5. יִקְרוּר = ܝܩܪܘܪ *toad*; cf. the pr. nn. חִלְדָּה Vog. 74 *weasel*, עַכְבּוּר *mouse*, ܩܢܝܕ *hedge-hog* &c.

L. 6. אַחְבַּרְתָּה i. e. אַחְבַּרְתָּה Af. pf. 1 sing. with suff., cf. the infin. Vog. 71 אִישׁ בֶּה לְאַחְבּוּרָא = κοινωνὸν αὐτοῦ προσλαβεῖν in the Gk. version. מַקְבֵּלָא Af. ptc. mas. emph.; אַכְסַדְרָא is mas., 143 8; cf. בסִלְקָא 119 3 (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 130).

L. 7. גְּמַחִין *loculi*; see 91 5 *n*. (Nab. גּוּחִיא).

145. Cl.-Gan. I (*Ét.* i 121). ii–iii cent. A. D. Louvre.

- 1 חֶבֶל שִׁמְשֹׁגְרָם בֶּר נוֹרְבֵּל
 2 מְרַאגְרָא וְהוּ בְּנָא קִבְרָא דְנָה
 3 וְאַנְשׁ לֹא יִפְתַּח עֲלוּהִי גּוּמַחָא

- 4 דנה עד עלמא לא יהוא לה
 5 זרע וגר עד עלמא ולא יקשט
 6 למן די יפתחיהי עד עלמא
 7 ולחם ומן למא ישבע

Alas! Shamshi-geram, son of Nûr-bel ² Mar-agra. And he built this sepulchre. ³ And let no man open over him this niche ⁴ for ever! Let him have no ⁵ seed or fortune for ever, nor let there be any prosperity ⁶ for him who shall open it, for ever, ⁷ and with bread and water may he never be satisfied!

L. 1. חבל An interjection of grief very common in funeral inscrr. and on busts (p. 306); in the Talm. חָבֵל, חָבִיל, Dalman *Gr.* 192. שמשגרם 135 4 n.

L. 2. מראגרא Cognomen or title; if the latter, perhaps = ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ *dominus mercedis*, i. e. qui militibus stipendia pendet, *paymaster*; *Thes. Syr.* col. 30. Cl.-Gan. suggests the general sense of *treasurer*, *Ét.* i 123.

L. 3. אנש Cf. 69 20; אנש in Nab. 86 6. 90 7 &c. For similar prohibitions see 4. 5. 61. 64 f. 69. לא יפתח עלוהי See 5 6 n. גומחא 91 5 n.

L. 5. גר *fortune*, as in the pr. nn. גר רצו Vog. 84. גר עתא 143 &c. יקשט The root = *be firm, right* in Aram.; hence קשוט, קשוטא, Syr. ܩܫܘܬܐ = *truth, righteousness* &c. Taking the verb here in a neuter sense, we may render 'let there be no right to him who'; for the construction cf. Hebr. יָרַע לִי, יֵטֵב לִי &c.

L. 6. יפתחיהי For the form cf. the Syr. ܦܬܚܝܗܝ.

L. 7. מן = מין 75 3, *bread and water*, i. e. the elementary necessities of life. Winckler renders *bread and manna*, i. e. food for the dead, or divine food, ambrosia, which is his explanation of מן in Ex. 16 15; *Altor. Forsch.* ii 322 f. It is much more likely that מן here = מין, although the form is unusual. למא must have the sense of a prohibitive negative. It may be explained on the analogy of the Hebr. למה (Driver *Samuel* 123 f.) as meaning *wherefore?* = *let . . not*; in Aram. when connected by די with the preceding clause it comes to mean *lest*, ܕܝ ܠܡܐ, ܕܝ ܠܡܐ, in Targ. Onk. and Pesh. = Hebr. פן, e. g. Gen. 42 4. Num. 16 34 &c.

146. Constantine : Afr. 1. ii–iii cent. A. D.

D[is] m[anibus] s[acrum]. Suricus Rubatis Pal[murenus]
sag[ittarius] centuria] Maximi [vixit] ann[is] XLV mi[lit]avit
an[nis] xiii. CIL viii 2515.

נפשא דנה די 1
שרינו בר רבת 2
תדמוריא קשטא 3
קטרי מאכסמוס 4
בר שנת 33 5
חבל 6

This monument is that of Soraiku, son of Rubat, the Palmyrene archer, century of Maximus, 45 years old. Alas!

L. 1. נפשא See 78 1 n. Here 'נ' takes a mas. pronoun; in Nab. either mas. or fem.

L. 2. שרינו 119 1 n. רבת = رُبَّة, Nöld. 89.

L. 3. קשטא *sagittarius* = Syr. قَمَطَا or قَمَطَا; the ט and ת (Hebr. קשת), the ק and כ, are interchanged in this word, Nöld. 97. Besides this inscr. there is further evidence that a contingent of Palm. archers served in the Roman army in Africa. An inscr. discovered by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Coptos contains a dedication to the Palm. god 'Ιεραβ[ώ]λω = ירחבול, made by Αὐρήλιος Βηλάκαβος 'Ιερα[ῖος or -ου] οὐξηλλάριος Ἀδριανῶν Παλμυρηνῶν Ἀντωνινιανῶν τοξότων. In *Rec.* ii § 42 Cl.-Gan. rightly shows that Ἀδρ. Παλμ. = תדמוריא 147 ii. The fame of the Palm. archers was remembered by Jewish tradition; according to the Talm. 80,000 of them assisted at the overthrow of the first temple, 8000 at that of the second! Neubauer *Géogr. du Talm.* 303.

L. 4. קטרי *centuria*. For the assimilation of נ in foreign words according to the law of Semitic speech cf. סְקִלְטִיקָא = συνκλητικός p. 285 n. 1, אַנְתִּיגֵלֶס = Ἀγαθάνγγελος inscr. of et-Ṭayyibe p. 296 n. 1, אַלְכַּאֲדְרוּס 147 i 2, אַלְכַּאֲדְרוּס ib. 11, and, in native words, the common מדינתא = מדינתא &c. מאכסמוס Nöld. (p. 86) notes this as a unique instance of the vowel letter א representing ā; to avoid the anomaly he corrects the reading to קטריא מאכסמוס. In the original א is uncertain, perhaps erased.

TARIFF

147. A. D. 137. In situ.

The following plan shows the arrangement of the inscription :—

i	ii			iii			iv	
Greek	2 ll. Greek 1 l. Palmyren							
Palmyrene		Palm.		Greek			Greek	
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b
1 1/4 l. Greek 3/4 + 1/6 l. Palm.								

Greek Text.

i.

- 1 Ἔτους ημὺ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ιη΄ δόγμα βουλῆς.
- 2 Ἐπὶ Βωννέους Βωννέους τοῦ Αἰράνου προέδρου, Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
- 3 Φιλοπάτορος γραμματέως βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Μαλίχου
Ὀλαιοῦς καὶ Ζεβείδου Νεσᾶ ἀρχόν-
- 4 των, βουλῆς νομίμου ἀγομένης, ἐψηφίσθη τὰ ὑπο-
τεταγμένα. Ἐπειδὴ ἐ[ν τ]οῖς πάλαι χρόνοις
- 5 ἐν τῷ τελωνικῷ νόμῳ πλείστα τῶν ὑποτελῶν οὐκ
ἀνελήμφθη, ἐπράσ[σεται] δὲ ἐκ συνηθείας, ἐν-
- 6 γραφομένου τῇ μισθώσει τὸν τελωνοῦντα τὴν πρᾶξιν
ποιεῖσθαι ἀκολουθῶς τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ
- 7 συνηθείᾳ, συνέβαινε δὲ πλειστάκις περὶ τούτου
ζητήσεις γείνεσθ[αι με]ταξὺ τῶν ἐμπόρων
- 8 πρὸς τοὺς τελώνας· δεδόχθαι, τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας ἄρχοντας
καὶ δεκαπρώτους διακρίνοντας

- 9 τὰ μὴ ἀνειλημμένα τῷ νόμῳ ἐνγράψαι τῇ ἔνγιστα
 μισθώσει καὶ ὑποτάξαι ἐκάστῳ εἶδει τὸ
 10 ἐκ συνηθείας τέλος, καὶ ἐπειδὰν κυρωθῇ τῷ μισθου-
 μένῳ, ἐνγραφῆναι μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου νό-
 11 μου στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τῇ οὔσῃ ἀντικρὺς [ἱ]ερ[οῦ] λεγο-
 μένου Ῥαβασείρη, ἐ[πι]μελεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς τυγχά-
 12 νοντας κατὰ καιρὸν ἄρχοντας καὶ δεκαπρώτους καὶ
 συνδίκ[ους τοῦ] μηδὲν παραπράσσειν
 13 τὸν μισθούμενον.

(Aramaic text, ll. (1-11) 14-24.)

- 25 Γόμος καρρικὸς παντὸς γένους· τεσσάρων γόμων
 καμηλικῶν τέ-
 26 λος ἐπράχθη. (Aramaic text, ll. (12, 13) 26-7.)

ii.

[Ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθι]-
 κοῦ νίο[υ θε]οῦ [Νέρουα νίωνοῦ Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κα' αὐτοκράτορος
 τὸ β' ὑπ]άτου τὸ γ' πατρὸς πατρίδος ὑπάτω[ν Λ. Αἰλίου
 Καίσαρος τὸ β' Π. Κοιλίου Βαλβίνου].

(Aramaic text, 1 line, and columns a, b, c.)

iii a.

(1-47 = Aram. ii a 1-31.)

- 1 παρὰ τ[ῶν παῖδας εἰσαγόντων εἰς Πάλμυρα]
 2 ἡ εἰς τὰ ὄ[ρια
 3 ἀγόντω[ν
 4 παρ' οὐ ἄ[ν]
 5 μ οὐς
 6 παρ' οὐ[ετερανοῦ?] οἰε
 7 καὶ τὰ σώμα[τα] οὐτο [ἐξ
 8 ἄγεται ἐκάστου σώμα[τος]

- 9 ὁ αὐτὸς δημοσιώνη[ς
 10 πράξει ἐκάστου γόμο[ν καμηλικού]
 11 εἰσκομισ[θέ]ντος
 12 ἐκκομισθ[έντ]ος [γόμου καμηλικού]
 13 ἐκάστου vacat
 14 γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ ἐκάστο]ν εἰ[σκομισθέντος ἦ]
 15 ἐκκομισθέν[τος]
 16 πορφύρας μηλωτῇ[ς] ἐκά[στου δέρμα]-
 17 τος εἰσκομισθέν[τ]ος [πράξει]
 18 ἐκκομισθ[έντο]ς
 19 γόμου κ[αμηλικού] μύρου [τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάσ]-
 20 τροις εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει]
 21 καὶ το
 22 ἐκ[κομισθέντος]
 23 γ[όμου καμηλικού] μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς]
 24 αἰγείοις [εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει]
 25 [ἐκκομισθέντος] [γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ] μύρου
 26 τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάστρ]οις
 27 [εἰσκομισ]θέν[τος πράξει]
 28 [ἐκκομισ]θέν[τος]
 29 γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ] μ[ύρου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς]
 30 αἰγείοις εἰσκομ[ισθέντο]ς πρ[άξει]
 31 ἐκκομισθέντος π[ρ]άξ[ει]
 32 γόμου ἐλεηροῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο]ῖς [τέσσαρ]-
 33 σι αἰγείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέν]-
 34 τος vacat
 35 ἐκκομισθέντο[ς]
 36 γόμου ἐλαιηροῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο]ῖς δυ[σὶ αἰ]-
 37 γείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέντος]
 38 πράξει
 39 ἐκκομισθέντ[ος]
 40 γόμου ἐλε[ηροῦ τοῦ ἐπ' ὄνο]ν εἰ[σκομισθέν]-

- 41 το[ς πράξει]
 42 ἐκ[κομισθέντος]
 43 γόμ[ου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς τ]έσσ[αρσι]
 44 αἰγείοις [πρά]ξει * ιγ'
 45 ἐκκομι[σ]θέ[ντος] * ιγ'
 46 γόμου κ [τοῦ ἐν] ἀ[σ]κοῖς δυσὶ αἰγείοις
 47 ἐπὶ κ[αμήλου εἰς]κομισθέντος πράξει * ζ'.

iii b.

(21=Aram. ii a 41?; 27-30=ii a 46-49; 31-45=ii b 1-12.)

Of the first 18 lines only unimportant fragments remain.

- 19 λλης vacat
 20 μηλουτσ σ ης
 21 [θ]ρέμματος η εσ ο
 22 δ θ
 23 δ εαδ εου ε
 24 ὁ αὐτὸς δ[ημ]οσιώνης ἐκάσ
 25 παρ' ἐκ[άστο]ν τῶ[ν τὸ] ἔλαιον κατα[κομιζόντων?]
 26 πον [πωλού]ντων
 27 ὁ αὐτ[ὸς δημοσιώνης] πρά[ξει] λει
 28 ος
 29 [λαμβά]νουσιν π
 30 ἀσσάρια ὀκτώ ιη
 31 [ἀσ]σάρια ἕξ ἐν καστ ἀσσς'
 32 [ὁ αὐτὸς δημ]οσιώνης πρ[άξ]ει ἐργαστηρίων
 33 παντοπωλ[εί]ων σκυτικῶν
 34 ἐκ συνηθείας ἐκάστου μηνὸς
 35 καὶ ἐργαστηρίου ἐκάστου vacat * α
 36 παρὰ τῶν δέρματα εἰσκομιζόν[των]
 37 ἢ πω]λούντων ἐκάστου δέρματος ἀσσά[ρια δύο]
 38 ὁμοίως ἱματιοπῶλαι μεταβόλοι πωλ[οῦν]-
 39 τες ἐν τῇ πόλει τῷ δημοσιώνῃ τὸ ἱκανὸν τ[ελος?]
 40 χρήσεος πηγῶν · β' · ἐκάστου ἔτους * ω'

41 ὁ αὐτὸς πρά[ξ]ει γόμου πυρικοῦ οἰνικοῦ ἀχύ-
 42 ρων καὶ τοιούτου γένους ἐκάστου γόμου
 43 καμηλικοῦ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐκάστην * α'
 44 καμήλου ὃς κενὸς εἰσαχθῇ πράξει * α'
 45 καθὼς Κίλιξ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος ἔπραξεν.

iii c.

(22-24 = Aram. ii b 22. 23.)

The first half (about 20 lines) is almost entirely obliterated.

21 νέτω vacat
 22 ὃς ἂν ἄλ[ας] ἡ ἐν Παλμύροις
 23 Παλμυρη[ν]ῶν παραμετρησάτω [τῷ δημο]-
 24 σιώνῃ εἰς ἕκ[αστον] μόνδιον ἀσσά[ριον]
 25 ὃς δ' ἂν οὐ παραμετρησ[άτω]
 26 ον ἔχων το δημο
 27 παρ' οὗ ἂν ὁ δ[ημοσι]ώνῃς [ἐνέ]-
 28 χυρα λά[βη]
 29 ἀποδω σινο αβρει
 30 δημο ηίου διπ[λοῦ] ο ἱκανὸν λαμβα-
 31 νέτω περὶ τ[ο]ύτου πρὸς τὸν δημοσιώνῃ[ν]
 32 τοῦ διπλοῦ εἰσα]γέσθω vacat
 33 περὶ οὗ ἂν ὁ δημ[ο]σιώνῃς τινὰ ἀπαιτῇ περί τε
 34 οὗ ἂν ὁ δημοσιώ[νης] ἀπό τινος ἀπαιτῇται περὶ
 35 τούτου δικαιοδο[τεῖς]θω παρὰ τῷ ἐν Παλμύ-
 36 ροις τεταγμένῳ vacat
 37 τῷ δημοσιώνῃ κύρι[ον] ἔ[σ]τω παρὰ τῶν μὴ ἀπ[ο]-
 38 γρα[φομένων] ἐνέχυρα [λ]α[μβάνει]ν δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ
 39 υτατα [ἐνέ]χυρα ἡμέρα[ι]
 40 [ἐξέστω τῷ δημ]οσιώνῃ πωλεῖν
 41 [ἐν τόπῳ δημ ?]οσίῳ χωρὶ[s]
 42 δόλου πο ἐπράθη
 43 ἢ δοθῆναι ἔδει π ειν τωδ καθὼς

44 καὶ στιν τοῦ νόμου τω vacat
 45 λιμένος π [πη]γῶν ὑδάτων Καίσαρος
 46 τῷ μισθωτῇ εντος παρασχέσ[θαι]

iv a.

(27 = Aram. ii b 43; 34-37 = ii b 45-48; 41-57 = ii c 3-22.)

1 ἄλλω μηδενὶ πράσσειν διδό[ν]αι λαμ[βάνειν]
 2 ἐξέστω μήτε τι ωφσ ανθρ [μή]-
 3 τε τινι [ὄν]όματι τοσ π
 4 τοῦτο ποιήσῃ ηε
 5 δ[ι]πλοῦν

[four lines illegible]

10 Γαίου
 11 αντι
 12 μετα[ξ]ὺ Παλ[μυρηνῶν]
 13 νους ἐστὶ
 14 γείνεσθαι κλ οι
 15 εσ σατο μ
 16 ὅσα δὲ ἐξ
 17 ω
 18 α εισπ
 19 τω α ωνη
 20 τῷ τελών[η] θω vacat
 21 οἱ δ' ἂν ε [ἐ]ξαγ
 22
 23 σ ας
 24 καθ' ἣν ανλογ (?)
 25 τοῦ δὲ ἐξάγω αι
 26 αδωσε
 27 ἐρίων
 28 θαρ
 29 π ειλ
 30 γ διαγ

- 31 οροι ματου μὲν ορι
 32 αγωγισ * · 5' · τοῦ δὲ θ'
 33 ἀξιοῦντος το νου εἰ καὶ μὴ σ
 34 [ἴτ]αλικῶν ἐξαγ[όντω]ν πράσσειν ὕστ[ερον ὡς συν]-
 35 εφωνήθη μὴ ι [α]ὕτων ἐξαγ[ό]ντων [δι]-
 36 δόσθαι vacat
 37 μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο[ῖς αἰγεί]οις πρά[ξει ὁ τελώνης]
 38 κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν] οὔτε
 39 τημα γέγονεν τῷ προτε ε εικ
 40 [ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ] ἐσφραγισμένῳ νόμῳ τέτακται vacat
 41 τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρον τέλος εἰς δηνάριον ὀφείλει λο[γεύε-
 σθαι]
 42 καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς πρὸς Στατείλι[ον
 ἐπισ]-
 43 τολῆς διασαφήσαντος ὅτι δεῖ πρὸς ἀσσάριον ἰτα[λι-
 44 κόν] τὰ τέλη λογεύεσθαι τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς δηναρίου τέλο[ς]
 45 συνηθεία ὁ τελώνης πρὸς κέρμα πράξει τῷ[ν δὲ]
 46 διὰ τὸ νεκριμαῖα εἶναι ῥειπτουμένων τὸ τέλο[ς οὐκ
 ὀφείλεται]
 47 τῶν βρωτῶν τὸ κα[τὰ] τὸν νόμον τοῦ γόμου δην[άριον]
 48 εἵστημι πράσσεσθαι ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῶν ὅρων εἰσά[γη-
 49 ται] ἢ ἐξάγῃται vacat τοὺς δὲ εἰς χωρία ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν
 50 [χω]ρίων κατακομίζοντας ἀτελεῖς εἶναι ὡς καὶ συνεφώ-
 51 νησεν αὐτοῖς vacat κώνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἔδ[ο]-
 52 ξεν ὅσα εἰς ἐμπορείαν φέρεται τὸ τέλος εἰς τὸ ξη-
 53 ρόφορτον ἀνάγεσθαι ὡς καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς γέινεται
 πόλεσι
 54 καμήλων ἐάν τε κεναὶ ἐάν τε ἔνγομοι εἰσάγωνται
 ἔξωθεν
 55 τῶν ὅρων ὀφείλεται δηνάριον ἐκάστης κατὰ τὸν
 56 νόμον ὡς καὶ Κουρβούλων ὁ κράτιστος ἐσημι-
 57 ὡσατο ἐν τῇ πρὸς Βάρβαρον ἐπιστολῇ.

iv b.

[About 30 lines almost entirely illegible.]

- 5 [έ]ταίρω[ν]
 30 τὰς συνφων
 31 τελώ[ν]ην γείνεσθαι [τὸ ἐκ τοῦ]
 32 νόμο[ν] τέλος πρὸς δηνά[ρ]ιον φ[ημί ? λογεύεσθαι]
 33 ἐννόμιον συνεφωνήθη μὴ δεῖν πράσσειν
 34 ε [τ]ῶν δὲ ἐπὶ νομὴν μεταγομένων
 35 ν θρεμμάτων ὀφείλεσθαι χα-
 36 ρίσασθαι τὰ θρέμματα ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ δη[μοσιώνης]
 37 ἐξέστω.

Palmyrene Text.

i.

- 14 (1) דגמא די בולא בירח ניסן יום פ ז י // שנת
 בפלהדרותא די בונא בר
 15 (2) בונא בר חירן וגרמטיא די אלכסדרס בר אלכסדרס בר
 פלפטור גרמטוס די בולא ודמס וארכוניא
 16 (3) מלכו בר עליי בר מקימו וזבירא בר נשא כד הות בולא
 כנישא מן נמוסא אשרת
 17 (4) מדי כתיב מן לתחת בדילדי בזבניא קדמיא בנמוסא די
 מכסא עבירן שגין חיבן

Decree of the Council, in the month Nisan, the 18th day, the year 448, during the presidency of Bōnnē, son ² of Bōnnē, son of Hāirān, and the secretaryship of Alexander, son of Alexander, son of Philopator, secretary of the Council and People, and the archons (being) ³ Māliku, son of 'Olai, son of Moqīmu, and Zebīda, son of Nesā. When the Council was by law assembled, it established ⁴ what is written below—

18 (5) מכסא לא אסקו והוו מתגבין מן עידא במדען די הוא מתכתב באגוריא די

19 (6) מכסא והוא גבא היך בנמוסא ובעידא ומטלכות זבנין שגין על צבותא אלן

20 (7) סרבנין הוו ביני תגרא לביני מכסיא אתחזי לבולא די ארכוניא אלן ולעשרתא

21 (8) די יבנון מדעם די לא מסק בנמוסא ויכתב בשטר אגריא חדתא ויכתב למדעמא

22 (9) מדעמא מכסה די מן עידא ומדי אשר לאגורא וכתב עם נמוסא קדמיא בגללא

23 (10) די לקבל היכלא די רב אסירא ויהוא מבטל לארכוניא די הון בזבן זבן ועשרתא

24 (11) וסדקיא די לא יהוא גבא אגורא מן אנש מדעם יתיר

Whereas in former times by the law of taxation many goods liable to ⁵ taxation were not specified, but taxes were levied on them by custom, according to what was written in the contract of ⁶ the tax-collector, and he was in the habit of making levies by law and custom, and on this account many times about these matters ⁷ disputes arose between the merchants and the tax-collectors—It seemed good to the Council of these archons and to the Ten ⁸ that they should make known what was not specified in the law, and (that) it should be written down in the new document of contract, and (that) there should be written down for each ⁹ article its tax which is by custom, and what they have established with the contractor, and they have written it down together with the former law on the stele ¹⁰ which is in front of the temple of Rabaseirē;—and that it be made the concern of the archons who shall be (in office) at any time, and of the Ten, ¹¹ and of the syndics, that the contractor do not demand any further levy from any man.

(Greek text, 1¼ l.)

26 (12) טעון קרם די כלמא גנס כלה לארבעא טעונין די
גמלין

27 (13) מכסא גבי

ii.

(Greek text, 2 ll.)

נמוסא די מכסא די למנא די הררינא תדמר ועינתא די
מִיא... קיסר

a.

(1-31=Greek iii a; 41=iii b 21?; 46-49=iii b 27-30.)

- 1 מן מעלי עלימִיא די מתאעלין לתדמר
- 2 או לתחומיה [יגבא מכס]א לכל רגל ד 3 //
- 3 מן עלם די... ב [ל]מפק[נא] //
- 4 מן עלם וטר[ן] די יזבן... //
- 5 והן זבונא ומעל... ין יתן לכל רגל //
- 6 הו מ[כסא יג]בא [מ]ן טעון גמלא די יבי[שין]

(Greek text.)

¹² A waggon-load of any kind of goods whatsoever, at four camel-loads ¹³ the tax shall be levied.

ii.

(Greek text.)

The law of the taxes of the custom-house of Hadriana Tadmor, and the wells of water Caesar.

a.

From importers of slaves who are imported into Tadmor ² or its borders the [tax-collector shall levy] for each person 22 denarii. ³ From a slave who [for] export, 12. ⁴ From a slave-veteran who shall be sold 10; ⁵ and if the buyer he shall give for each person 12. ⁶ The said t[ax-collector shall l]evy from a camel-load of dry

- 7 למעלנא די טעון גמלא ד' / [? //]
 8 מן [טעון גמלא] למ[פקנא] ד' ///
 9 מן ט[עון] חמרא למעלנא [ולמפקנא]
 10 מן א[רג] ונא מלטא לכל מ[שך] למעלנא
 11 ולמ[פ]קנא אסרין ע' ///
 12 מן טע[ון] ג[מל]א [א] די משחא בשימא [די]
 13 מתאעל [ב]ש[טיפת]א ד' 3 ע
 14 ולמא ד' ל . וסא דנה
 15 למפקנ[א] . כ . נ . . [ג]מל לטעונא — ///
 16 מן טעון גמלא די [מ]שחא בשימא [די יתאעל]
 17 בוקי[ן] די [ע]ל [ל]מ[על]נא ד' — /// ולמפק[נא] ד' ע' //
 18 מן ט[עון] חמר די [מ]שחא [בשימא ד'] יתאעל
 19 בש[טיפ]תא [למעלנא ד'] — /// ולמפקנא ד' ע' //
 20 מן טעון חמר [ד'] [מ]שחא [בשימא] די
 21 יתאעל בוקי[ן] [למ]פקנא ד' ע' //
 22 מן טעון די מש[חא] די בוק[ין] ארב[ע]

goods, ⁷ for import of the camel-load, 3 (?) denarii. ⁸ From [a camel-load] for ex[port], 3 denarii. ⁹ From a donkey-l[oad], for import [and for export] ¹⁰ From purple fleeces, for each s[kin, for import] ¹¹ and for export, 8 assarii. ¹² From a cam[el-lo]ad of sweet oil [which] ¹³ is imported [in] the f[lask], 25 denarii. ¹⁴ And for what this ¹⁵ for export [c]amel, for the load 13 denarii. ¹⁶ From a camel-load of sweet oil [which is imported] ¹⁷ in goa[t-s]kins, for im[por]t 13 denarii, and for expor[t 7 denarii]. ¹⁸ From a [donkey-loa]d [of sweet] oil which is imported ¹⁹ in the fl[as]k, [for import] 13 [denarii], and for export 7 denarii. ²⁰ From a donkey-load of [sweet] oil which ²¹ is imported in skin[s] . . . [for ex]port 7 denarii. ²² From

23 די עז למעלן טעון ג[מל]א ד — **///**

24 ולמפקנא ד — **///**

25 מן טעון די מ[שחא] די [בז]קין תרתן די עז

26 למעל[ן] ט[עון]א די גמלא ד [ע //] ולפקנא ד [ע //

27 מן טעון] חמר די משה למ[עלנא] דע // ולמפקנא [דע //

28 מן טעון דהנא די בזקין א[רבע] די עז די

29 טעון גמל מעלנא ד — **///** ול[מפק]נא ד — **///**

30 מן טעון דהנא די בזקי תרת[ן] די עז

31 לטעון גמל למעלנא דע // ולמ[פקנא] דע //

32 מן טעון [דה]נא די חמר למעלנא [דע //] ולמפקנא [דע //

33 מן טעון [נוני]א מליחיא לטעונא די [גמלא]

34 [למעלנא ד] — **///** ומן מפק מנהון

35 א לטעונא די גמלא למ . . .

36 א די טעון חמרא למעלנא[א]

37 נא יגבא מכסא ד **///**

a load of oi[l which is in] four goat-[ski]ns, ²³ for import, the ca[mel]-load, 13 denarii, ²⁴ and for export 1[3] denarii. ²⁵ From a load of o[il] which is [in] two goat-[sk]ins, ²⁶ for import, the camel-l[oa]d, [7] denarii, and for export [7] denarii. ²⁷ From a donkey-load of oil, for im[port] 7 denarii, and for export [7 denarii]. ²⁸ From a load of fat which is in f[our] goat-skins, which ²⁹ is a camel-load, import 13 denarii, and for [expo]rt 13 denarii. ³⁰ From a load of fat which is in tw[o] goat-skins, ³¹ for the camel-load, for import 7 denarii, and for ex[port 7 denarii]. ³² From a donkey-load of [fa]t, for import [7 denarii, and for export] 7 denarii. ³³ From a load of salted [fish], for the [camel]-load, ³⁴ [for import] 10 [denarii], and from an exporter of any of them . . . ³⁵ . . . for the camel-load . . . ³⁶ . . . of the donkey-load, for import ³⁷ . . . the tax-

יא ד קו	38
מן אמ	39
יא [אס]רין //	40
שאמריא למע[לנא] רשא חד אסרא חד	41
מן [טעו]נא גמלא א //	42
מן ארב א [א]סרין //	43
מן ד	44
א ממנ די יהוא מזבן משחא	45
בשימא אסרין . . . אף יגבא מכסא מן איתא מן	46
מן די שקלא דינר [או] יתיר דנרא חד מן איתא	47
ומן מן די שקלא אסרין תמניא	48
יגבא אסרין תמניא	49

ii b.

(1-12 = Greek iii b 31-45; 22. 23 = iii c 22-24; 43 = iv a 27;
45-48 = iv a 34-37.)

1 ומן מן די שקל[א] אסרין[ן] ש[תא]

2 יגבא אסרין [/ ע]

3 אף יגבא ודי ח[נו]תא ופטפלא

collector shall levy 3 denarii ³⁸ . . . 10 denarii . . ³⁹ . . . from . .
⁴⁰ . . . 2 assarii ⁴¹ . . . lambs, for im[port] . . . one head, one
assarius. ⁴² From a camel-[loa]d . . . 2 ⁴³ . . . from ? . . assarii . .
2. ⁴⁴ From . . . ⁴⁵ . . . from one (?) who shall sell sweet oil
⁴⁶ assarii . . Also the tax-collector shall levy from women,
from ⁴⁷ one who has taken a denarius [or] more, one denarius
from the woman. ⁴⁸ And from one who has taken eight
assarii ⁴⁹ he shall levy eight assarii.

ii b.

¹ And from one who has taken [s]ix assarii ² he shall levy
[6] assarii. ³ Also he shall levy . . . and of the shop and

- 4 פ היך עדתא
- 5 [לכל] יר[ח] מן חנותא ד /
- 6 [מן כל] משך די [י]תאעל או יזבן למשכא אסרין //
- 7 . . . ימנתיא די הפכין במדיתא יהן מוט מכסא
- 8 [לתש]מיש עינן תרתן די מ[י] די במדיתא ד ע ///
- 9 [י]גבא מכסא לטעונא די חטא וחמרא ותבנא
- 10 ו[כ]ל מדי דמא [להון לכ]ל גמל לארה חדא ד /
- 11 לגמלא כדי יתאיעל סריק יגבא ד /
- 12 היך [די] גב[א] קלקים בר חרי קיסר
- 13 מ סא די תדמר ועינתא די מיא
- 14 ומל יב . [מ]דיתא ותחומיה היך
- 15 א [מכס]יא [די] אגר קדם מרינס היגמונא
- 16 טעון די גמלא ד /// ומפקן ד ///
- 17 מ[ן] מלטא לכל משך למעלנא ד /// ולמפקנא ד ///
- 18 [אף] יגב[א] מכסא [מן גנסיא כלהון היך די כתיב מן לעל

general store ⁴ . . . according to custom, ⁵ [every] mon[th]
 from the shop 1 denarius. ⁶ [From every] skin which shall
 be imported or sold, for the skin 2 assarii. ⁷ . . . clothiers (?)
 who shall barter in the city, their tax shall vary. ⁸ For the
 use of two wells of wa[ter] which are in the city, 800 denarii.
⁹ The tax-collector shall levy for a load of wheat and wine
 and straw ¹⁰ and suchlike, for each camel, for one journey
 1 denarius. ¹¹ For the camel when it is brought in empty
 he shall levy 1 denarius, ¹² as Kilix, freedman of Caesar,
 levied. ¹³ . . . of Tadmor and the wells of water ¹⁴ . . . the
 town and its borders, as ¹⁵ . . the [taxes] for [which] they (?)
 contracted before Marinus the governor. ¹⁶ . . . the camel-
 load, 4 denarii, and export, 4 denarii. ¹⁷ From . . . a fleece,
 for each skin, for import 4 denarii, and for export 4 denarii.
¹⁸ [Also the tax-collector shall l]evy from goods of all kinds

- 19 ... טב .. עא באסרא חר למדיא די קסטון
 20 עשר ון[שת] ... מא די . יתבעא יתן [לה]ן לתשמישא
 21 לא תשע לכל מדא מן נמ[וס]א דנה ססטרטין ///
 22 מן יהוא לה מלח בתוך[מר] מאד
 23 ת[דמרי]א יכילנה ל א די מא (?) באסרא חר
 24 אי קי .. היגמונא
 25 .. חשבן מכ בני תדמריא ל י
 26 ... קם מכס[מס] קי[סר]
 27 חיב לא הוא סא .. גרבא
 28 אלקמס וחת נמוסא יפרע מ[כס]א
 29 משתתף ד אדי ... יהוא
 30 פרע למכסא מן די מעל רגלין לתדמר
 31 [או] לתחומיה ומפק לכל רגל י ..
 32 ו ... י [מ]פק יפרע למכ[סא] ד [ק] //
 33 ... די [על]ם וטרן . ד ע ///
 34 ... לכל מיא דנה

as it is written above. ¹⁹ ... one assarius for the modius of costus-roots. ²⁰ [Six]teen ... what shall be desired, he shall give [to th]em for use. ²¹ ... nine for every modius by this l[a]w, 4 sestertii. ²² Whoever shall have salt in Tad[mor] ... ²³ the T[admores], he shall measure it ... at one assarius ²⁴ ... the governor. ²⁵ ... a reckoning ... the Tadmores ... ²⁶ ... cus Maxi[mus] Cae[sar], ²⁷ he is not liable ... ²⁸ Alkimus ... the law, he shall pay the t[ax], ²⁹ participating ... he shall ³⁰ pay to the tax-collector. Whoever imports any persons into Tadmor ³¹ [or] its borders, and exports (any), for each person ... ³² ... [ex]port, he shall pay to the tax-col[lector] 12 [denarii] ³³ ... who ... [sla]ve-veteran ... 8 denarii ³⁴ ... for

- 35 מעלן ה וד — ומפקנ[א] ע //
- 36 מן די מפק עלם וטרן
- 37 חשבן כתיב בנמוסא
- 38 פרע ד ע ///
- 39 מ לא כתיב בדיל[די]
- 40 מדעם לא או ל
- 41 לא דמיא
- 42 ומעלן מכ
- 43 ודי עמרא נא די אפק ד ///
- 44 תדמ[ר] . . מכסא פרעא תהוא עמרא
- 45 דיא מכסא למפקנא בתר
- 46 כות הוו ספון[ן] לא ע מדא איטליק[א]
- 47 [י]הוא פרע למפקא
- 48 משחא ב[שימא די] בזקין די עז יהוא מכסא
- 49 בדילדי בטעון די

ii c.

(3-22 = Greek iv a 41-57.)

I כתב די טעא מכס[א] בן

each . . . this . . . ³⁵ . . import . . . and 10 denarii, and export, 7 ³⁶ . . . whoever exports a slave-veteran ³⁷ . . a reckoning . . . written in the law ³⁸ . . . pay 9 denarii ³⁹ . . . is not written, because ⁴⁰ anything . . . ⁴¹ is not like . . . ⁴² and import . . . ⁴³ and of wool . . . which he exports, 3 denarii. ⁴⁴ Tadmor . . the tax . . . she shall pay. The wool ⁴⁵ of (?) . . . the tax for export afterwards ⁴⁶ as they have agreed . . . Italian modius, ⁴⁷ shall he pay . . . to the exporters. ⁴⁸ [Sweet] oil [which] is in goat-skins shall the tax-collector ⁴⁹ . . . because by mistakes in the

ii c.

¹ document which the tax-collector committed . . . ² . . . in

אחרניתא 18

גמליא הן טעינין והן סריקין יהן 19

מתאעלין בר מן תחומא חיב כל 20

גמל דנר היך בנמוסא והיך די אשר 21

קרבלון כשירא באגרתא די כתב לברברם 22

על גלדיא די גמליא חסא. ן כפרו די מכס 23

לא גבן ץ עשב[י]א וְתא אתחזי די יהון 24

יהבין מכ[סא] בדילדי אית בהון תגרתא 25

מכסא די עלימתא היך די נמוסא מוחא פשקת 26

הו מכסא יג[בא מכ]סא מן עלימתא די שקלן דנר 27

או יתיר לאי[תא דנר]א והן חסיר תהוה שקלא 28

מדי הו[ת] שקלא [יגבא מן] צלמי נחשא אדרטיא 29

אתחזי די יתגבא היך [מן נח]שא ויהוא פרע צלם 30

בפלגות . . . וצלמין . . טעון ץ על מלחא 31

קש . . . [א]תחזי לי די באתר די דמס תהוא 32

(the rule) in ¹⁸ other cities. ¹⁹ Camels, whether they be brought in laden or empty ²⁰ from without the borders, each camel is liable ²¹ for a denarius, as is in the law, and as ²² the excellent Corbulo established in the letter which he wrote to Barbarus ²³ about the camel-skins ?? that they do not levy ²⁴ a tax. Herbs . . . it seemed good that they should ²⁵ pay the ta[x], because they are an article of merchandise. ²⁶ The tax of female slaves, as I clearly (?) explained the law, ²⁷ the said tax-collector shall le[vy the t]ax from female slaves who take a denarius ²⁸ or more, for (each) wo[man a denari]us, and if she take less, ²⁹ what she has taken [he shall levy. From] images of bronze, statues, ³⁰ it seemed good that (the tax) be levied as [from bron]ze, and the image shall pay ³¹ half . . . and images . . . a load. For salt ³² . . . it seemed

- 33 מתזבנא באתר די מתכנשין ומן מן ת[גרא]
 34 יזבן לחש[בנ]ה יהוא יהב למדיא אסר איטלקא
 35 היך בנמוסא ואף מכסא [מ]לחא די הויא
 36 בתדמר היך בה אפי אסר יהוא
 37 מתקבל ולמ[די]א יהוא מזבן היך עידא
 38 [מכ]סא די ארגונא בדילדי
 39 ק ארבעא ופלג
 40 מלכין ת וחיטא
 41 ד די יהוא
 42 א יהוא מתגבא
 43 מכסא היך די נמ[וסא] על & למעלן שלחא
 44 אסרין // אשב [יג]בא ולממפקנא
 45 למעונא [כות א]ף הוו ספון
 46 ענא ת . ו ה מן תחומא פהן
 47 א מכסא חיב או הן לגו מן
 48 על מדיתא למגו מכס לא חיב
 49 מ [ח]נותא ומן די היך יהון הון

good to me that in the public place it be ³³ sold, in the place where they assemble; and whoever of the merchants ³⁴ shall buy (it) at its reckoning, he shall give for the modius an Italian assarius, ³⁵ as is in the law, and also the tax of (?) the salt which is ³⁶ in Tadmor, as . . . by the assarius it shall be ³⁷ admitted, and by the mo[di]us it shall be sold, according to custom ³⁸ . . . the [ta]x on purple, because ³⁹ . . . four and a half . . . ⁴⁰ . . . kings (?) . . . ? ⁴¹ . . . which shall be ⁴² . . . shall be levied, ⁴³ the tax as the law . . . For import, skins (?) ⁴⁴ 2 assarii . . . [he shall l]evy, and for export ⁴⁵ ? . . . [as al]so they have agreed. ⁴⁶ Sheep (?) . . . from the borders . . . ⁴⁷ . . . the tax is liable, or if below ⁴⁸ . . . the city, to shear, a tax is not liable ⁴⁹ . . . the shop and because, as they shall

50 מכסא א היך בנמוסא דנר . . . א . . . נא
 מכסא לא יהוא מתגבא אלא ל . נ די יהוא מתאעל
 [תד]מר אנ יצבא מכסא יהוא

be (?) ⁵⁰ . . . the tax . . . as in the law a denarius . . . the tax shall not be levied except . . shall be brought in . . . [Tad]mor, if he wish, the tax shall be.

The most valuable commentaries on this inscription are those of Reckendorf, *ZDMG* xlii (1888) 370-415, and of Dessau, *Hermes* xix (1884) 486-533 (Gk. text). With this Tariff are to be compared the Gk. Tariff of Coptos A.D. 90, Hogarth in Flinders Petrie *Koptos* (1896) 27 ff., and the Lat. Tariff of Zarai, CIL viii 4508. The T. of Palmyra is that of a local *octroi*, the T. of Zarai refers to an imperial *douane* at the port, the T. of Coptos is distinct from both.

i.

L. 1. דגמא די בולא The Senate promulgates this important decree (*δόγμα*) on its own account, without reference to Rome. The earlier tariff, however, of which this is only a readjustment, was in all essentials drawn up by the Roman authorities, see ii b 12. 15; c. 5. 22. בפלהדרותא The office of *πρόεδρος*; ל is written instead of ר especially after פ, cf. the Talm. פלהדרין and פרהדרין *προέδριον*, פלטרין *πραιτώριον* &c.

L. 2. גרמטיא The office of *γραμματεὺς*, גרמטיוס 122 2 n. אלכסדרס with נ assimilated, cf. 146 4 n., but without the assimilation in 121 3; cf. סקלטיקא Vog. 21, but סנק' 125 2. ארכוניא *ἀρχοντες*, probably the same as *στρατηγοί* in 3rd cent. inscr.; see 121 2 n.

L. 3. עליי 'Ολαιοῦς (gen.) = عَليّ. 132 1 n. בר הות וגו' *βουλῆς νομίμων ἀγουμενης*. For מן עידא cf. *by custom* l. 5 &c. The vowel of the first syllable of נמוסא coming before the *σ* was prob. *σ*, as in Gk.; but in Syr. نُمُوسَا, in Arab. نَامُوس. ii אשרת c 21, Afel of שרר, Syr. شَرَّرَ lit. *firmiter fecit*.

L. 4. מדי ii c 7. 27, מא די a 14, in Bibl. Aram. מֶה דִּי Dan. 2 28 &c., Talm. מֶה דִּי. בדילדי 110 4 n. ובניא קרמא *ἐν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις*. Distin- *χρόνος* is mas., but *πλειστάκις* l. 6 is fem., 121 5 n. guish between מכסא *tax*, cf. מכס Num. 31 28, and מכסא *tax-collector* l. 6 &c. עבירן Plur. of עבירתא 96 7, here in the sense of *articles* i.e. of merchandise. שניאן 121 5 Cf. סניאן and שניאן. חייבן מכסא The adj. absol. governing the accus., as often in Syr.; cf. בתיים מלאים פל-טוב Deut. 6 11.

Gr. § 151). The δεκάπρωτοι *decemprimi* were specially concerned with the revenue.

L. 8. Af. impf. of **בין**, i. e. **יְבִינֹן** lit. *cause to understand*. **מִפֶּק** Af. ptcp. pass., rather than a ptcp. Hofal, τὰ μὴ ἀνειλημμένα; the pass. ptcp. (**קִטִּיל**) in the Aram. dialects is frequently used of past time, especially in Syr. and in the Talm., e. g. **מִפֶּק** γέγραπται: Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 278 a, Dalman *Gr.* 231. Other instances of the pass. ptcp. in the Tariff are **מִבְטֵל** (not **מִבְטֵל**) l. 10. **מִפֶּק** (not **מִפֶּק**) ii c 12. **גְּבִי** l. 13. **גְּבִי** ii c 7. **וּכְתַב** The pass. of the tenses is normally expressed by the reflexive stems in the Aram. dialects, hence we should prob. point **יְכַתֵּב** Ethpeel (cf. **מִתְכַּתֵּב** l. 5), and, with the same assimilation of **ת** (**ר**), **יִזְכֵּן** Ethpa. ii a 4 &c., **מִזְכֵּן** (or **מִזְכֵּן** Pael ptcp. pass.) ii c 37 (cf. **מִתְזַכֵּן** ii c 33); see Duval *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* viii 57–63. Others, however, such as Sachau *ZDMG* xxxvii 562 ff., Wright *Comp. Gr.* 225, regard **יְכַתֵּב** and the ptcps. in the note preceding as Hofal or Pual forms, **יְכַתֵּב** &c., on the analogy of Hofal forms in Bibl. Aram., e. g. **הִתְקַנֵּת**, **הִתְקַנֵּת** Dan. 4 33 &c. But, as Duval points out, these forms are artificially modelled upon the Hebrew, and prob. were never used in actual speech, certainly not in the vulgar dialect of Palmyra. Moreover in Bibl. Aram. these forms were only used for the *Perf.* 3 pers.; for the impf. and for the other persons the reflexive is employed to express the passive. Duval further tries to explain **אֲשֶׁר** and **כְּתַב** l. 9 as passives, but in spite of the difficulty of the construction it is better to treat them as actives. **אֲשֶׁר** **אֲנִי** l. 5 n. 84 3 n. **לְמַדְעֵמָא מ'** **ἐκάστω** εἶδει; see 75 2 n.

L. 9. **וּכְתַב** **אֲשֶׁר** **לֹא** **וּמְדִי** The Gk. has καὶ ἐπειδὴν κυρωθῇ τῷ μισθομένῳ, ἐνγραφῆναι. This, however, is not the strict meaning of the Palm. **וּמְדִי** may = *when*, e. g. ii c 12, like the Syr. **ܡܕܝ** whenever, but elsewhere it = *that which*, e. g. l. 4. The two verbs must be taken as active, **אֲשֶׁר** Afel of **שָׂרַר** (not Ofal, see above), and since **כְּתַב** cannot be pronounced as Ethpeel, it must be Peal; the verbs may be either 3 plur. defectively written (113 3 n.), or 3 sing. with 'the Council' understood as the subject. The perf. **וּכְתַב** cannot = *and that they should write*; this would require **וּכְתַב** or **יְכַתֵּב**; the latter is read by Bevan, correcting the text, *Daniel* 215. **בְּגִלְלָא** Lit. *a round*, so generally of drafted stone, e. g. **אֲבָן** **בְּגִלְלָא** Ezr. 5 8. 6 4; the Gk. has **στήλη**.

L. 10. **הִכְלָא** **ἱεροῦ**. **רַב** **אֲסִירָא** **Παβασείρη**, apparently a divine name (p. 198). Both the Palm. and the Gk. texts imply that the new tariff was to be exhibited not merely in the same place but on the same stone as the old. Hence it ought to be possible to compare the new with the old, point by point; but the fragmentary state of

both texts renders this difficult, the more so as we cannot tell for certain where the new ends and the old begins. The new code appears to extend from ii a 1 to ii b 12; it is not unlikely, as Reckendorf argues, that the old code begins at ii b 13, which R. restores [נמוסא די מכ] סא די תדמר; references to it are found in ii b 15. 28. 37. 49. c 1 f. 19 ff. The following table gives such comparisons as can be made out:

Old Tariff	New Tariff
Slaves ii b 30-36.	ii a 1-5.
Sweet-oil b 48-49.	a 12-21. 45.
Victuals c 10-14.	b 9-10.
Camels c 19-22.	b 11.
Women c 26-29.	a 46-b 2.
Purple c 38.	a 10.

מבטל Pael ptc. pass., ἐπιμελείσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας. The ptc. is used impersonally with ו and pers. pron. in the sense *it concerns*, ו חגא; this construction is frequent in Aram. די היי The ptc. used of the future. כגא וך Cf. Jn. 5 4.

L. 11. סדקיא συνδίκους. For the assimilation of נ cf. 146 4 n. Peal ptc.

L. 12. טעון γόμος, a *qatûl* form like לבושא; in Syr. جال load, freight, Targ. טוענא. קרם καρρικός = *carrus*. פלמא Here an adj.; in Syr. فحما = *whosoever, as often as*; in Palest. Aram. כלום = *something, anything*, in questions and after negatives, Dalman *Gr.* 90. גמלין A camel-load = about 6 cwt.

L. 13. גבי Peal ptc. pass., ii c 7 גבן, cf. in Bibl. Aram. גלי Dan. 2 30. קרי Ezr. 4 18.

ii.

חרינא, λιμένα accus. of λιμήν *portus*, 'custom-house.' חרינא See p. 263 and 146 3 n.

a.

L. 1. מעלי Afel ptc. plur. constr. from עלל *enter*, in the Tariff with the meaning *to import*, εισάγειν, εισκομίζειν, as opposed to אפק Afel from נפק, *to export*, εκκομίζειν. עלימא Lit. *youths*, i. e. slaves, παῖδας, cf. עלם 1 S. 20 22; Targ. עולימא, fem. עולימא; Syr. حاصلا, The fem. plur. עלימא ii c 26 = *harlots*. מתאעלין Ettafal ptc.

L. 2. לתחומיה Plur. with suff., ii b 14. 31, τὰ ὅρια; sing. תחומא. רגל l. 5, plur. ii b 30 רגלין = Arab. رجل *a man*; ἐκάστου

σώματος iii a 8. γ is the initial of $\gamma\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ (represented in the Gk. by χ), originally, as its name implies, the equivalent in silver of ten copper asses. Its value at this period was 4 sesterii (ii b 21) or 16 asses, i. e. about $9\frac{1}{2}d$. Government dues and official payments were calculated on the Roman denarius-as system, see ii c 3 ff.; Kennedy *DB* iii 429.

L. 3. מִפְקָנָא Emph. st. of מִפְקֵן b 16 *export*, as opposed to מַעְלָן , מַעְלָנָא *import*.

L. 4. עֲלָם וּטְרָן b 33. 36 = the Roman *mancipia veterana*, a class of slaves, distinguished from *mancipia novicia*, who by Roman law were not only free from taxation, but did not need to be 'declared.' Contrary to the usual practice, at Palmyra these slaves were sold; Dessau l. c. 505. יִזְבֵּן b 6 Ethpa.; see i 8 n.

L. 5. וּבֹנָא Cf. אֲנֹרָא i 11.

L. 6. הוּ ii c 27 $\acute{o}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}s$ = Syr. ܐܘܬܐ , which frequently comes to be used merely as a rendering of the Gk. article; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* 173.

L. 9. חֲמֶרָא טעון $\gamma\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{o}\nu\iota\kappa\acute{o}s$ = half a camel-load.

L. 10. $\text{אַרְגֻּמָּנָא מְלִטָא}$ $\pi\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \mu\eta\lambda\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$, i. e. wool died with purple; the form אַרְגֻּמָּנָא occurs in Dan. 5 7 &c., Syr. ܐܪܓܡܢܐ . In the old law, ii c 38, 'purple' alone is mentioned, without details. מִשְׁךְ = $[\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha]$ tos iii a 16 f.

L. 11. אַסְרָא Plur. of אַסְרָא l. 41 $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ Mt. 10 29. Lk. 12 6, Mishnah אִיסָר , Syr. ܐܣܪܐ = *assarius*, a by-form of *as*, but apparently not of the same value. For the *as* was $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a denarius (supr.); while the *assarion* was $\frac{1}{24}$ th of a silver denarius, according to the Mishnah, e.g. $\text{אֶחָד מֵעֶשְׂרִים וָאַרְבַּעָה בְּדִינָר כֶּסֶף}$ Talm. Jer. *Qiddushin* 58 d. In the 2nd cent., therefore, there was a considerable difference in value between the Hellenistic *assarion* and the official Roman *as*, which in this inscr. is called אִסְרָא ii c 6. 34; see Schürer *Gesch.*³ ii 54, Kennedy, l. c.

L. 12. $\text{מִשְׁחָא בְּשִׁימָא}$ ii b 48 f. $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$, oil for anointing, distinguished from מִשְׁחָא l. 22 *oil*; cf. Lk. 7 46 ܥܠܝܐܝܢ ܡܝܪܐܝܐ and ܡܝܪܐܝܐ ܥܠܝܐܝܢ .

L. 13. בְּשִׁטִּיפְתָּא $[\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma]\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$; cf. Mt. 26 7 ܥܠܝܐܝܢ ܡܝܪܐܝܐ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$.

L. 17. יְיָ ܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$. ܐܝܢܐ , sing. ܐܝܢܐ , is fem.; ܐܝܢܐ l. 25.

L. 19. ܒܫܬܝܦܝܐ Perhaps rather ܒܫܬܝܦܝܐ mas.

L. 22. ܒܫܬܝܦܝܐ טעון $\gamma\acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon$ iii a 32.

L. 26. ܐܠܦܩܢܐ An error for ܐܠܡܦ .

L. 28. ܕܗܢܐ Syr. ܕܗܢܐ , Targ. ܕܗܢܐ and ܕܗܢܐ *fatness*, Arab. ܕܗܢ *fat*.

L. 9. חטא Syr. ܚܬܐ, Targ. ܚܬܝܢ. Possibly here the word is plur. ܚܬܐ.

L. 10. מרי here includes the relat., *that which*, ii c 29. The old law corresponding to ll. 9. 10 appears to be given in ii c 10-14.

L. 11. ܚܕܝ ܝܬܝܥܝܠ i. e. ḥs (= ܕܝ with the subjunct.) εἰσαχθῆ iii b 44. In the old law the tax was charged on laden and unladen camels (ii c 19-22), in the new only on the latter, because for a laden camel the tax was charged on the freight; cf. ii a 32 n.

L. 12. ܩܠܩܝܝܢ ܩܠܩܝܝܢ, prob. an imperial chief commissioner of taxes in the province of Syria. The final ξ is divided and the vowel transposed; Reckendorf compares ܦܝܣܝܐ = ἐξορία in the Midrash R. ܦܝܣܝܐ 97 i n. 135 5.

L. 15. אגר Prob. 3 plur. m.; cf. i 9 n.

L. 19. Before באסרא perhaps ܐܝܬܝܢ l. 20, Reckendorf. מדיא
l. 21 מרא = modius. ܩܝܣܬܝܢ = κόστος a root used as spice, Syr. ܩܝܣܬܝܢ, also, as here, ܩܝܣܬܝܢ.

L. 20. 81 9 n. The thing numbered must have been fem.

L. 21. ܦܝܣܝܐ Plur. of ܦܝܣܝܐ.

L. 22. ḥs ḁν ἄλας, see the regulations of Corbulo ii c 31-37. For the salt-tax cf. i Macc. 10 29 τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἁλός. 11 35. There are salt-lakes in the neighbourhood of Palmyra.

L. 23. ܐܝܬܝܢ From the Gk. Παλμυρη[ν]ῶν iii c 23. ܐܝܬܝܢ
Afel impf. 3 sing. m. of ܐܝܬܝܢ, with nun energetic, παραμετρησάτω ib.; the Syr. form is ܐܝܬܝܢ. The lacuna following may be supplied ܐܝܬܝܢ
[is ἔκ]αστον μόνον iii c 24.

L. 25. ܐܝܬܝܢ l. 37. ii c 16. 34, cf. ii c 4; Syr. ܐܝܬܝܢ. ܐܝܬܝܢ
The form is uncertain.

L. 29. ܐܝܬܝܢ Ethpeel ptc., lit. *binding himself to, associating*; in Syr. the reflexive takes the form ܐܝܬܝܢ, act. ܐܝܬܝܢ, Duval Gr. Syr. 81 f.

L. 30. ܐܝܬܝܢ Peal ptc.; cf. fem. ܐܝܬܝܢ l. 44. ܐܝܬܝܢ ii a 2 n.

L. 33. ܐܝܬܝܢ ii a 4 n.

L. 43. ܐܝܬܝܢ, ἐρίων iv a 27.

L. 45. ܐܝܬܝܢ = ἐξαγ[όντω]ν πράσσειν ὅσ[τε]ρον ὡς συν[ε]φωνήθη
(ܐܝܬܝܢ) iv a 34 f. ܐܝܬܝܢ, from ܐܝܬܝܢ and ܐܝܬܝܢ place, is a prepos.; the Gk., however, suggests an advb. Lidzb. takes ܐܝܬܝܢ together, *after that*.

L. 46. ܐܝܬܝܢ c 14. 45 = σύμφωνοι, cf. Dan. 3 10 ܐܝܬܝܢ = συμφωνία.

L. 47. ܐܝܬܝܢ Afel ptc. plur. mas. = αὐτῶν ἐξαγ[όντων] iv a 35; for the plur. ending cf. ܐܝܬܝܢ i 7 n.

L. 49. ܐܝܬܝܢ.

ii c.

L. 2. חִיפֶּא or צִיפֶּא. The Gk. has [ἐν τῷ] ἐσφραγισμένῳ νόμῳ.

L. 3. קִצְבָּא In Syr. ܩܙܒܐ = *slaughterer*; τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρου τέλος iv a 41. אִפִּי דְּנָר eis δηνάριον iv a 41, cf. אִפִּי אֶפֶר l. 6. πρὸς ἀσσάριον iv a 43; in Syr. אִפִּי is preceded by a prepos., e. g. ܐܢܐ ܩܬܐ. See ii a 2 n.

L. 4. לְמַתְחִשְׁבוּ The inf. ending as in Syr.; cf. the infin. ending יִת in Bibl. Aram., e. g. הִתְנַדְּבוּ Ezr. 7 16. לְהוֹדְעִיתִי Dan. 4 15 ('binding forms'), and in Targ., Dalm. Gr. 228. Germanicus Caesar, the nephew and adopted heir of Tiberius, was sent on a special mission to the East, A.D. 17-19, with command of all the provinces beyond the Hellespont. During his administration he succeeded in establishing excellent relations, in which no doubt Palmyra was interested, between the Roman and the Parthian powers. Statilius, like Barbarus l. 22, was prob. an imperial procurator of the province of Syria; cf. b 12 n.

L. 5. פֶּשֶׁק l. 26, Pael ܦܫܩ *exposuit*.

L. 6. הֵא, like the enclitic ܐܝ in Syr., is here used to give emphasis; cf. the use of הוּ in Vog. 36 b דְּכִרְנָא דְּנָה דִּי הוּ יִקֵּר בֵּית עֲלְמָא *this monument which is a tomb of honour*; also הִי in l. 10 לְמַעֲמָתָא הִי. See i 11 n.

L. 7. ܕܢܐ Peal ptc. pass. plur., agreeing with מְכַסִּיָּא l. 6 which was prob. preceded by יְהִן. ܕܢܐ εντός iv a 44, lit. *within*. In other dialects ܕܢܐ usually takes a prep., e. g. ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ &c.; cf. אִפִּי l. 3 n., and בַּר outside l. 12 = Syr. ܒܪ. In l. 47, however, we find ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ.

L. 8. ܥܪܦܢ ܕܥܪܦܢ iv a 45, cf. Jn. 2 15 ܕܥܪܦܢ = τὰ κέρματα. Here ܥܪܦܢ is the small copper coinage struck locally; for higher values the imperial coinage was used. ܕܥܪܦܢ = ܕܥܪܦܢ.

L. 9. פֶּגְרִין The Gk. has τῶ[ν δὲ] διὰ τὸ νεκριμαῖα εἶναι ῥειπτουμένων iv a 45 f. The reference is to the bodies of old or sick animals which could not be brought to the slaughter-house. מִשְׁתַּדֵּן Ethpe. ptc. of שָׁדָא.

L. 10. לְמַעֲמָתָא τῶν βρωτῶν, Syr. ܕܥܡܐܬܐ or ܕܥܡܐܬܐ *taste, a repast*. אֶקִּימַת Af. pf. 1 sing.

L. 12. מֵרִי = ܡܪܝ i 9 n., ܕܬܐ iv a 48. מֵאֶפֶק Afel ptc. pass.; as a rule the א is not retained in this form. ܡܬܚܘܡܐ Sing., or ܡܬܚܘܡܐ plur., cf. l. 7 n.

L. 13. מֵאֶפֶק = ܡܬܦܩ plur., eis χωρία iv a 49.

L. 15. אֶסְטְרִיבִּילִיָּא = στρόβιλοι, here = κώνου iv a 51; the kernel of

the fir-cone is still esteemed in Syria as an article of food. The 'similar' fruits would prob. be nuts and almonds.

L. 16. עָלִיל For the uncontracted form cf. עָלִילִין Dan. 4 4 &c. Kt., עָלִין Qeri. מַטְלִיל Dan. 4 9; similarly in Talm. עֲלִילִין, חֲשֵׁשִׁין &c., Dalman *Gr.* 274. This form is specially common in the case of עָלִיל. לְחֲשֹׁבֵן Lit. *everything that enters into the reckoning of the merchants*, ὅσα εἰς ἐμπορείαν φέρεται iv a 52.

L. 17. יָבִישׁ Syr. ܝܒܝܫ, ξηρόφορον; cf. ii a 6.

L. 19. סְרִיקִין See ii b 11 n.

L. 22. קַרְבִּלוֹן The famous Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, consular legate of Cappadocia and afterwards of Syria A. D. 57–66, in the reign of Nero. כְּרִשִׁיָּא = κράτιστος as a title.

L. 23. גִּלְדִּיָּא Syr. ܓܝܠܕܝܐ, Arab. جلد skin, once in Hebr., Job 16 15; perhaps the camel-hides used for packing merchandise. עַל . . . רִי Prob. אֶתְחֹזִי intervened, as רִי implies; cf. l. 31 f.

L. 24. Reckendorf proposes אֶתְחֹזִי [רִי אֶתְחֹזִי] herbs of the physicians; cf. *Baba Bath.* 74 b הוּא עֵשֶׁב הַחַיִּים סִמְתָּרִי הוּא that herb serves for plaisters.

L. 26. עֲלִימָתָא εἰταιρων iv b 5; cf. ii a 46–b 2. נְמוּסָא Perhaps an error for בְּנְמוּסָא. מוּחָא Nöld. conjectures מְחֹיָא Afel ptc. showing, as a correction.

L. 29. אֲדִרְטִיָּא ἀνδρίαντες, Syr. ܐܕܪܬܝܐ, Targ. אֲנִדְרִטָּא idol. The word here is a further description of צִלְמֵי נַחֲשָׁא.

L. 31. בַּפְלָגוֹת l. 39. The word is perhaps incomplete; ? ו for ב.

L. 34. לְמִדְיָא אֶסֶר The price seems too small; perhaps it is the amount of the tax, not the cost of a bushel of salt.

L. 35. הָוִיָּא Ptcp. fem.

L. 38. אֲרִגּוֹנָא See a 10.

L. 43. שְׁלַחָא The rendering is uncertain, *honey-comb* or *skin*—the Syr. ܫܠܚܐ has both meanings; or *weapons*, Targ. שְׁלִיחָא, Arab. سِلَاح, Hebr. שֶׁלַח.

JEWISH

148 A. Benê Hēzîr. Chwolson 6. Circ. i cent. B. C. In situ.

1 זה קבר והמש[כ]ב לאלעזר חניה יועזר יהודה שמעון[ן] יוחנן
 2 בני ים ב ואלעזר בני חניה
 3 . . . מבני חזיר

This is the tomb and resting-place of Eli'azar, Hānniah, Yô'azar, Yehudah, Simeon, Yôḥanan, sons of and Eli'azar, sons of Hānniah . . . of the sons of Hēzîr.

This inscr. is written over the entrance of the so-called Tomb of St. James at the foot of the Mt. of Olives, opposite the SE. angle of the Temple-area. The writing exhibits a form of Hebrew which is advancing towards the square character. Thus א, ה, ל, ע, ר are very near to their later forms; ב, פ, ח, ד, ר still resemble the Nab. and Palm. types; ו and ז are indistinguishable; נ has a final form, and when י follows joins on to it with a ligature; in the case of בני all three letters are thus united; cf. the use of the ligature in Palm. The form of י is peculiar, י; this is different from the Nab. and Palm. forms, and resembles the archaic י, without the two lower strokes. A somewhat similar י appears in Jewish ossuaria. Facsimiles of this and the following inscr. are given by Driver *Samuel* xxiii and xxv.

L. 1. Chwolson, *Corp. Inscr. Hebr.* 66, supplies the art. before קבר, following de Vogüé; the facsimile shows no trace of it. If the art. is written with משכב, as appears to be the case in spite of Lidzb.'s text (p. 485), it is required with קבר. The reading משכב is not quite certain; the last letter looks more like ד or ר than ב; for the word see 4 8 n.

L. 2. Chwolson reads בני יוסף בן . . . ב . . . [וליו]סף. But יוסף is very doubtful; the fifth letter may be ס, it is certainly not ו.

L. 3. בני חזיר In 1 Chr. 24 15 חזיר is the ancestor of a priestly family, in Neh. 10 21 חזיר is one of the ראשי העם. It is not unlikely that the persons mentioned in the inscr. belonged to the priestly family of Hēzîr; de Vogüé conjectures further that Simeon, Yô'azar, and Eli'azar were the high-priests of the same names, belonging to the family of Boethos, who held office in B.C. 24-5, 4, and 4 ff., respectively

(Schürer *Gesch.*³ ii 217). The tomb is an imposing one, with an architectural façade in the Gk. style. It may be dated in the 1st cent. B.C. or A.D.; most probably it was executed in the reign of Herod the Gt. It cannot be later than A.D. 70, for a tomb on such a scale could not have been designed after the destruction of Jerusalem. The evidence of the writing is not decisive, but Meyer considers that it points to a date earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., *Entsteh. d. Judenth.* 143.

B. Kefr Bir'im. Chwolson 17. ii or iii cent. A.D. In situ.

יהי שלום במקום הזה ובכל מקומות ישראל יוסה הלוי בן
לוי עשה השקוף הזה תבא ברכה במעיוש.

Peace be upon this place and upon all the places of Israel!
Yôseh the Levite, son of Levi, made this lintel. May a
blessing come upon his works!

This inscr. is written over the door of a ruined synagogue at Kefr Bir'im, a village near Şafed in Galilee. The writing has a more finished and formed character than that of A; it is obviously later. The architectural style of the ruins perhaps belongs to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. A.D. (Renan); Lidzb., however, suggests the 4th cent. (*Jewish Ency.* i 444). The **ס** has a form which is characteristic of later inscrr., with the left limb descending perpendicularly. The **ו** and **י** are mere strokes, and only differ in the slight slope of **ו** to the left. The **ז** has a short stroke to the right, **^**; **פ** takes a final form **ף**. It is to be noticed that the *scriptio plena* is employed throughout.

יוסה This form, a diminutive of **יוסף**, occurs in the recently discovered Hebr. mosaic at Kefr Kenna in Galilee, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 314; it appears also in the Jer. Talm. **יוסה** and **יוסא**, otherwise usually **יוסי**; in the Bab. Talm. **יוסף**. The form seems to be Palestinian. **שקוף** = the O.T. **משקוף** Ex. 12 7. 22 f. **מעיוש** The stone-cutter left out the **ש** after **ע** and then added it to the end of the word. After **ש** is a perpendicular stroke, the meaning of which is not evident.

ARAMAIC, PHOENICIAN, AND JEWISH COINS

149 A 1-6. **Aramaic Coins: Tarsus.** iv cent. B. C. Brit. Mus.
Plate IX A 1-6.

The coins nos. 1-6 were struck in Cilicia. The legend בעלתרז connects them with Tarsus, the most important city of the province, and under the Persian empire a great military and naval depot. This money was issued by Persian satraps, not as governors for the use of their provinces, but as military commanders for the payment of their troops when occasion required. Thus, for example, after the occupation of Cyzicus in 410, Pharnabazus gave his soldiers two months' pay and large sums to the chiefs of the allied fleet (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 24-26). Besides the satraps on special occasions, various towns and petty dynasties who acknowledged the suzerainty of Persia, all of them, it is to be noticed, near the shores of the Mediterranean, were allowed to coin money of their own (e. g. B 1-3. 5-7. 9. 10. 13); and this local money was current simultaneously with the imperial coinage. See Babelon *Pers. Ach.* xxii f.

A 1.

Tarsus.

R. Obv. בעלתרז *Ba'al of Tarsus.* Type: the god seated on the diphros, wearing the himation over the left shoulder and about the lower limbs, his right hand resting on a sceptre: linear circle.

Rev. כלך פרנבז *Cilicia, Pharnabazus.* Type: a bearded male head wearing a crested Athenian helmet, perhaps the head of Ares: linear circle. Persian stater. Hill *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Gk. coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* (1900), p. 165, no. 21; Babelon *PA* no. 169.

For the term בעל תרז see 5 18 n. Pharnabazus belonged to an Iranian family which was closely connected with Hellespontine Phrygia, and produced the satraps who governed this province; he succeeded his father Pharnacus in 413 B. C. Outside his own province, in Cilicia, he conducted military operations at three periods, B. C. 398-394, 391-389, 379-374, to the last of which his coins are generally assigned. After years of preparation (391-389), the expedition against Egypt took place; Pharnabazus had for his colleague in the

command Datames (nos. 2-4), who afterwards succeeded him, and this association accounts for the close similarity between the coins of the two satraps. Pharnabazus appears to have introduced the remarkable types of the heads of Ares (?) and Arethusa (no. 2). פרנבז is a Persian name, cf. תריבז (Hill l.c. 164, no. 12); the final ן is explained by Marquart, *Philologus* liv 494 Anm. 35, as the vulgar-Persian ending of the genitive from which the normal ֶ has fallen away, *Farnabāzō* being = *Frana(h)bāzauš*. Instead of כלך some of the coins have חלך (never on the coins of Datames); for the interchange of כ and ח cf. אנכי and אנחנו, קריץ and קריש &c. (König *Lehrg.* ii 458).

The Carpentras stele 75 affords the nearest parallel to the Aram. characters on coins 1-6.

Tarsus.

A 2.

Æ. *Obv.* Type: head of Arethusa with streaming hair and fillet, wearing earrings and necklace: circle of dots.

Rev. תרדמו *Tardamu*. Type: as no. 1, with circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 167, no. 30; *PA* no. 183.

The *obv.* type is found also on coins of Pharnabazus; it was copied from the famous Arethusa coins of Kimon of Syracuse (see Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* 106 f.). The reading of the satrap's name is not certain, owing to the similarity of ד and ר; it may be תרדמו or תרדמו. The satrap belonged to a Karian family, and *Tardamū* was probably the original form of his name in Karian, with the ending *amū* as in Παναμύης, Ἐξαμύης; the Gk. form Δατάμης, well known from the historians, probably represents the Iranian pronunciation of the name (Marquart l.c. 493)¹. Datames succeeded (circ. 386) his father Kamissares in the satrapy which comprised 'partem Ciliciae juxta Cappadociam quam incolunt Leucosyri' (Corn. Nep. *Dat.* i, corrected by Meyer to 'partem Cappadociae juxta Ciliciam,' *PA* xxxix). His coins were struck in Cilicia in 378, under the same circumstances and in the same mints as those of Pharnabazus, at the time when the troops of the Great King were being equipped for the expedition against Egypt. Datames succeeded Pharnabazus in the command of this war. In 369 he laid siege to Sinope, and struck coins of Sinopean type with the legend ΔΑΤΑΜΑ (*PA* no. 200; Bevan *House of Seleucus* i 80. 82). After taking part in the great revolt of the satraps in 362, he was assassinated towards the close of the same year.

¹ For other explanations see Hill l. c. lxxix; Babelon *PA* xxxviii.

Tarsus.

A 3.

Æ. Obv. בעלתרו Type: Ba'al of Tarsus seated on the diphros to right, wearing the himation about the lower limbs; his right hand holds a sceptre surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, his left an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes; beside him is the thymiaterion; below the diphros a lotus flower: the whole enclosed by a circle with projections.

Rev. תרדמו Type: the satrap Tardamu wearing the Persian head-dress, an under-garment with sleeves, a cloak, and Persian trousers; on his knees is a quiver; he holds in both hands an arrow, which he examines; before him is a bow, and in the field above the winged disk of Ormuzd: circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 167, no. 32; *PA* no. 187.

The *obv.* type is meant to suggest that the god is seated in his temple, the projections round the circle being intended to represent columns. The *rev.* type indicates that the satrap is preparing for the campaign against Egypt.

Tarsus.

A 4.

Æ. Obv. בעלתרו Type: as in 3, but the face and upper part of the body are turned to the front, and the diphros is seen in three-quarters view: circle as in 3.

Rev. תרדמו Type: the satrap Tardamu on the right, with his name in front, wearing a long chiton and himation, his right hand raised before his face in the attitude of adoration. On the left the figure of Ana, his right hand pointed towards Tardamu, the left lowered; the name אַנָּא, not visible in this specimen, is usually written behind; between them the thymiaterion: the whole enclosed by a linear square, bordered with dots on the top and two sides, with antefixa along the top. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 168, no. 35; *PA* no. 193.

The *rev.* type is variously interpreted. The two figures are evidently in a temple; Babelon takes them to be two deities, Ba'al of Tarsus on the right, Ana on the left. But the figure on the right is represented in the act of adoration, like Yehaw-milk in 3, and the name in front seems to signify that this is the satrap (Hill l.c. lxxx). Nothing is known of the god אַנָּא; it is not probable that he is the Assyr. Anu.

Tarsus.

A 5.

Æ. Obv. בעלתרז Type: as in 1, but here the god holds in his right hand an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes, his left rests upon a lotus-headed sceptre; under the diphros the ringed cross.

Rev. מזדי *Mazdai.* Type: lion attacking stag; the whole within a sunken square. Persian stater. Hill l. c. 169, no. 38; *PA* no. 201.

The *rev.* type is borrowed from Cyprus; it was the regular emblem of Kition (B 2. 3. 5. 6), and was probably adopted by Mazaeus at the time of the expedition which aimed at restoring Evagoras ii to the throne of Salamis (Diod. xvi 42), and probably used Kition as a convenient basis of operations (Hill l. c. lxxxii). Although Mazaeus is not mentioned in connexion with this war, yet he may have directed it and supplied the funds, for Cyprus belonged to the same satrapy as Phoenicia, where he was engaged in putting down a rebellion. It is to be noticed that the sunken square is also characteristic of the coinage of Cyprus, cf. B 1-7. Mazaeus was the greatest of the western satraps; he governed Cilicia from 361 to 333, and united under his rule Cilicia, Syria and Mesopotamia. The disastrous battle of Arbela, which gave to Alexander the empire of the Persian kings, only brought Mazaeus fresh advancement; he threw himself into Babylon with the wreck of his forces, and upon Alexander's approach surrendered the city (330); he was rewarded with the satrapy of Babylonia, and died in 328; see Bevan l. c. 245. The coins of Mazaeus, classified by Six in the *Numism. Chron.* (1884) *Le satrape Mazaios*, are numerous and varied; for 30 years he issued money in Cilicia, and concurrently in Syria for 15 years under the Persian king, and for 3 years in Babylon under Alexander the Great.

Tarsus.

A 6.

Æ. Obv. בעלתרז Type: Ba'al of Tarsus as in 1, holding a lotus-headed sceptre in his right hand; in the field to left an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes, and the letter נ; under the diphros the letter מ: circle of dots.

Rev. מזדי זי על עברנהרא וחלך *Mazdai who is over the Country beyond the River and Cilicia.* Type: two lines of walls, each with four towers one above the other; above a lion bringing down a bull: circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l. c. 170, no. 48; *PA* no. 238.

The letter מ under the diphros has been explained as the initial of מלך; perhaps it merely indicates 'a moneyer or other subordinate of Mazaeus' (Hill lxxxiv). The letter נ may be a mint-mark. The *rev.* type of the lion and bull is an emblem of Tarsus; the walls below probably represent the fortifications of the city, rather than the Cilician Gates (Six, Babelon); they suggest an enclosure rather than a passage. The form of the relat. י occurs in the Cilician inscr. 68; see also p. 185. The 'Country beyond the River' (i. e. Euphrates) was N. Syria, the term being used from the standpoint not of Cilicia but of Persia, as עבר הנהר in Neh. 2 7. 9. 3 7. Ezr. 8 36, עֵבֶר נְהַרָה Ezr. 4 10. 5 3 &c. Cf. 7 1 n., and for חלך see no. 1 n.

149 B 1-15. **Phoenician Coins.** v-ii cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., and Bibl. Nat., Paris. **Plate IX B 1-15.**

Cyprus, Kition.

B 1.

Æ. *Rev.* לבעלמלך (*Coin*) of Ba'al-milk. Type: lion seated, with open jaws; the whole within a sunken square bordered with dots. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. Cf. *PA* no. 647 (a tetrobol).

The reign of Ba'al-milk i is to be placed between the defeat of Xerxes in B. C. 479 and the occupation of Kition by the Athenians in 449. In the disaster of 479 the Persian fleet almost entirely perished, and with it the princes of Cyprus and Phoenicia; hence Xerxes found it necessary to send for the Tyrian Ba'al-milk to become king of Kition and found a new dynasty. The Tyrian origin of Ba'al-milk is shown by the type which he introduced upon his coinage, the figure of the Tyrian Herakles (Melqarth), as on the *obv.* of this coin; cf. B 4-6.

Kition.

B 2.

Æ. *Rev.* לעזבעל Of 'Az-ba'al. Type: lion devouring a stag; border and square as 1. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 670.

After the brief occupation of Kition by Kimon in 449 B. C., the Athenians evacuated the city, and 'Az-ba'al succeeded his father Ba'al-milk i as king from 449 to 425. His coins bear the Tyrian Herakles on the *obv.* (see B 1); but on the *rev.* a new type appears, the lion devouring the stag, an emblem of the Persian triumph over the Athenians. 'Az-ba'al was the first to style himself 'king of Kition and Idalion.'

Kition.

B 3.

Æ. Rev. לבעלמלך *Of Ba'al-milk.* Type: as B 2. Persian stater:
Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 679.

Ba'al-milk ii was the son and successor of 'Az-ba'al; he reigned from B. C. 425 to 400.

Kition.

B 4.

Æ. Rev. למלך דמכו *Of king Demonikus.* Type: the bearded Herakles, with lion-skin on shoulders, marching to right; his left hand holds in front of him a bow, his right brandishes a club; sunken square. Persian stater:
Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 695.

Demonikus reigned at Kition from B. C. 388 to 387. He owed his position to the protection of Athens; and the fact that the Athenian domination in Kition did not last longer than the expedition of Chabrias in 388 accounts for the shortness of his reign. Demonikus himself was an Athenian, and the influence of Athens appears on his coins. They are the work of Greek, not oriental, engravers, hence the figure of Herakles differs noticeably from the figure on the coins of the native dynasty (cf. B 5. 6); the *obv.* type is a reproduction of the statue of Athene Promachos, erected on the Acropolis after Marathon to express defiance of the Persians; and on some of his coins Demonikus uses the Gk. language, the only king of Kition to do so. דמכו = *Δημόνικος*; the omission of *ν* is due either to accident or to the difficulty of transcribing a foreign name.

Kition.

B 5.

Æ. *Obv.* Type: the bearded Herakles, wearing a lion-skin on his head; his left hand, covered with another lion-skin, holds a bow in front, his right brandishes a club above his head; in the field the ringed cross: circle of dots.



Rev. למלך מלכיתן *Of king Milk-yathon.* Type: lion devouring stag; sunken square with border of dots. Hemi-stater:
Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 699.

Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion (12-14. 26. 30), was the son of Ba'al-ram (23-25), and reigned from B. C. 392 to 361. In the series of inscrs. which refer to him a break occurs in the 4th year of his reign, i. e. 388, the date of the Athenian investment and the usurpation of Demonikus. When the Athenians abandoned Kition, Milk-yathon was restored by the Persians. He was the first king of Kition to mint gold coins.

Kition.

B 6.

Æ. *Obv.* Type : as B 5.

Rev. [מלך פמי] *Of king Pumi-[yathon]*. Type : as B 5; in the field to right   (i.e. year 40). Hemi-stater : Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 722.

Pumi-yathon, king of Kition, Idalion, and Tamassos (12. 13. 26), was the son and successor of Milk-yathon. He reigned from B.C. 361-312, for at least 47 years; see p. 56.

Lapēthos.

B 7.

Æ. *Obv.* לצדקמלך *Of Sidqi-milk*. Type : head of Athene to left, wearing Corinthian helmet and earrings, her hair arranged symmetrically down her neck.

Rev. [ל]צדקמלך Type : head of Athene to front, wearing close-fitting helmet ornamented with two bull's ears and two cristae; her hair arranged symmetrically on each side of her head; a necklace round her throat; the whole within a sunken square. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 783.

Sidqi-milk (cf. O.T. צִדְקִיָּהוּ, Sab. צדקאל Hal. 193 1, Hommel *Süd-Ar. Chr.* 106), king of Lapēthos, reigned from about B.C. 449 to 420. He began to reign after the departure of the Athenians in 449 (see on B 1 and 2), when the Persians recovered possession of the island. The helmet of Athene in *rev.* recalls Herodotus' description of the armour of the Chalybians in the host of Xerxes, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι, ὦτά τε καὶ κέρεα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα· ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι vii 76.

B 8.

Laodicea of Libanus.

Æ. *Rev.* On the right ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, on the left [ל]לאדכא אש בכנען *Of Laodicea which is in Canaan*. Type : Poseidon facing, half naked, wearing the chlamys, his right hand holding a patera, his left leaning on the trident; in the field to left ΛΑ, on the right a mint-mark. Chalkous (= $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol): Bibl. Nat. *Babelon Rois de Syrie* no. 660.

The *obv.* has the bust of Antiochus crowned with a diadem. Λαοδίκεια ἡ πρὸς Λιβάνῳ (Strabo 643 ed. Müll.), so called to distinguish it from Λαοδίκεια ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, was an important city of Coele-Syria, founded by Seleucus Nicator on the plain SE. of

Hemesa in the region of the upper Orontes. The coin bears the name of Antiochus iv Epiphanes, B.C. 175-164. For the reading אש instead of אם (Babelon) see p. 46 n. 3; the title אם *metropolis*, lit. *mother*, occurs on coins of Sidon, e. g. B 15, and of Tyre לצר אם צדנא *RS* p. 86, but probably not on the coins either of Laodicea or of Berytus. It is interesting to find the biblical name כנען = Phoenicia on these coins, cf. Is. 23 11. Zeph. 1 11. Josh. 5 1 LXX &c.; it occurs besides only on the coins of Berytus which have the legend ללארנא אש בכנען (p. 46 n. 3).

Byblus.

B 9.

Æ. *Rev.* אֵל־פַּעַל מֶלֶךְ גִּבְלָא *El-pa'al king of Gebal*. Type: lion devouring bull, the body of the bull incused, the head in relief: circle of dots. Graeco-asiatic stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 1344.

Of the kings of Gebal under the Persian empire two, Yehaw-milk and Uri-milk, are mentioned in 3, but the exact date of their reigns is not known. The two later kings of Gebal, El-pa'al (cf. אֵל־פַּעַל 1 Chr. 8 11 ff.) and 'Az-ba'al (B 10), whose coinage is illustrated here, were reigning probably in B.C. 360 and 340 respectively, at any rate shortly before the Greek conquest, for Alexander would not have allowed them to issue money in their own names. The type of the lion and bull is an acknowledgement of the Persian supremacy (cf. A 6).

Byblus.

B 10.

Æ. *Rev.* אֵז־בַּא'ל מֶלֶךְ גִּבְלָא *'Az-ba'al king of Gebal*. Type: lion devouring bull: circle of dots. Graeco-asiatic stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 1357.

See on B 9 above.

Byblus.

B 11.

Æ. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (right) ANTIOXOY (left). Type: the Phoen. Kronos (see p. 20) with six wings, standing to left, holding a sceptre in the right hand; on his head-dress a four-branched ornament (see Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569); in the field above לִגְבָּל *Of Gebal*, below קִדְשָׁא *the holy*: circle of dots. Chalkous: Bibl. Nat. *RS* no. 671.

The *obv.* has the bust of Antiochus crowned with a diadem. This is a specimen of the bronze coinage of Gebal under the Seleucids. The 'king' is Antiochus iv Epiphanes, 175-164 B.C. For the epithet קִדְשָׁא in connexion with Gebal see p. 21.

Tyre.

B 12.

Æ. *Rev.* Type: an owl, holding under its left wing the Egyptian crook and flail; in the field to right the number 35 (i. e. year): circle of dots. Attic didrachm: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 2022.

The series of Tyrian coins of which this is a specimen reflects the disturbances of the period from B.C. 312 to 275. In 312 Tyre was taken from Antigonus by Ptolemy, the ally of Seleucus; coins were struck at once, and continued for 3 years (*PA* nos. 2007–2013). Then there comes a break for 20 years; in 287 Tyre passed into the hands of Seleucus; the period was too disturbed for the minting of money. Then the coins begin again in the 23rd year and continue till the 37th (*PA* 2014–2022; *Cl.-Gan. Ét.* i 59 f.). This brings us to 275, when Tyre was recaptured by Ptolemy ii Philad., and started a new era as an autonomous city (9 5 *n.*). Thus the years numbered on the coins are in fact the years of Ptolemy, beginning with his capture of the city in 312, and closing with his recapture of it in 275. The *rev.* type is noticeable: the owl is Greek, the crook and flail are Egyptian, the symbols of Osiris; the combination indicates the range of the mercantile relations of Tyre, and the influence of Athens and of Egypt upon the city. The *obv.* type, Melqarth riding on a sea-horse with a dolphin below, is a native emblem, symbolizing the claim of Tyre to the empire of the sea. A special interest attaches to the Tyrian coins of this size and value; they were used by the Jews, who had no coinage of their own, as ‘the sacred shekel’ for the payment of religious dues (*Ex.* 30 13. *Lev.* 5 15. 27 3. 25. *Num.* 7 13. 86 &c. P); it is expressly enjoined in the *Talm.* that these dues are to be paid in Tyrian money, e.g. *B. Bekoroth* 49 b בולם בשקל הקדש במנה צורי. See Kennedy *DB* iii 422; cf. also 8 2 *n.*

B 13.

Sidon.

Æ. *Obv.* A Phoenician galley at sea, with oarsmen; in the field above III (i. e. year 3): circle of dots.

Rev. Type: the Persian king, Artaxerxes iii Ochus, in his chariot, driven by his charioteer, followed on foot by an attendant who holds in his right hand a sceptre terminating in an animal's head, and in his left an oinochoë; in the field above the letters עב: circle of dots. Quadruple Phoen. shekel: Brit. Mus. Cf. *PA* no. 1607 (12th year).

This coin is assigned by Babelon to Straton ii, king of Sidon from B. C. 346 to 332; the letters עב are the initials of his name עברעשתרת (*PA* clxxxv). The coins of this king closely resemble those of his predecessor, Straton i 374-362 B. C., which also have the initials עב in the field of *rev*.

Byblus.

B 14.

Æ. *Rev.* לנבל קרשת *Of Gebal the holy* on left; on right a legend of which only the letters י.ת.עש can be deciphered. Type: 'Ashtart (cf. 3) to left, her hair falling on her neck, robed in a tunic, with a peplos covering the upper part of the body and the arms; the right hand raised and extended, the left holding a long sceptre terminating in a ball: circle of dots. Hemi-chalkous: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 1373.

This is a specimen of the autonomous coins of Gebal, belonging to a later period than B 11, after the reign of Antiochus v.

Sidon.

B 15.

Æ. *Rev.* לצדנם | אם כמב | אפא כת | צר *Of the Sidonians, metropolis of Kambe, Hippo, Kition, Tyre.* Type: a steering oar. Hemi-chalkous: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 1620.

This is a specimen of the autonomous coins of Sidon, dating from the middle of the ii cent. B. C. לצדנם is a rendering of the Gk. ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ *RS* nos. 682 ff., cf. לצר = ΤΥΡΙΩΝ *ib.* nos. 674 ff. For אם see B 8 *n*. The towns mentioned are those which Sidon claimed as her colonies; כמב, on some coins written כנב (*PA* no. 1619), was the primitive name of Carthage, אפא = Hippo on the N. coast of Africa; see *RS* cx, *PA* clxxxvi. Here Sidon calls herself the mother-city of Tyre, but on the Tyrian coins of the time of Antiochus iv we find the relations reversed, לצר אם צדנם *RS* p. 86. In earlier days צדנם included both cities; see p. 54.

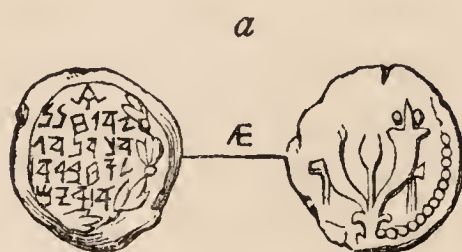
149 C. Jewish Coins. ii cent. B. C. to ii cent. A. D. Brit. Mus.

The native Jewish coins, with Hebr. inscrr., appear at three periods: (1) the period of the Hasmonaean princes, from John Hyrcanus to Mattathias (Antigonos), i.e. from 135 to 37 B. C.; (2) the First Revolt against the Romans, 66-70 A. D.; (3) the Second Revolt, 132-135 A. D. Their appearance thus marks the efforts that were made to maintain or assert the independence of the nation; and in agreement with the spirit of these movements the coins are stamped with legends

in the archaic character which had long ago fallen out of use, and given way to the square character developed in Aramaic. The writing varies so little during the 170 years that it affords no indication of date. The following forms of letters are characteristic of the coins:

א פ פ װ, ה ם א, ה ם, י ם י, י ם ז, ז ם, ק ם.

In antiquity the right of coinage was the exclusive privilege of the sovereign power; it was a sure sign of rebellion if any subject state took upon itself to issue money. Under the Seleucid kings certain semi-independent towns were allowed to issue bronze pieces bearing the head of the king on one side and the name of the city on the other, e.g. B 8 and 11; and a privilege of the same kind was bestowed upon the Jewish state by Demetrius ii (145–138 B.C.), and afterwards confirmed to Simon the Maccabee by Antiochus vii Sidetes (138–129 B.C.): ‘I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp’ (ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῆς χώρας σου) 1 Macc. 15 6. The concession implied that Judaea was recognized as a free state under the suzerainty of Syria. To what extent Simon availed himself of the privilege is not known, and it was soon withdrawn (1 Macc. 15 27). If he issued money at all it would have been in bronze, not in silver; but, according to the view adopted here, no coins, whether bronze or silver, can be assigned to him. His son and successor, John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.), was the first Jewish prince to issue money in his own name. The following is a specimen of his small bronze coins:



Obv. יהוחנן הכהן הג[ד]ל וחבר ה[י]הודים A.

Rev. A double cornucopiae with a poppy head in the centre.

The A at the beginning of the legend is taken to be the initial of Alexander ii Zebina (128–122? B.C.), the nominal over-lord of Hyrcanus; it may indicate the alliance between the two in 128, Ἀλέξανδρος . . . φιλίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα Jos. Ant. xiii 9 3; possibly, however, it denotes the ‘year 1’ (Madden *Coins of the Jews* 81). The letter is not found on the later coins of Hyrcanus.

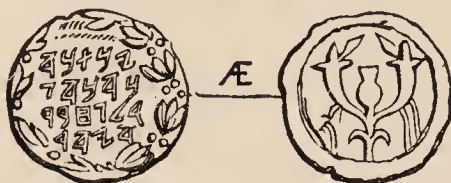
The two cornua-copiae he prob. adopted from Zebina, on whose coins they first appear. The official title of Hyrcanus is 'the high priest,' though in character he was more of a secular prince than a religious pontiff; the Jewish commonwealth regarded itself not as a kingdom but as a church, and the priest at the head of it was not an autocrat, but the chief of a community. The earlier coins of Hyrcanus are issued jointly by him and the community; his later coins, however, are issued in his name alone **י' הכהן הגדל ראש חבר היהודים**. Nestle (*ZATW* 1895, 288-290) has suggested that **ראש חבר** = *ἐθνάρχης*, used of Simon 1 Macc. 14 47. 15 1. 2, but without sufficient grounds. The precise meaning of **חבר היהודים** is disputed. In Hebr. **חֶבֶר** = *company, association*, Hos. 6 9 **חבר כהנים**. It is natural, therefore, to regard **י' ה' ח' הי'** as a corporation or college within the Jewish nation, the *γερονσία* or senate mentioned in 1 Macc. 12 6. Judith 4 8 &c.; so Madden 77, Wellhausen *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*³ 282 n. But it seems that the *γερονσία* (= the later Sanhedrin) was not of sufficient importance at this period to be named upon the coins. The Pun. **חברם**, referred to by Renan in this connexion, were not the senate but the *colleagues* of the suffetes, 42 2. 19. 55 4. The general opinion is that **י' ה' ח' הי'** = *the community of the Jews*, as similar or equivalent terms were in use, e.g. **חבר עיר** *a city community* Mishnah *Berakoth* 30 a, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων 1 Macc. 8 20, τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰ. ib. 12 3; Reinach *Monnaies Juives* 23, Kennedy, art. Money *DB* iii, Schürer *Gesch.*³ i 269. Kennedy makes the attractive suggestion that **חבר** = τὸ κοινόν; the LXX renders **בית חבר** Pr. 21 9 ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῷ, cf. 25 24, and elsewhere uses κοινωνέω, κοινωνός to render derivatives of **חבר**. The expression τὸ κοινόν has various meanings; thus in Jos. *Vita* 12. 49 &c. τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν is apparently the executive authority of the δῆμος, = τῶν Ἱερ. οἱ πρῶτοι ib. 7; in classical Gk. τὸ κοινόν = *respublica*, and is often used of Gk. states or cities, e.g. τὸ κ. τῶν Κρηταίων Michel 439, τὸ κ. τῶν Ταρμιανῶν ib. 1188-1190. We do not know enough of the constitution of the Jewish state at this time to determine exactly the relation between τὸ κοινόν and **חבר**.

The following are specimens of the coins of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.), whose long reign was marked by much violence and bloodshed, and by an increasing cleavage between the adherents of the Maccabees and the party, including the Pharisees, which cherished the traditional ideals of Judaism. The high-priesthood in the person of Alexander became thoroughly secularized. His Jewish name Jannaeus, Talm. **יָנָי** i. e. **יָנִי**, is contracted from **יְהוֹנָתָן**, **יָנִי**.

b

Obv. יהונתן המלך Type: a half-opened flower.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ round a circle. Type: an anchor with two cross-timbers.

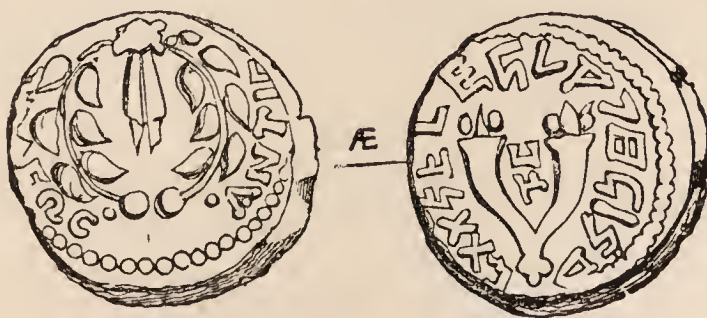
c

Obv. [יהוד]יהודה הגדל וחבר היהודים within a wreath.

Rev. Double cornucopiae with a poppy head in the centre.

Jannaeus issued a double series of coins, regal and pontifical. The interest of the regal series (*b*) lies in the appearance of המלך for the first time on Jewish coins, and in the use of the Gk. legend on the reverse. The adoption of these novelties was probably one of the causes which led to a breach with the Pharisees. The anchor on *b*, and the double cornucopiae on the pontifical coins *c*, are borrowed from the Seleucid kings, and illustrate the continued influence of their coinage.

The following is a specimen of the coins of Antigonus-Mattathias, B. C. 40-37, the last prince of the Hasmonaeae dynasty :

d

Obv. [ΒΑΣΙΛ]ΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓ[ΟΝΟΥ] round a wreath.

Rev. מתתיה כהן גדל חבר יה Type: a double cornucopiae, with ש i. e. year 1 in the centre.

After having been a prisoner in Rome, Antigonus attempted to obtain the kingdom in B.C. 42, but was defeated by Herod. With the help of the Parthians, however, he succeeded in taking Jerusalem in B.C. 40, and was made king. Not long afterwards Herod, who had received the nominal title of king of Judaea through Roman influence, laid siege to Jerusalem and, aided by the Roman general Sosius, captured it in 37; Antigonus was ignominiously executed with the axe. These coins show that he had adopted the name of Mattathias, the founder of his dynasty; they are the first Jewish coins which bear a date.

Coins of the First Revolt, A.D. 66-70. Plate X 1-5.

e (1)

- Æ. Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: a broad-lipped chalice, on either side a pellet, above the cup the letter נ = 1.
Rev. ירושלם קדשה Type: a flowering lily.

f (2)

- Æ. Obv.* חצי השקל Type: a chalice with jewelled rim, above the cup the letters שב = year 2.
Rev. ירושלים הקדושה Type: a flowering lily.

g (3)

- Æ. Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: as *f*, above the cup the letters שד = year 4.
Rev. ירושלים הקדושה Type: as *f*.

h (4)

- Æ. Obv.* לנאלת ציון Type: as *f*.
Rev. שנת ארבע Type: a *lûlab* with an 'ethrog on either side.

i (5)

- Æ. Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: as *f*, above the cup the letters שה = year 5.
Rev. ירושלים הקדושה Type: as *f*.

These coins have been usually attributed to Simon Maccabaeus (142-135 B.C.), e.g. by Madden 65 ff., and others; but there is now a general agreement among experts that they belong rather to the

period immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. It will be observed that the shekels are dated from the first year to the fifth; if they belong to Simon's reign, which lasted 7 years (1 Macc. 13 14 f. and 16 14), the two years at the close must be left without coins; no reason can be found for the increasing rarity and entire cessation of the shekels in the fifth year. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that, if Simon had issued silver coins, his successors would not have done the same; but the Hasmonaeans, in accordance with their constitutional position under the suzerainty of Syria, only minted bronze money; and their money bears the names of the princes, while the shekels, in striking contrast, have no name to show who issued them. On technical grounds of style and fabric they are related to the tetradrachms of Nero and Vespasian minted at Antioch, and not to the Seleucid silver coins of the Maccabaeans. The issue of such coins with the legend *Jerusalem the holy* is in itself an assertion of independence; it proves that the Jews were in revolt against the sovereign power; and since there was only one other occasion when the independence of Jerusalem was not constitutional but usurped, viz. in 132-135 A. D., and the coins of the latter age are well known in detail, there remains the period of the First Revolt against the Romans in 66-70 A. D. The shekels and half-shekels must have been coined by the executive authority of Jerusalem which undertook the defence of the city and the conduct of the war. The fact that they appear in considerable numbers during the first three years, and then become rarer, until they cease altogether with the exceedingly rare shekel of the fifth year (Apr. to Aug. A. D. 70), agrees exactly with the history of the revolt from its successful start to its gradual collapse. See Kennedy, art. Money in *BD* iii, whose arguments are incorporated above, and Schürer *Gesch.*³ i 762 ff. Reinach, *Mon. Juives* 47 f., suggests that the coins were especially designed for the payment of the temple tax, the shekel for two persons (cf. Mt. 17 24-27), the half-shekel for one, and to take the place of the Tyrian tetradrachms (or staters) and didrachms which had formerly been used for this purpose (cf. on B 12).

e (1) The chalice probably represents the temple vessels. The broad rim is characteristic of shekels of the first year, so also the pellets, probably intended for jewels, and the letter \aleph alone without ש = שנת. The dating of the coins is perhaps imitated from the Tyrian staters, but cf. *d*. ירושלם קדשה Note the *script. defect.*, and the absence of the article. The legend is perhaps copied from that on the Tyrian staters, Τύρου ἱερὰς καὶ ἀσύλου; the minting of these staters at Tyre

ceased in A. D. 56, so that probably it would have been necessary in A. D. 66 to provide fresh coins of the same value for use in Jerusalem (Reinach).

h (4) This is a specimen of the *bronze* money of the fourth year; varieties of the legend on the reverse are שנת ארבע הצי and שנת ארבע רביע; it is supposed that these coins represent $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ shekels respectively, and that they were siege tokens to be redeemed by silver money when the relief came. This explanation, however, is uncertain, for there are silver shekels (*g* 3) and half-shekels of the fourth year, beside these supposed tokens. The chalice shows that they belong to this period. לנבל ציון *Belonging to the redemption of Zion*, cf. B 11. 14 &c., and לחרות י' *k*; less prob. ל = *at the time of*. The *lûlab* לולב lit. *palm branch* was a bundle of myrtle and willow with a palm leaf, the *'ethrog*, אֶתְרוֹג a citron, carried in each hand at the feast of Booths; Lev. 23 40.

Coins of the Second Revolt, A. D. 132-135. Plate X 6-9.

j (6)

- Æ. *Obv.* שמעון נשיא ישראל in three lines within a laurel wreath.
Rev. שנת א[חת לנאל]ת ישראל Type: a vase with two handles.

k (7)

- Æ. *Obv.* שמעון within a wreath.
Rev. לחרות ישראל Type: a palm branch. Restruck on a denarius-drachm of Trajan.

l (8)

- Æ. *Obv.* שמעון Type: a palm tree.
Rev. [ש]ב לחר[ות]ת ישראל Type: a vine leaf.

m (9)

- Æ. *Obv.* שמעון Type: a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (?); above, a star.
Rev. לחרות ירושלם Type: a *lûlab* with *'ethrog*. Restruck tetradrachm of Antioch.

The evidence for the course of events which led to the Second Revolt in the 16th year of Hadrian is conflicting; it seems probable, however, that the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a heathen city, with the

name Aelia Capitolina, was begun during Hadrian's visit to Syria in 130 A. D. He was again in Syria in 131, and his visit was commemorated by coins which bear the inscr. *adventui Aug(usti) Judaeae*. The foundation of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Jewish temple is probably to be connected with this occasion (Schürer *Gesch.*³ 680 ff.); but whether the temple was founded before or after the revolt, the policy of Hadrian had been sufficiently coercive to incite the Jews to revolt. The fuel was ready to be ignited when Bar-Kokba applied the spark. The Jewish leader at once signalized his rebellion by issuing coins in his own name, 'Simon, the prince of Israel' (*j*), and in the name of 'Eliazar the priest,' who appears on the coins of the first year, and seems to have been joint-leader. Simon is called by Christian writers Bar-Kokba (*Βαρχωχέβας*) = *בֶּר כּוֹכְבָּא* *son of the star*, alluding to Num. 24 17, but by Rabb. writers *בֶּר כּוֹזִיבָא* or *בֶּר כ' כ'*, *Kôzêba* being the name either of his father or his native town, probably the latter; *Choziba* was a well-known place on the road to Jericho. He claimed to be the Messiah, and he received the support even of the great Rabbi Aqîba, who applied to him the prophecy of Num. 24 17, e. g. Jer. *Ta'anith* 68 d *דֶּרֶךְ כּוֹזֵבָא מֵיַעֲקֹב*. The revolt spread widely throughout Palestine; it was finally suppressed by the Roman general Jul. Severus; Jerusalem was recaptured, and Simon's cause collapsed with the fall of Beth-ther, now Bittir, 3 hours SW. of Jerusalem, where he and his followers made their last stand, in the 18th year of Hadrian, 134-5 A. D.

j (6) The types on these coins represent either objects connected with the Temple and its worship, vase or sacrificial flagon, lyre, trumpets, or the characteristic products of the country, vine-leaf (*l*) palm (*k*, *l*), grapes. This coin and *l* are dated the 1st and 2nd year of the revolt. Beside these bronze coins there is a silver issue, dated in the same way.

k (7) The silver coins of this period are all, probably without a single exception (Kennedy), imperial denarii, drachms, and tetradrachms, restruck with Jewish types and legends. Sometimes, as in *m*, no trace of the original appears, but very often, as in this case, the legend of the imperial coin can still be read in part. *לְחֵרֹת י'* *Of the emancipation of Israel*; cf. *h n*. *חֵרֹת* is a noun from *חרר*, in Syr. *ܚܪܐ*; for the root see 87 i *n*.

m (9) The signification of the type is not certain. The star above the Temple probably alludes to Simon's pretensions.

SEALS AND GEMS

150.

Plate XI gives some specimens of Aram., Phoen., and Hebr. seals, dating from the 8th cent. B. C. onwards. The seals afford interesting illustrations of the archaic character; they are all chosen from the British Museum collection, Semitic Room cabinet.

I

למלכרם *Belonging to Milk-ram*, on an ivory brooch found underneath a colossal bull in the palace of Nimroud. The inscr. is Phoen. rather than Aram. (Levy *Siegel u. Gemmen* 5 no. 2); pr. nn. compounded with מלך are exceedingly common in Phoen., e. g. מלכיתן 12 2 &c. יחומלך, 3 ארמלך 1 &c.; for the second part of the compound cf. the pr. n. רמבעל CIS i 99 1. The Egypt. style of the cartouche and the ornament above it is in favour of Phoen. (cf. p. 27) rather than Aram. workmanship. The writing is very early, prob. 8th cent., the date of the building of the palace at Nimroud.

2

CIS ii 75. A seal in the form of a cylinder. The treatment and costume of the figures are Assyrian. In the centre is the eunuch worshipping the god Hadad, who wears a crown with rays, and holds in his right hand what may have been intended for a flower. Behind the eunuch is a priest, assisting or initiating him. The inscr., which is in Aram., and belongs prob. to the 7th cent., runs as follows: לאכרבן בר גברר סרסא זי הקרב להדר *Belonging to Akdban, son of GBRD, the eunuch, who made offering to Hadad.* אכרבן is explained by Levy as derived from כרב = Hebr. כזב with א prosth., and meaning lit. *the false one, callidus*. Sachau reads אכברו *the strong one* (ZA 1891, 432); but comparing the fifth letter with the ר in הקרב it will be seen that the former reading is prob. right. גברר According to Sachau l. c. *Gabbarud* = Assy. *garparuda* or *galparuda*. Another suggestion is made in JA (1892) xix 565 that the name = בר פִּרְר *client of Barud* (a deity). For זי see 61 1 n. הקרב Afel, as in Dan. and Ezr. = *bring an offering*; for the ה retained in Afel, contrary to ordinary Aram. usage, cf. 61 29. 62 4. 18. 64 11. 65 3. 97 i, and Bibl. Aram. הרר See 61 1 n. Macrobius describes the image of Hadad as surrounded with rays and holding a flower in his hand, *Saturn.* 1 23.

3

CIS ii 77. A cylinder seal from Assyria. The worshipper, attended by winged deities or genii, is offering his devotions to the god *Ilū* in the form of a disc with wings and a human head (?). Two rays descend from under the wings of the disc, one of them touches the worshipper. In the centre is a figure which is taken to represent the flowing water of a mystic fountain. The inscr. is in Aram., and dates from the 8th-7th cent.:—**ירפאל בר הרעד** *Yirp-el son of Hor-'adad*. The pr. n. **ירפאל** may = **יִרְפָּאֵל** Josh. 18 27 i. e. **יִרְפָּאֵל** *El will heal*, cf. **רְפָאֵל** 1 Chr. 26 7. But since **רפא** does not occur in Aram., Levy (p. 7) takes 'רפ' to be the Afel of **רפי**, and explains *El will set free*. The engraver has turned א the wrong way both times. **הרעד** The last two letters look alike; the ר is closed at the top, but in the word **בר** it is open, hence **הרעד** *Horus helps* may be right; **עד** = **עזר**, as **כרב** in **אכרבן** no. 2 may = **כזב**, though **ד** = **ז** is remarkable in Aram. of the 8th cent. The reading **הרעד**, however, is uncertain; the right-hand stroke of ר in **בר** is slanting, but in the last letter of the pr. n. it is perpendicular. How **הרעד** is to be explained, if that is the correct reading, is not clear.

4

CIS ii 94. An Aram. seal of the 5th cent., Persian period. **לתמכאל** *Belonging to Tamak-el, son of Milkom*. **תמכאל** = *El holds, sustains*, again in Phoen., Cl.-Gan. *Sceaux et cachets* no. 23; the verb **תמך** *hold fast* is well known in Hebr. and is used in the Targ. The explanation suggested in the Corp. **תם פאל** *perfect as El*, is most improbable. Notice the beginning of a ligature at the foot of ר following ב.

5

Levy no. 18, p. 31. A Phoen. seal with the inscr. **לבעליתן אש** *Belonging to Ba'al-yathon, a man of the gods (?)*, *who belongs to Melqarth-reṣef*. **אש אלם** Possibly **אלם** may have a sing. meaning, as in the pr. n. **מתנאלם** (?) 33 6 n., but the expression *man of the gods* i. e. *divine servant* is unusual, and it may be more correct to render *the nobleman*; for **אלם** as a title cf. 10 2 n., and for the idiom cf. the Hebr. **איש רעים** Prov. 18 24 lit. *a man of friends*, i. e. *a friendly man*, **איש דברים** Ex. 4 10. **מ' רצף** A complex divinity; see 10 3 n. **רצף** = **רשף** 12 3 n. Date, 5th-4th cent.

6

Levy no. 7, p. 39. A seal with Hebr. inscr. לעבד אלאב בן שבעת *Belonging to the servant of Eli'ab, son of Shib'ath. The servant of Mattath, son of Sedoqa.* Here apparently two persons have combined to adopt a common seal. It is probable that עבד-אלאב are two words, *servant of Eli'ab*; and similarly עבד-מתת *servant of Mattath.* For אלאב cf. the O.T. אֱלִיאָב 1 S. 16 6. Other seals of slaves are Levy no. 8 לשבני עבד עזי and no. 9 לאביו עבד עזי. A slave does not give his genealogy; see p. 134. שבעת Cf. the O.T. יִשְׁבַּע 2 S. 20 1. מתת Prob. abbreviated from מתתיה, cf. 149 C d. צדק Cf. the O.T. צָדִק, צָדוֹק 1 K. 1 26 &c. Date, 7th-6th cent.

7

Levy no. 11, p. 42. A scarab of green jasper in Egyptian style, with Hebr. inscr. לזכר הושע *For a memorial of Hóshé'a.* The form of the ז is to be noticed; it occurs on the coins of Eliazar the priest (pp. 359 and 353). The curve in the shaft of ב is an indication of later date. The Hebr. name הושע has been found recently at Tell ej-Judeideh on a Jewish seal, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 183. Above the inscr. is engraved the figure of a winged sphinx, with the *pshent* head-dress. Date, 8th-4th cent.

8

Levy p. 54. A Hebr. seal on both sides of a crystal. On one side is engraved in Egypt. style the figure of the god Harpocrates sitting on a lotus flower; on the other is the inscr.:—לעשיו בן יוקם *Belonging to 'Asiyu, son of Yóqim.* The words are separated by small strokes. For עשיו cf. the O.T. עֲשִׂיָה 2 K. 22 12. עֲשִׂיָאֵל 1 Chr. 4 35. עֲשִׂהָאֵל 2 S. 2 18; the final יי is a fragment of יהוה, cf. עזי above, and the form עשיו on a Jewish seal, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 32. יוקם Abbrev. from יהוֹיָקִים 2 K. 23 34. Date, 5th-4th cent.

INDEX I

NORTH-SEMITIC

[The following special abbreviations are used where necessary: d. = deity, n. = noun, pr. = pronoun, pre. = preposition. The words and forms are those mentioned in the notes.]

<p>א' = ה 136. 150 א' fem. 25 א' suff. 42. 64. 94. 110. 133. 146 אב = ב 84 f. אב <i>Ab</i> 228. 253. 273 &c. אב, אבי 64. 71 אבה 175 אבהי 184 אבוהן 299 אבנם 65. 79 אבענהם 141 אבגר 309 אבד 5. 8 יהאברו 189 אבה pr. n. 200 אביטב 202 אביץ 227 אבל 25 אבן 43. 139. 143. 150 אבסלי 201 אבסת 69. 91 אברו 168. 184 f. אברוק 303 אגבר 190 אגנן 120 אגר 219. 333 f. 338 אגרת 121</p>	<p>אדיל 76 אדינת 285 f. 290 אדלן 29 אדם 35. 91. 98. 121 ארמת 154 מלכם אדן 38. 47. 51. 78. 81 (י) אדנ(י) 54. 79. 85 f. 134 אדנבעל 129. 145. 158 אדנשמש 75 אדר <i>Adar</i> 276 אדר 35. 38. 51. 60. 91. 100. 106. 129. 154 אדרטיא 340 אדרמו 250 אוישו 259 אונא 227 אושאלבעלי 259 אז pr. 26. 54. 60 אז 166. 177 אזרם 33 אזרת 59 f. אח 51. 79. 237. 246 אחת 225. 232 אחו 5. 11. 185. 190 אחיו 232 אחרה 189. 191. 217</p>	<p>(י) אחר 51. 119. 191 אחרן 209 אחתבו 201 אחתמילכת 142 אטבן 139 אטומטא 119 אי 29 איבל 33. 122 איה 169 f. 176. 178 f. איחשבר 147 איטלקא 33 איכרמא 146. 155 איל 117. 119 אינצם 108 איספן 146 איר 78. 229. 250 א(י)ש 11. 67. 78. 209. 361 את, אית 22. 82. 122. 170 איתי 223 איתיבל 248 אכרבן 360 אכל 166. 168 f. 177. 203 אכלין 110 אכסדרא 309 f. אכסניא 282 אל d. 41. 51. 165</p>
---	---	--

אלם 21. 24. 91. 96. 99. 101. 121. 154	אלתחם 11 ff.	אסרי 13
אל pr. 26. 39. 79. 128. 166	אם 46. 350. 352	אסרשמר 103
אלה 26. 231. 243	אם d. 59. 131	אעילמי 266
אלו 26. 204	אם..אם 24 f. 35. 117	אעלא 262
אלך 26. 210	אמית 234	אערא 238 f. 254 f.
אלן 26. 266	אמן 167. 180	אפא 352
אל=אל 259 f.	אמעשתרת 36	אפטרפא 288
אל=אל 245	אמר n. 120. 337	אפי 339
אלאב 362	אמר v. 12. 33. 170. 180. 206. 305	אפכלא 223. 295 f.
אלב 171	אמרשא 267	אפצא 232. 240
אלגשיא 271	אמתעשתרת 62	אפתו 231
אלה n. 175	אן neg. 13	אפתח 230. 232
אלהא d. 199. 205. 239. 244. 279. 295	אן pr. n. 91 f.	אפתיו 225. 240
אלה 170. 175. 229. 233. 239. 243. 245. 254 f. 299	אנא d. 345	אצדק 226. 230
אלה(ין) 165. 180. 185. 198. 210. 268	אנה pr. 182. 190	אצטלי 268
אלן 302	אנו pr. 243	אצלא 243
אלהו d. 165	אנו(ו) 180. 219. 234. 236. 311	אצר 176 f.
אלהו pr. n. 303	אנשי 170	אראל 11
אלהת 222. 253	אנך 6. 19. 27. 62. 93. 163. 185	ארבעי 125
אלול 215. 295. 299 f.	אנכי 19. 179	ארגבטא 289
אליית 89	אנתן 36	ארגונא 336. 340
אלכוף 225	אנף 8	ארהומיא 250
אלכסי 217	אנפי 198	ארום 56
אלכסנדרוס 279. 312. 332	אנתת(א) 228. 231. 337	ארום 231
אלם n. 49. 361	אס(י) 21. 91. 99. 213	אריבם 236
אלנם d. 21. 24. 35 f. 91. 99	אסוחא 340	ארך 24. 190
אלן 37. 51. 66. 79	אסטרביליא 339 f.	ארכוניא 264. 332
אלף n. 117. 210	אסטרטג 279	ארכתא pr. n. 64
אלף v. 219	אסטרטוריא 282	ארכתא 199. 255
אלפעל 91. 350	אסיר 21. 59. 202. 205	ארמלך 20
אלת d. 135. 158. 222. 252 f. 275 f.	אסכן 100 f.	ארן 28
אלתברש 145	אסמן 204	ארנבי 296 f.
	אסנב 176	ארנן 13
	אסף 95	ארסכסה 237
	אספסנא 272	ארסנאם 51. 79
	אספרן 193	ארעא 166. 260
	אספת 101	ארץ 41. 166
	אסר 336. 339	ארצו 295
		ארצת(א) 187
		ארק(א) 166. 183. 185. 192

- ארקרשף 167
 ארש 70. 106. 129
 אש see איש
 אש rel. 20. 46. 78. 108.
 129. 134. 349 f.
 אשוח 5. 10
 אשולכרתי 194
 אשירא 198
 אשל 47
 אשם 168. 185
 אשמן 36 f. 109
 אשמנאדני 60 f.
 אשמנעזר 33
 אשמנעמם 108
 אשמנפלם 130
 אשמנצלח 64. 101
 אשמנשלם 101
 אשנם 56. 75
 אשר rel. 5
 אשר n. 170 f. 179.
 185. 188. 194
 אשרם 150
 אשרת 50 f.
 אשתח 67
 את pr. 28. 188. 191
 את pre. 29. 33. 77
 את פן 99
 אתא 279
 אתהמו 191
 אתך 136
 אתנם 66. 89
 אתפני 276
 אתרג 358

 ב of place 183, refer-
 ence 117. 121. 224,
 time 115 & c.; upon
 5. 8, with 7. 13,
 from 99, of 54. 96,
 for 183
 בן 34
 בנם 35. 126. 128
 ב double 192
 ב for מ 33. 87
 באסלקא 275. 277
 באש 191. 206
 יהבאשו 191
 בבא 309
 בגרת 229. 250
 בר 41. 95. 134
 בדא 56. 59
 בדיל 266. 332
 בדמלקרת 44. 95. 108
 בדנם 35
 בדעשתרת 41. 95. 130
 ברץ 122
 בדתנת 133
 בוא 128
 בול d. 267. 274
 בולא 264. 266. 332
 בולחא 293. 310
 בולנורעתה 309
 בונא 267 f. 307
 בויץ 126
 בטל 335
 בטן 209
 ביד 201
 בידא 271
 בילוטא 284
 בין 234
 בי(ח) 13. 36. 96. 115.
 166. 184. 299. 307
 בחי(א) 242 f.
 בת אלנם 36. 96
 בת במת 13
 בת דבלתן 14
 בל d. 101. 248. 269.
 297
 בל Bul 32. 55. 76
 בל neg. 33
 בלגרי 179
 בלחר 235 f.
 בלל 121. 125
 בלל pr. n. 139
 בלעדהן 234
 בלעקב 284. 305
 בלת 29
 בלתי 21
 במת 6
 בן 19. 36. 79
 בנה 9 f.
 בני 341
 בנה 33. 36. 41. 47. 51.
 66. 139. 158. 167.
 215. 257
 בן 36
 בנהבל 257
 בנחדש 63. 89. 100
 בנת pr. n. 202
 בססא 225
 בעוד 17
 בעל, בעל d. 102. 218.
 260
 ב' בית 180
 ב' חמן 104. 133. 145
 ב' ימם 69
 ב' לבנן 54
 ב' מדבח 222
 ב' מען 7. 10. 14
 ב' פער 7
 ב' צרן 37. 99. 102
 ב' צר 74. 102. 218
 ב' שמם 45 f. 101.
 108. 282. 295 f.
 ב' תרוז 343 ff.
 בעל owner
 ב' הזבח 118 f.
 ב' חרש 129 f.
 ב' כסף 183
 ב' כפירי 177
 ב' רכב 177
 citizen 50. 142
 בעלחנא 108. 131. 134

- בעלמלך 347 f.
 בעלצלח 42
 בעלרם 71. 74
 בעלשלך 107
 בעלשלם 81. 101
 בעלת d. 20. 131
 גבל ב' 20. 218
 ב' החדרת 131
 בעמלקרת 142
 בער 67
 בעשא 267
 בצר 13
 בצרא 239. 285
 בקע 5
 בקרב 5
 בקש 149
 בר adv. 339
 בר n. 163 &c.
 בר, בת חרי 134.
 249 f. 298. 338
 בנוהי 246. 306
 בני 271 f. 282. 293 f.
 303. 306
 בניהם 256
 ברזל 139
 ברך pr. n. 146. 156
 ברך v. 43. 47. 200.
 205
 בריך 258. 297. 300
 בריכי 266 f.
 ברכבא 359
 ברמנהון 294
 ברעתא 250
 ברפא 298
 ברצר 175
 ברק 299 f.
 בררכב 165. 175. 179.
 182
 ברת 220
 בנת(ה) 178. 229
 בשימא 336
- בתזבי 292
 בתכת 23
 בתר 338
 גאלת 356. 358
 גבא 333. 335. 339
 גבל pr. n. 19 ff. 350.
 352
 גבל 39. 85
 גבר 5. 12. 197
 גברתה 171
 גברד 360
 גר 79. 157. 245. 269.
 311
 גרא 120
 גריו 255
 גרלו 250 f.
 גרעת 79
 גר 96. 98
 גוא 242. 339
 גוחיא 237. 242
 גול 105
 גומחא 237. 310 f.
 גויאת 237
 גול 33
 גלב 67. 79
 גלגל 178. 183
 גלדיא 340
 גלהמו 228
 גללא 334
 גלף 205
 גם 8. 166. 176. 179
 גמל 335
 גמר 171
 גנב 170
 גניא 242 f.
 גף 213
 גר 12. 63. 67 f. 305
 גרבא 274
 גרגם 178 f.
 גרמאלבעלי 260
- גרמאלהי 259
 גרמטום 264. 282. 332
 גרמלקרת 63
 גרסכן 130
 גרעשתרת 84. 130
 גרצר 91
 גרש 13
 גשם 255
 גת 223
 ד 285
 דנר = ד 336
 דה, דא 26. 214
 דאר 38
 דבר v. 33. 280
 ידברנך 35
 דבר n. 17. 104
 דגמא 332
 דדא 301
 דהנא 336
 דודה 11
 דוקרנא 288
 דושרא 21. 218
 די 266. 282. 333
 דיבן 6. 13
 דילה 256
 דין 204
 דכר 258
 דכרן 234. 243. 260
 דל 117. 121. 128.
 130
 דל(הת) 46 f. 67. 87
 דלה 169
 דמי 225
 דמין 262
 דמכו 348
 דמשק 179
 דנאל 301
 דנה 26
 דנרין 274. 337. 339
 דעם 44. 94. 101

- דעמצלח 94
 דערבן 155
 דקלן 198
 דרכמונים 96
 דרכנם 96 f.
 דרת 153
 דשמוי 45

 ה art. 6. 21 f.
 ה' suff. 8. 79. 185
 ה' fem. 25
 ה for א 188. 219
 הא 5. 24. 78. 168. 339
 הו 224. 336
 הם 12. 243
 אנו 243
 המו 209. 243
 המת 36. 39. 85
 הא זא 198
 הבלו 223. 257
 הגם 194
 הרד 164. 168. 360
 הרדינא 263. 335
 הוא v.
 הות 175
 הוית 176
 הוו 333
 הויא 340
 הון 335
 יהן 337
 הום 191
 הושע 362
 היגמונא 279
 היה, הית 17
 ה(י)כלא 282. 334
 הלו 203
 הלך 12. 17. 209
 ה' suff. 39. 184 f.
 209. 221. 253
 ה' suff. 191. 203
 הן 170. 234

 הנאו 240. 249
 הנכת 142 f.
 הנם 188. 191
 הפטיקא 264. 287
 הפך 337
 הפסתיון 226
 הפקא 284. 289
 הפרכא 231. 240
 הפרכיה 260 f.
 הר 129
 הרארד 361
 הרג 5. 171. 175 f. 185
 הרם 13
 השלכן 8
 התנאבו 183 f.

 ו conv. 5. 17. 39.
 118 f. 122. 124
 ו with impf. 217 f.
 ו' suff. 8. 16
 ואלו, ואלת 106 f. 221.
 236
 ואלן 230
 ואעש 5
 ואשב 11 f.
 ורד 169. 185
 והבאלהי 224. 240
 והבו 232. 303
 והבלת 222. 291 f.
 וטרן 336. 338
 ויענו 8
 ורוד 284. 287
 ורוסן 146
 ושונש 194
 ושתי 229
 ות 170. 185
 ותרא 245

 ז, ז 26. 165
 זא, זאת, זת 6. 26.
 143. 168. 209

 זברלא 273. 279. 303
 זברנבו 295
 זברת 256
 זבח v. 107. 121. 146.
 168
 זבח n. 119 ff. 124
 זבחששם 59
 זבי 273. 291
 זב(י)רא 266. 271. 291.
 295
 זבן v. 203. 209. 219.
 233. 334. 336 f.
 זבן n. 280. 332. 335
 זדה 17.
 זרקתא 292
 זוד 274
 זוזין 283
 זי 164. 185. 192. 194.
 346 f. 360
 זיבקם 73. 107
 זיו 78
 זכר v. 168
 זכר n. 170 f. 180. 185.
 362
 זכרו 171
 זלת 177
 זמנ(ין) 248. 257.
 זנ, זנה 26. 185. 187.
 210
 זער 213
 זקין 336
 זר 120. 170
 זרע 25. 29. 168
 זררי 166

 אח=ח' 53. 110. 131
 חבו 225
 חביבו 225. 240
 חבל v. 197
 חבל 311
 חבר v. 310

חבר n. 116. 145 f. 354	חליקת 220. 225	מחרם 198. 220. 230
חברטים 204	חלך 344. 346 f.	מחרמתא 256 f.
חגנו 276. 303	חלם 203	חרם n. 225. 243. 268
חגר 129	חלף 8. 99. 209. 236	חרם pr. n. 53
חגרא 236	חלפאלהי 115	חרמו pr. n. 221
חד 170. 176. 183	חלצת 260	חרץ 22 f. 76. 96. 98. 128
חדרת 126. 131	חמלגו 230	חרש 67. 72 f. 130. 139
חדש v. 74. 105. 130. 256	חמלכת 158	חרשא 284
חדש n. 66. 84. 86	חמלר 131	חרתת 215 &c. 250 f.
חוא 142	חמלת 228. 231	חרתתי 223
תחו 24	חמם 203	חשב 149. 339
אחיי 255	חמן 50 f. 104	חשבן 338. 340
(חור) 200. 232. 236	חמנא 104. 299	חשיארש 201
חורנן 14	חמם 169	חשש 293
חושבו 225	חמר 213. 305	חתי 303
חות 135	חמרא 336	חתם 100
חותו 240	חן 24. 87. 91	חתפי 202
חזה 190. 203. 210. 333	חנא v. 168. 178	
חזיר 341	חנא pr. n. 94. 107	טב 184. 190. 259. 295
חזענם 71	חנוטם 108	טבארשא 158
חזת 120	חנינו 226. 245	טבע 44
חטבת 231	חנן 36	טבת 221
חטה 166. 176. 338	חנת 153. 337	טוריא 242 f.
חטישו 245	חסגם 110. 157	טנא 115. 142. 147. 150. 158
חטר 165	חסיה 206	טינא 158
חטרמסכר 154. 156	חסך 274. 280	יטנא 58 f. 64. 79. 84. 98
חיטמו 259	חסתמח 201	טעון 335 f.
חם 62. 64. 79. 81. 86. 91. 147 f. 189. 199. 245 f. 256. 295	חפי 202	טעמא 250
חיר 78. 129	חפצבעל 92	טעמתא 339
חירן 266. 285	חצב 17	
חירתא 304	חצרת 153	י Ifil 58
חית 85	חקלא 198	י' impf. 168 f.
חלב 117. 121	חקק 171. 185	י' suff. 41 f. 58. 64. 79. 104. 119
חלבבה 165. 168	חרב 176. 261	יא 126
חלדו 256	חרג 243	יאר 163 f. 175. 177 f.
חל(י)פו 230. 234. 276. 302 f.	חרות 358 f.	יאל 106
	חרז 128. 155	
	חרטית 128	
	חריא 288	
	חרישא 243	
	חרם v. 5. 12	

- יאנא 225
 יבל n. 119 f. 180
 יבל v. 176. 180
 יבש (א) 300. 340
 ידא 278. 289
 ידי 273
 ידיעבל 299. 303
 יהב 213. 225. 235
 יהודים 353 ff.
 יהוחנן 353 ff.
 יהץ 12
 יהרבעל 19
 יובעי 149
 יוסה 342
 יוקם 362
 יחא 276
 יחומלך 19
 יחנבעל 130
 יטב 183
 ילד 217
 ילל 146
 ים 86. 125
 9 ימה
 55. 58 f. 74. 78
 ימא 300
 ימנתיא 337
 יסך 136
 יסף 13 f. 24. 39
 יעזר 107
 יעלי 262
 יעמרו 247 f.
 יעסכתען 142. 156
 יעצאתען 142
 יערן 13
 יפא 38
 יצאם 77
 יצלת 118
 יר 37. 139
 ירד 155
 ירושלם 356 ff.
- ירח 85. 129
 ירחבול (א) 267. 280 f. 295 f. 299. 303
 ירחי 280. 282. 302
 ירפאל 361
 ירש 5. 8
 ירת 230
 ישב 9. 91. 176. 179. 185
 ישע 5 ff.
 ישראל 356
 ישר (ן) 36. 171
 ית 170. 279
 יתכה 169
 יתמר 166
 יתן 38
 85 יתת
 122 נתן
 יתנבל 101
 יתר 167
 יתרה 176
- כי = כא 136. 146
 כבר (ו) 167. 177 f. 185
 כברת 48 f.
 כהי 202
 כהילו 217. 306
 כהלן 230
 כהן 27. 85. 101. 129. 150. 353 ff.
 כול 338
 כומן 204
 כון 29. 35. 39. 51. 79. 118. 124
 כונא 225
 כות 280
 כזי 194. 210. 276. 282. 338
 כטל 189
 כיבי 209
- כיחך 213
 כיסה 275. 302
 כיצא 184 f.
 כל 179. 203. 234. 243
 . . כלה 229
 כל מה 184 f. 335
 כלאי 13
 כלאפתר 86
 כלבא 237 f.
 כלבם 67 ff.
 כלי 12
 כליבת 221
 כלירכא 226
 כלך 343 f.
 כלל 117 f. 124
 כלמו 184
 כם' suff. 170
 כמאש 24. 51. 128 f.
 כמב 352
 כמולת 246
 כמכם 221
 כמר 126. 146. 187. 199. 252
 כמרא pr. n. 293 f. 303
 כמש 7
 כמשגד 6
 כמשכן 6
 כנה 98
 כנון 32. 294. 306. 310
 כנונא 277
 כנזרמן 145
 כנסאען 145
 כנען 349 f.
 כנפרם 78 f.
 כנש v. 209
 כנש 145 f.
 כסאם 86
 כסלול 288
 כסף 43. 88. 118. 124. 136. 302
 כעבו 218

בען 203	לחודוהי 236	מבקע 12
כפיו 225	לחיתו 248	מגר 268. 283
כפירי 166 f. 177	לחם 126	מגדת pr. n. 299
כפרא 219. 224	לחש 210	מגמר 225
כפתא 296	לטרים 110	מגן 275
כר 88	לילה, לילא 12. 169. 185	מגן pr. n. 92
כרך 272	לילעי 145	מדי 332. 334. 338 f.
כרכא 242. 272. 274	ליש 184 f.	מדיא 338. 340
כרסים 61. 74. 183	לכא 279	מדיתא 266. 281 f. 291
כרצי 206	לכד 69	מדנחא 237
כרר 77. 146	לכנ 99	מד(ת) 38 f. 86. 122.
כשירא 340	למה=לם 39. 134	155
כתב v. 98. 122. 148.	למא 311	מה . . מן 234
154. 230. 334	למב' 62. 79. 119. 129	מהרבא 8
כתב n. 217. 220. 224	למחת 97	מהוי 307
(י) כת 56. 66. 78. 352	למנא 335	מהרבעל 108 f.
כתש 171	למען 191	מודא 300 f.
	לספת 42	מודרי 169
ל pre. 32. 122. 347.	לעי 171	מוט 337
358. 360	לען v. 218. 221	מוכרו 177
ל=לו 149	לען before 24. 91	מוצא 17. 49. 178
לם 35. 119	לפט 85	מוקא 178. 185
להם 184	לפי 122	מות 189. 236
ל=אל 259	לפני 5. 11	מומת 169
ל=לא 190	לפסי 111	ממתתה 191
ל' impf. 169. 171. 185	לקח 126. 206	מותב 199. 221 f. 243.
לא 203	לקרת 17	255
(א) לאדכ 46. 349	לשמש 275	מזבח 56. 81. 100. 110
לאל 275	לשן 166	מזדי 42. 346 f.
לאמר 33		מזל 82.
לב' 121	מ=מה 165. 168. 190	מוזנן 149
לבוא 145	ם suff. 39	מזרח 121. 145 f. 153.
לבנן 128. 132	מאאא 149	157
לבנת 126	מאזנם 128	מח 126
לגיונא 285	מאכסמום 312	מחה 97
ל'=לה' 147. 158	מאן 191. 213	מחזת 153
להן 197. 219. 233. 236.	מנם 29. 34. 128	מחיר 201
243	מארח 109	מחנת 178
לו . . לו 177	מאש 158	מחסר 119
לולב 358	מאת(ן) 13. 129. 229	מחצב 107
לחה 189	מבנת 96	מחרת 12

- מט 36
 מטבח 130
 מטלכות 280. 333
 מטנא 91
 מיומם 122
 מילל 149
 מ(י)ן 13. 206. 311.
 337
 מיקם אלם 149
 מישר 149
 מיתא 306
 מיתותא 279
 מכל 67. 76. 89
 מכסא 126. 332 f. 337
 מכפון 145. 149
 מכתערם 142
 מלא 275
 מלאך 48
 מל(א)כת 24. 67. 128
 מלח 338
 מלחת pr. n. 278
 מלטא 336
 מלך d. 49. 154
 מלכ(א) n. 116. 149.
 192. 225. 238. 348
 מלך אדם 137 f.
 מלך מלכם 38. 201.
 205. 290
 מלך v. 176
 מלכי 32 f. 40. 76 f.
 מלכבל 268 ff. 297.
 299. 302 f.
 מלכבעל 104
 מלכו n. 179. 185
 מלכו pr. n. 239 f. 253
 f. 257
 מלכיון 226
 מלכיתן 56. 74. 76. 111.
 348
 מלכם 361
 מלכעשתרת 49. 104
- מלכרם 360
 מלכת d. 135
 מלכת n. 246
 מלין 61. 74
 מלקרת 74. 84. 102.
 109
 מלקרתרצף 361
 ממלהת 110
 ממלכת 21. 34 ff. 149
 pr. 167 f. 188. 191
 pre. 167 f. 230.
 256. 332 f.
 מן די 294
 מ(נ)דעם 205 f. 243.
 282. 333 f.
 מנה 192
 מנ(ו)עת 227. 234. 255
 מנותו 219
 מנחם 71. 89
 מנחת 42. 87 f. 117.
 121. 124. 155
 מנין 47. 250
 מנע 169
 מנקצת 92
 מסגרא 238. 248. 255
 מסגרת 176
 מסהבא 145
 מסולי 157
 מסך 33
 מסכר 42. 154
 מספנתה 23
 מעזין 295
 מעיוש 342
 מעיתי 305
 מעל(א) 36. 155
 מען 309
 מענן 199
 מעריש 145
 מערת 131. 242. 308.
 310
 מפע 40. 85
- מצבת 60. 62. 98. 139.
 147
 מצלח 136
 מצעה 170. 177. 183
 מצרם 91. 209
 מקבר(תא) 242. 244.
 247
 מקדש 105. 115. 130.
 148
 מקימאל 214
 מקימו 214. 266
 מקם 167
 מקמו 276
 מקנא 121
 מר d. 65. 109
 מרא 178. 209. 225.
 243. 255. 287 f.
 295 f.
 מרת 287. 293
 מראגרא 311
 מרוח 95. 121 f. 303
 מרחשון 32
 מריחי 65. 79
 מרפא 58
 מרקע 75
 מרקש 179
 מרתי 256. 278
 משאנך 84
 משאתת 115
 משבת 175
 משות 180
 משה(א) 210. 336
 משך 225. 230
 משכב 29. 34. 62. 72.
 341
 משכי 179
 משל 71. 84
 משליים 149
 משמעת 14
 משע 6
 משפן 85

- משקל 88. 110. 118 f.
 משריתא 248. 282. 304
 משרת 97
 משת 176
 משתתף 338
 מת 167. 176. 185
 מתא 155
 מתא pr. n. 266
 מתבול 294
 מתנ(א) 46. 303
 מתת(יה) 355. 362
- נ demonstr. 29. 34 f.
 39 f. 209
 נ' du. pl. 5. 10. 39
 נאספת 95
 נאתת 240
 נבה 7. 12
 נבובר 288
 נבזבד 296. 303
 נבטו 215 f. 225
 נביות 215 f.
 נבש 168. 179
 נדבה 171
 נדר 79. 157. 245
 נדרבול 301
 נהירא 285. 287. 292
 נוח 100
 נונא 337
 נורבל 307
 נורי 303
 נחם 204
 נחמי 79
 נחן 36
 נחשא 256
 נחשת 22. 54. 87
 נחת n. 62. 72
 נחת v. 210. 271 f.
 נטראל 254
 ניסן 218
 ניעטמן 146
- נבל 188
 נם suff. 39
 נמוסא 332. 340
 נמעתי 206
 נסה 189. 197
 נסחת 235
 נסכם 139
 נעם 82. 84. 147. 149
 נף 92
 נפק 199. 210. 335 f.
 338 f.
 יהנפק 199
 נפקתה 212
 נפש 69. 199. 214. 247.
 312
 נפת 126
 נצב n. 103 f. 108. 164.
 175. 180
 נצב v. 111. 166. 253
 נצח 76
 נצר 189
 נקבה 17
 נקידו 250
 נקיה 213
 נרב 187
 נרגל 101
 נרנך 85
 נרקים 298
 נשא n. 96. 98. 358
 נשא v. 13. 99
 נשא pr. n. 293. 299.
 332
 נשיב 234
 נשך 188
 נשנכיה 229
 נתך 169
 נתן 38. 166 f. 169.
 210. 217
- ז=ס 156
 סבג 145
- סגר 35. 39
 סדקיא 264. 266. 312.
 335
 סוית 126
 סוסיא 262
 סותא 197
 סחב 11
 סחה 25
 סיון 289
 סבן d. 100. 130
 סבן n. 53
 סבר n. 47. 84. 147
 סבר v. 88
 סלדיא 156
 סלוקום 283
 סלמת 75
 סלעין 223. 225
 סלק 272. 275. 333 f.
 סמדת 87
 סמיתא 302
 סמכא 242
 סמל(ת) 58. 74. 76.
 154
 סנקלטיקא 264. 266.
 285. 312
 ססטרטין 338
 ססם 62
 ססמי 81
 סעד 168
 סף 43 f.
 ספא 281
 ספון 338
 ספטמיום 285. 287 f.
 290 f. 293
 ספק 149
 ספר 67
 סרבנין 333
 סריק 340
 סרן 205
 סרסא 360
 סרסרם 70 f.

- סתריא 193
 ע' fem. 25
 עבר v. 166. 221. 287
 עבר n. 49 f. 53. 183.
 362
 עבר בת 58
 עבראבסת 69
 עבראלם 46
 עבראסר 59. 62. 64.
 79. 91. 103
 עברארש 129
 עברבול 274
 עברחרתת 226
 עברלאי 129
 עברמלך 62
 עברמלכו 250
 עברססם 62. 79
 עברעבת 224
 עברעשתר(ת) 72. 352
 עברפמי 75
 עברת pr. n. 239. 244
 עבירו 230. 304
 עבירח 242. 248. 332
 עבנת 142 f.
 עבר 42
 עברנהרא 346 f.
 עברתא 248
 עבת 356
 עגא 283
 עגילו 303
 עגלכול 301 ff.
 עגלת 72 f. 302
 עדורו 255
 עדיה 201
 עדר 272
 עוד v. 305
 עודו pr. n. 303
 עוע 141. 150
 עות 309
 עז 81. 336
 עזבעל 347. 350.
 עזיוז 283. 295 f.
 עזמלך 44
 עזר pr. n. 71. 77
 עזרתבעל 74
 עחרנפי 213
 עטהר 63
 עטר 96. 154
 עטרת 10
 עידא 333
 עידו 217. 240
 עין 13
 עיר v. 230
 עיר 223. 234
 עכבר 130
 על over 96. 98. 115.
 130. 146, upon 226.
 237. 311, beyond
 122, for 79. 213.
 295, because of 250
 על פן 22. 118. 122.
 128
 עלא adv. 219 f. 230.
 247
 עלא v. 146
 על[א]רה 14
 עלי(י) pr. n. 256. 332
 עלינא pr. n. 277
 עלל v. 309. 335 f. 338.
 340
 עלם youth 164. 336.
 338
 עלימיא 335
 עלמת 70
 עלימתא 340
 עלם n. 128
 עלמא eternity 295 ff.
 300. 307
 עלצא 136
 עלת upon 24. 28. 35.
 39. 97. 126
 עלתא 299. 304
 עם 154. 215. 245. 253.
 256
 ע' גול 105. 107
 ע' צדן 95
 ע' צר 47
 ע' קרתחדשת 134
 kinsman 245. 253
 עם pre. 223. 253. 282
 עמ(ו)ד 23. 275
 עמנר 223
 עמם 34. 121. 124
 עמק 155
 עמר n. 280. 338
 עמרן pr. n. 199
 עמרת 136
 עמת 154
 ען אש 98
 ענא 304
 ענה v. 209. 300
 ענישו 246
 ענמו 237. 304
 ענש 122
 ענת 80 f.
 עסר 32. 225
 עפל 13
 עפרת 136
 עצמת 39
 עקב 69
 ערב 98 f.
 ערביא 261
 ערה v. 39
 ערכותא 242 f.
 ערכת 106
 ערער 13
 ערפן 339
 ערפת 23. 48. 98
 ערק 89
 ערשא 199. 296
 ערת 22 f. 119. 155
 עשביא 340

עשיו 362	פלט 175	פתח n. 22 f.
עשרתא 264. 333	פלכש 141	פתלמים 51. 78. 81. 84
עשתורגא 309	פלס 130	
עשתר pr. n. 271	פם 170. 184	צבו 262. 272. 294. 333
עשתר כמש 7. 12. 49	פמו 165. 190	צבת v. 309
עשתרת 27 f. 50. 91.	פמי 75	צבתי n. 203
99. 127	פמייתן 55. 58. 349	צד d. 91
ע' שם בעל 37	פמן 201	צד n. 117. 120
עת 106. 115.	פן בעל 37. 106. 132 f.	צידא 194
עתה 79. 269 f.	פנמו 163. 176	צדיתי 91
עתיק 274	פנת 124	צדמבעל 105 f.
עתנורי 303	פם 122	צדן 91. 95. 134. 213
עתנתן 306	פסלא 226	צדנם 46. 54. 95.
עטרעתה 28. 269 f.	פעל 23. 43	350. 352
עֶתֶר 28. 269	פעלתן 20.	צדנת 101
	פעל נעם 24. 51	צדק v. 197
פ=פ 165. 185. 223.	פעלאבסת 91	צדק n. 25. 86. 180.
309	פעלת 69. 74	183. 190
פ=אף 153	פעם d. 55	צדקתא 197 f.
פא=פ 168. 171	פעם n. 47. 119. 130	צדקא pr. n. 362
פאפי 212	פצאל 246. 309	צדקמלך 349
פגמלין 55	פציו 259	צדתנת 133
פגרין 339	פציץ 243	צהותא 242. 245
פהלא 141 f.	פקד 74 f.	צהרם 12
פונש 209	פקדון 243	צועת 117 f. 124
פוק 28	פקת 88	צחא 204. 213
פחד 299	פר 36. 126	צידא pr. n. 299
פחי 178	פרון 231	צידו 256. 299
פמחרפחרט 204	פרכם 67	ציון 356. 358
פטמון 245	פרנאי 282	ציוען 147
פטנתר 205	פרנבז 343 f.	צלחר 253
פטסרי 197. 204	פרנך 298	צלם 106. 196 f. 199
פטפלא 337	פרנס 282. 294	צלמתא 278. 292
פטר 91 f.	פרס 176	צלמשזב 197
פי 177	פרסי 71	צמח 86
פינתא 213	פרע 338	צעד 245
פלג 46. 210	פרש 304	צענה 213
פלדלף 79	פשק 339	צער 129. 210
פלהדרותא 264. 332	פשש 177	צפלי 49
פלו 167	פתורא 226	צפר 120
פלחא 286	פתח v. 28. 35. 311	צפרא pr. n. 277

- צץ 117. 120
 צר d. 175
 צר n. 170
 צר Tyre 43 f. 46. 51.
 54. 74. 352
 צרב איל 117. 120
 צריחא 237. 242

 קבל 193. 309 f.
 קבר v. 142 f. 217
 קבר n. 341
 קדם adv., pre. 86. 190.
 260
 קדם(ח) 120. 126. 177.
 257. 332
 קדר 215
 קדש v. 81
 קדש 120. 126. 154.
 350. 352. 356
 קום 170
 קים 217. 236. 300
 הקם 164. 179. 271.
 281. 291. 339
 מקמו 276
 קחון 295
 קטין 203
 קטרי 312
 קטרת 126
 קיומה 289
 קימא 209
 קינו 229. 231
 קיניא 289
 ק(י)סר 249. 252. 262.
 288
 קיר 5. 11. 14. 166
 קיר חרש 7
 קישא 219. 235
 קל(א) 94. 104. 110. 133
 קלבי 212
 קלדים 252. 268
 קלול 213

 קלניא 279
 קלקים 249. 338
 קנאם 148
 קנמי 33 f.
 קנס 223. 235
 קסנתן 234
 קפא 66
 קצבא 339
 קציו 252 ff.
 קצץ 39
 קצרת 118. 124
 קר 67
 קרא 21. 24. 155. 167.
 252
 מתקרא 256. 283.
 307
 קרב 295. 268. 360
 קרבחא 201 f.
 קרבולון 340
 קרחא 7
 קרטסטא 291. 293
 קריא 339
 קרית 11
 קריתון 10
 קרל 163. 167. 176
 קרני 119
 קרם 335
 קרתחדשת 53. 69. 134
 קשט v. 311
 קשטא 312
 קשטון 338
 קתל 177

 רב=ר 106. 115
 ראה 5. 8
 ראשת 54
 רב 42. 70 f. 84. 101.
 106. 129. 153. 280
 רבת 21. 36. 58 f.
 91. 99. 127. 131 f.
 135. 158. 213

 רבאל 239. 250 f. 255
 רבאסירא 334
 רבבת pr. n. 303
 רבונת 273
 רבע 190
 ר' שלשת 237
 רבעתארק 178. 183
 רברבן 183. 185
 רבת pr. n. 312
 רגז 28. 169
 רגינא 250
 רגל 335 f. 338
 רהן 219
 רוחו 253. 304
 רומא 235. 237
 רופו 225
 רוץ 183
 רזאין 280
 רחם d. 276
 רחם 245. 266. 288.
 300 f. 305
 ר' עמה 215. 245.
 256
 רחמנא 295. 300
 רחמת 5. 12
 רית 5. 11
 רכב 177
 רכבאל 165. 183. 302
 רע 17
 רעי 285
 רעם 69
 רעת 97 f. 150
 רפא 110
 רפאם 29 f. 35
 רפי 177
 רצו 233. 296
 רצוא 232 f.
 רצף 361
 רקי 167 f. 185
 רש n. 13. 264. 285
 רש pr. n. 111. 147

רשי v. 170. 234. 236	שיע אלקום 255. 304	שמש d. 75. 101. 104.
רשף 56 f. 67. 165	שירתא 271 f.	165. 188. 222.
ר' אליית 89	שכב 148	267. 269. 276.
ר' חץ 56 f.	שכוחו 238	297 f. 299
ר' מכל 76. 79. 89	שכיתית 280	שמש v. 279. 283
רשפיתן 61. 74	שכרא 295. 304	שמש n. 29
ש 108. 110 f. 129. 139.	שלה v. 210	שמשגנרם 298. 311
147. 187. 190	שלו 223	שן num. 103
שא 355	שלחא 340	שנא v. 243
שאה 176	שלי 232. 240	שנגלא 198
שאילא 283	שלימת 234	שנה n. 169
שאר 118 f. 203	שלך 107	שנזרבן 187
שבא 268	שלכי 158	שני 42
שבט 225. 302 f.	שלם v. 81. 99. 111	שנת 175. 267
שבי 177	שלם n. 67. 117 f. 124.	שח 5 f. 40 f. 47. 51.
שבלת 150	203. 258 ff.	78. 95. 106. 110.
שבעי 175	שלם pr. n. 79. 84	115 f. 130. 148.
שבעת 362	שלמו 220. 225. 234	196
שבת pr. n. 268	שלמלת 275	שנת pl. 32. 40 f.
שג(י)א 203. 280. 332	שלמן d. 42	55. 85. 141
שגית 85	שלמן pr. n. 299	שעדאלהי 361
שגל 309	שלשן 176. 185	שעדלת 304
שד 37 f. 85	שם n. 47. 190. 197 f.	שעודת 234. 246
שדא 339	297. 300	שע(י)דו 234. 260. 288
שדק 14	שם בעל 37. 106.	שעלדיא 142
שהר 187 f.	132	שערה 166. 176
שוען 309	שמאל 182 f.	שערם 13. 138
שוק 280	שמדין 223	שפח 121
שורה 176	שמזבל 71	שפט 44. 63. 100. 106.
שוב 197. 255	שמי 166	110. 115 f. 129 f.
שח 125	שמם 45. 157	146. 157.
שחרבעל 147	שממאדרם 36	שצף 120
שחת 170. 175	שמן num. 77	שקד 126
שטיפתא 336	שמן n. 120 f.	שקוף 342
שמר 47. 228. 240.	שמע 24	שקילת 246
243. 334	שמעא 58	שקל 118. 176. 356
שטרב 176	שמעבעל 96	שקלן pr. n. 147
שים 104. 170. 180.	שמעון 278. 358 f.	שקון 309
191. 197	שמר 72. 107. 148	שרדל 61
שימתא 198	שמרג 179	שרדן 111
	שמרת 129	שרה 194. 212 f.

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| שריכו 277 f. 312 | תחומא 335. 339 | תמנחא 205 |
| שריתא 275. 295 | תחפי 205 | תמניא num. 337 |
| שרן 12. 41 | תחת 29. 35 | תמש 56 |
| שרר 332. 334 | תטלילא 276 | תנא 243 f. |
| שרש 36 | תידרוס 272 | תנן, תנה 194. 279 |
| שתא 168. 305 | תימא 197 | תנת 37. 127 f. 132 f. |
| שתוא 184 | תימניא 225. 229 | תנתלו 259 |
| | תימאלהי 228. 262. | תסהרא 209 |
| | 269 | תע 27 |
| ת = אית 147. 149 f. | תימו 237. 303 | תעבת 29 |
| 155 | תימי 269 | תעת 153 |
| ת' fem. 5. 25 | תימעמד 303 | תצביתא 277. 282. |
| תאר 38 | תימצא 307 | 302 |
| תבא 205 | תימרצו 233. 273. 303 | תקל 209 |
| תבנת 27. 33 | תין 126 | תקן 291 |
| תברת 124 | תירא 301 | תקף 217. 231 |
| תגלתפלסר 178. 183. | תבלת 47. 66 | תרדמו 344 f. |
| 188 | תלה 210 | תריבזו 344 |
| תגמא 287. | תלתת 262 | תרין 237 |
| תגרא 271. 287. 333 | תלתין 237 | תרויהון 266 |
| תדמר 263. 335 | תם 95 | תרת(א) 247. 282 |
| תדמריא 268. 284 | תמה 206 | תשמיש 337 |
| תהך 209 | תמכאל 361 | תשרי 252. 283 |
| תורא 238 | | |

INDEX II

ARABIC

أ conj. iv 58	برم 294	داص 122
اثر 50	بغى 115	دحق 309
اثنان 56	بلثى 21	دعم 44
اخذ 11	تار 242	ديبان 6
اخر 191	تدمر 263. 284	ذا 168
ارسوف 57	تكة 136	ذريح 237
ارض 166	تيم الله 228. 237. 269	ذو 45. 218
ارة 11. 56	تين 126	ذو الشرى 218
ارى 11	تاء 242	ذو الخلصة 260
اريكة 255	جار 63. 305	راس 285
اسم 168	جثة 223	رب العالمين 296
اصل 243	جدعان 79	رجل 335
اقتعل conj. viii 11	جرم 259	رحام 276
افكل 223	جمر 225	رزاء 280
اقتال conj. viii 13	جنة 120	رضاء 167. 233. 273
اكرم 155	حرج 243	رضى 97. 167
آل 245	حرس 243	رعو 98
الحجر 214. 236	حرم 12. 220	رعى 97 f.
العلى 214	حور 200	رهن 219
الف 219	حير 304	زبد 271
اللات 222	حية 135	زبل 71.
امر 120. 337	خبين 143	زرم 33
امهات 47	خرط 128	زنجيرلو 163
اناء ,انى 225	خزن 71 f.	سجد 238
ايا 22	خلف 8. 230. 234	سحب 11
باب 309	خلة 33	سرسور 70 f.
بابة 212	خليقة 220	سك 33
باس 191	دار 153	سلاح 340
باع 115		
برا 124		

- سلام 252
 سلك 8. 107
 سمرة 129
 سيارة 271
 شتاء 184
 شلو 223
 شهر 187
 شيع القوم 304
 صدقة 197
 سعد 245
 صلحة 253
 صهوة 242
 صوة 197
 ضحك 184
 ضرر 170
 ضريح 237
 ضهوة 242
 طار 242
 ظلم 106. 196
 عشر 187
 عدى 201
 عسقلان 187
 علاوة 28
 عاص 136
 عم 245
 عمر 199
 عمران 199
 غرفة 23
 غضر 239
 غير 223. 230. 234
 ف 165. 217
 فخذ 299
 فرمان 294
 فص 243
 فلت 177
 فما ذا 165
 قالب 212
 قتل 177
 قلة 213
 قيس 219
 قين 229
 كان 79
 كبر 48
 كرجين 163
 كرسي 61
 كسوة 126
 كفر 219
 كلا, كلان 13
 كله 179
 كنى 98
 كيهك 213
 ل 47. 169
 لحي 189
 لعن 218. 223
 ليس 184
 ليل 169
 ما 184
 ما 234
 ما 8
 مائتان 13
 مجانا 275
 مجد 268
 محرمة 198
 مسمار 87
 معن الله 199
 مكثر 142
 ملحت 278
 من البيان 230
 منازل 82
 مناة 219
 نباوة 12
 ندب 171
 نسخة 235
 نسيب 234
 نصب 103
 نقب 17
 نيرب 187
 هبر 124
 هبل 223. 257
 هجم 197
 هد 164
 هذا 198
 هذا الذى 78
 هوى 176
 وائل 106
 وثب 243
 ودّ 169
 وصب 38
 وصر 38
 وصل 118
 وضا 166
 وضع 38
 وهب 224
 -ين 13

INDEX III

SYRIAC

ܐܚܝܢ 309
 ܐܚܝܢ 333
 ܐܚܝܢ 340
 ܐܚܝܢ 227
 ܐܚܝܢ 209
 ܐܚܝܢ 55
 ܐܚܝܢ 248
 ܐܚܝܢ 338
 ܐܚܝܢ 206
 ܐܚܝܢ 120. 337
 ܐܚܝܢ 12
 ܐܚܝܢ 228
 ܐܚܝܢ 336
 ܐܚܝܢ 271
 ܐܚܝܢ 237. 336
 ܐܚܝܢ 296
 ܐܚܝܢ 296
 ܐܚܝܢ 332
 ܐܚܝܢ 338
 ܐܚܝܢ 184
 ܐܚܝܢ 190
 ܐܚܝܢ 339
 ܐܚܝܢ 293
 ܐܚܝܢ 335
 ܐܚܝܢ 307
 ܐܚܝܢ 225
 ܐܚܝܢ 298
 ܐܚܝܢ 170
 ܐܚܝܢ 340

ܐܚܝܢ 242
 ܐܚܝܢ 298
 ܐܚܝܢ 32
 ܐܚܝܢ 301
 ܐܚܝܢ 336
 ܐܚܝܢ 243
 ܐܚܝܢ 311
 ܐܚܝܢ 225
 ܐܚܝܢ suff.
 ܐܚܝܢ 339
 ܐܚܝܢ 191
 ܐܚܝܢ 283
 ܐܚܝܢ 198
 ܐܚܝܢ 231
 ܐܚܝܢ 335
 ܐܚܝܢ 280
 ܐܚܝܢ 120
 ܐܚܝܢ 338
 ܐܚܝܢ 304
 ܐܚܝܢ 188
 ܐܚܝܢ 33
 ܐܚܝܢ 175
 ܐܚܝܢ 153. 337
 ܐܚܝܢ 273
 ܐܚܝܢ 198
 ܐܚܝܢ 284

ܐܚܝܢ 338
 ܐܚܝܢ 339
 ܐܚܝܢ 335
 ܐܚܝܢ suff. 209. 311
 ܐܚܝܢ 310
 ܐܚܝܢ 22
 ܐܚܝܢ 209
 ܐܚܝܢ 48
 ܐܚܝܢ 293
 ܐܚܝܢ 170
 ܐܚܝܢ 237
 ܐܚܝܢ 335
 ܐܚܝܢ 277
 ܐܚܝܢ 242
 ܐܚܝܢ 334
 ܐܚܝܢ 339
 ܐܚܝܢ 189
 ܐܚܝܢ 184
 ܐܚܝܢ 279
 ܐܚܝܢ 335
 ܐܚܝܢ 334. 339
 ܐܚܝܢ 29
 ܐܚܝܢ 13
 ܐܚܝܢ 299
 ܐܚܝܢ 205
 ܐܚܝܢ 237
 ܐܚܝܢ 337

ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 279	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 302	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 300
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 332	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 280	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 312
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 199	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 339	
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 276	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 333	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 285
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 311	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 339	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 119
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 336	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 304	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 336
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 248	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 335	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 283
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 206	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 338	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 271
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 291	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 120	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 340
	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 270	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 223
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 126	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 243	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 188
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 213	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 213	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 309
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 256	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 294	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 212
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 332	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 339	
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 212	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 210	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 287
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 213	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 213	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 271
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 188	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 338	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 276
	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 339	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 243
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 188	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 312	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 279
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 197	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 289	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 277
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 198	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 209	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 13
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 33	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 34	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 333
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 223	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 339	ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 282
ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 333		ܡܢܬܐܠܐ 337

INDEX IV

GREEK

Ἀβδήλιμος 46
 Ἀβδήμωνος 104
 Ἀβδιμίλκων 62
 Ἀβδουβάστιος 69
 ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον 76
 Ἀγλιβῶλος 301
 ἀγοραῖ, ἐν τῇ 96
 ἀγορανομήσαντα 280
 Ἀγρεύς 91
 ἀδελφός 246
 Ἀδωδος 164
 Ἀδωνις 61
 Ἀζίζος 296
 Ἀθάρα 269 f.
 Ἀθήνη 81. 222
 Ἀθηνόδωρος 222. 291
 -αι 266
 αἰώνιος 307
 Ἀκτια Δουσάρια 219
 ἀλάβαστρον 336
 Ἀλέξανδρος 353. 355
 ἄλεις 110. 338
 Ἀλιεύς 91
 Ἀλιλάτ 222
 Ἀμμάς 131
 Ἀμμουνεῖς 104
 ἀναγράψαι 98 f.
 ἀναθέματα 220
 Ἀναῖτις 133
 ἀνακτες 74
 ἀνασσαι 74
 ἀνδριάντες 340
 Ἀννίβας 108
 Ἀντίγονος 230. 355
 Ἀντίοχος 230. 349 f.
 Ἀντίπατρος 93
 Ἀπειλῶνι ἑλείται 89

Ἀπῖς 202
 Ἀπόλλων Ἀγνιεύς 57
 „ Ἀλασιώτης 89
 „ Ἀμυκλός 76
 ἀργαπέτης 289
 Ἀρέτας 215 f.
 Ἄρης 129. 296
 Ἄρκη 89
 Ἀρσινώη 51. 79
 Ἀρτέμιδες 133
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος 133
 ἀρχηγέτης 102 f.
 ἀρχιερεύς 101
 ἀρχιπραγματευτής 71
 ἄρχοντες 279. 332
 Ἀσκληπιός 36 f.
 ἀσσάριον 336
 Ἀσταρτεῖον, τὸ 27
 Ἀστάρτη 21. 27 f. 36
 Ἀταργάτις 28. 49. 269 f.
 ἀτελής 134
 ἀτομητός 119
 Ἀττικάι 283
 αὐτοκράτωρ 290
 ἀφειδεῖν 274. 280
 Ἀφροδισίου 27
 Ἀφροδίτη 27. 270
 „ Βυβλίη 21
 Ἀψάσωμος 62
 Ἀψητος 91
 Βασιλλήχ 101. 107
 Βαρσαββᾶς 268
 βασιλεῖς 115
 βασιλεύς 290 f.
 βασίλισσα 290 f.
 βάσις 225

Βεελμάρι 65
 Βεελσάμην 37. 46
 Βήλθης 21
 Βητομαρσεα 122
 Βοσόρ 13
 Βουδάστρατος 41
 βουλευτής 284
 βουλή 264. 294. 332
 Βύβλος 19
 Βυζάντιον 158
 Γαῦδος 105
 γερουσία 116. 354
 γόμος 335 f.
 γραμματεῖς 282
 Γώγ 16
 Δαιβών 6
 δαίμων Καρχηδονίων
 107. 132
 δαρεικοί 97
 Δατάμης 344
 δεκάπρωτοι 334
 Δερκετώ 269 f.
 δέρματα 118
 δέσποινα 287
 δεσπότης 287
 Δημήτηρ 131
 Δημόνικος 348
 δῆμος 264. 294
 δημοσιώνης 333
 δηνάρια 274. 336
 δικαιοσύνη 197
 Διονύσιος 59. 103
 Διόνυσος 218 f. 222.
 239
 Διοπεΐθης 96

Δῖος 294
 δόγμα 332
 Δομανῶ 94. 101
 Δομσάλως 94. 101
 Δουσάρης 218 f.
 δραχμή 96 f.
 Ἐθαος 270
 εἶδωλον 29
 Εἰθώβαλος 27
 -εις, -ει, -ειν 266
 εἰσκομίζειν 335
 ἐκ τῶν ιδίων 256
 ἑκατομβαιῶν 59
 ἐκήβολος 57
 ἐκκομίζειν 335
 ἐλεημοσύνη 197
 Ἑλλωτία 158
 ἐνύπνιον 203
 ἐξέδρα 309
 ἐπαρχία 231. 261
 ἑπαρχος 231. 281
 ἐπιμελητής 72. 107. 280
 ἐπίτροπος 245 f. 288
 ἐργαστήριον 136. 337
 ἐρμηνευτής 61
 Ἑσμοῦνος 37
 Ἑσυμσελήμου 101
 ἐταῖραι 337. 340
 εὐεργέτης 51
 εὐμένης 149
 εὐχαρίστως 300
 εὐψύχει 206
 Ἐφκας πηγῆς 72. 280
 Ζεβεδαῖος 271
 Ζεὺς Βῆλος 288. 303
 „ ἐν Κύπρῳ 89
 „ Θαλάσσιος 37
 „ Μαδβαχος 222
 „ μέγιστος 295 f.

Ζεὺς Ξένιος 46
 „ Ὀλύμπιος 46
 „ ὄρειος 54
 „ σωτήρ 100
 „ ὕψιστος 291.
 297 f.
 Ζηνοβία 291 f.
 ἡγεμών 279
 Ἡλιόδωρος 75. 280. 302
 Ἡλίου πόλις 91
 Ἡρακλῆς 74. 102. 107
 -ης, -η, -ην 267. 275
 Θαβενναι 27
 Θαδάμορα 263
 θέατρον 225
 θεοὶ ἀδελφοί 51. 79
 θεοποιοῦσι 244
 θεὸς ὕψιστος 298
 Θήρων 91
 θίασος 121
 Ἱεραβῶλος 280. 312
 Ἱεράκων νῆσος 108
 ἱεροθύτης 107
 ἱματιοπῶλαι 337
 Ἱόλαος 106 f.
 ἱππικός 284
 Κάβειροι 37
 Καῖσαρ 252
 κανηφόρος 78 f.
 Καρνάιν 269
 καρρικός 335
 καταδῶ 135 f.
 κατ' ἄνδρα 213
 κειράδας 7
 κελωλ 213
 κέρμα 339
 Κίτιον 158
 κλεινοπηγός 72

κλίνη 187
 κοινόν, τὸ 96. 354
 κοπρία 319
 κόπρον 25
 Κοσγηρος 234. 305
 Κοσνατανος 234
 κόστος 338
 κράτιστος 340
 Κρόνος 20 f. 350
 κτίστης 291
 Κυθήρεια 27
 κύνες 68
 Κύπρις 27
 Κύπρος 63
 κύριος βασιλέων 38
 λάκκος 10
 λαμπρότατος 285. 287
 Λαοδίκεια 46. 349 f.
 Λάπηθος 57. 85
 Λάρναξ 85
 Λεάσταρτος 275
 Λεββαῖος 145
 λειτουργία 99
 λέοντας, δύο 56
 Λεῦκος 128
 Λιβανίτις 27
 λίβανος 126
 λιμένα 335
 λίτρα 110
 Λῶος 273
 Μαιουμας 122
 Μάκαρ 108
 Μαλαχβήλος 104. 268.
 301
 Μαλίχας 239
 μαντιάρχης 72
 Μάρθα 278
 Μάρνας 65. 109
 μεγαλόδοξος 51

μέγαρον 131
 Μελέα 275
 Μελκάθρος 74
 Μέρβαλος 109
 μηλωτής 333
 μηρρη 109
 Μήτηρ, ἡ 131
 μισθωτής 333
 μνᾶ 96
 Μνασέας 89
 μόδιον 338
 Μονιμος 199

Ναβαταῖοι 216
 Νήραβος 187
 Νίσιβις 104
 νόμισμα 353
 νόμος 332
 Νουμήνιος 63

Ξανδικός 289
 ξένοι 282
 Ξέρξης 201

Ὀβόδης 244
 ὀβολός 121
 ὄγδοος 37
 οἶνος 213. 305
 ὄρια 335
 Ὀροτάλ 222. 239
 Ὀσιρις 61. 206
 Οὐαβάλλαθος 291
 Οὐρανία 27 f. 222

Πάλμυρα 263. 294. 312
 Παναμυής 163
 παντοπωλείον 337
 παράσιτος 63
 πάροικος 63
 πάταϊκοι 23
 Παωφί 212
 πεμφθείς 49

Πέρσης, ὁ 71
 Πέτρα 215
 πολιτευσάμενον 280
 Ποσειδῶν 81
 Πραξίδημος 81. 84
 Πράξιππος 84
 πρόεδρος 332
 πρόπυλον 98
 προστάτης 289
 πρόστωιον 98
 Πυγμαλιών 56
 Πυμάτος 56
 πυραμίδες 214

Ῥαβασείρη 198. 334

Σαγχουνιάθων 100
 Σαλαμβώ 106
 Σαλάμιοι 220
 Σαμψιγέραμος 298
 Σαραπίων 103
 Σεβαστή 291
 Σεβαστός 291
 Σελαμανης 43
 Σεληναίη 28
 σελήνη 28
 Σεπτίμιος 285. 291
 Σέσματος 62. 81
 σημείον 302
 Σιδωνίων 352
 Σίλας 283
 Σισίνης 62
 Σπασίνου Χάραξ 272
 στατήρ 223
 στεφανῶσαι 96
 στήλη 98. 102. 334
 στοά 23
 στρατηγοί 248. 279.
 332
 στρατιώτης 285
 στρόβιλοι 339

συγκλητικός 285
 σύγκλητος 116
 Συλλαῖος 232. 245
 συμποσίαρχος 288. 303
 σύμφωνοι 338
 σύνδικοι 335
 συνοδία 271
 συνοδιάρχης 271
 σύνοδος 95. 102
 συσσιτία 122
 Σωτήρ 255
 Σώχαρις 42

τάγμα 287
 Ταιντίδα 132
 τελώνης 333
 τέμενος 50. 269
 Τέννης 27
 Τεώς 204
 Τιτανίδες 133
 τοξόται 312
 τόπος 167
 Τύνης 128. 132
 Τυρίων 352
 τύχη 82. 84. 219. 245.
 269

ὔδωρ 206
 ὑπατικός 287. 290
 Ὑπερβερεταῖος 252. 283

Φιλόπατρις 215

Χααβον 218
 χαῖρε 203
 χάριτας ἀξίας 99
 χιλίαρχος 226
 χρήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ 99
 χρυσός 23
 χωνευτά 108
 χωρία 339
 χωράρχης 84

INDEX V

BIBLICAL REFERENCES

Ⓔ = LXX, Ⓒ = Syriac, Ⓐ = Targum, Ⓐ Psj. = Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.

GENESIS.	28 12	75	29 f.	179	20 3	118
1 10 300	22	104	48 7	17	5	190
31 97. 125	32 3	168	50 7-13	179	24	117
2 5 126. 166	32	133	25	179	25	17
4 18 24	34 12	109	26	28	21 22	122
9 3 78	35 16	49			30	
21 8	20	60	EXODUS.		Ⓐ Psj.	223
10 9 120	36 11. 15.		3 15	37	23 13	168
17 89	42	145	4 10	361	18	121
11 1 17	15 ff.	210	6 14	13	19	54
12 5 69	21	238	7 20	24	20 ff.	37
14 5 10	38	130	9 23	12	20. 23	304
13 119	43	299	10 2	20	25 11 ff.	120
18 101	37 4	35	11 7 Ⓐ	199	23 Ⓐ	226
15 9	19	119	12 7. 22 f.	342	27	154
Sam. Ⓐ 120	28	118	22	43	26 31 ff.	67
18 5 168	38 25 Ⓐ	210	39 Ⓐ	78	36	33
19 23 178	39 6 Ⓐ	126	13 19	179	27 8	155
26 103	14 Ⓐ	279	14 14. 25		28 11	22
27 99	40 9-11	213	Ⓐ Psj.	76	29 2	121
20 16 118	41 45	91	15 10	38	14	119
22 18 35	42 4 Ⓐ	311	15	49	30 8	126
23 9. 20 237	23	61	27 Ⓐ	198	13 121. 351	
19 f. 308	25 Ⓐ	274	16 5	122	13 Ⓐ	223
24 12 24	43 9	99	15	311	36 Ⓐ	171
27 179	16 Ⓒ	212	22	96	33 10	49
25 13 215	44 13	34	34	24	14 f.	132.
15 197	32	99	17 10 200. 232			304
28 120	45 4	20	15	7	34 1	155
26 10 170	46 21	111	18 23	128	5 f. 37. 106	
29 24	26	299	25	13	7	190
27 19. 31 35	47 13	13	19 13 29. 120		34	126
31 8	22	198	15	55	36 3	67

38	23	21 5	67	22	229	4	120
38 8	96	22 11	69	25 1-3	7. 122	12	29
17	23	23 40	126. 358	6	24	19 4	17
39 3	75	25 13	120	26 54	122	20 20	78
37	23. 242	26 1	179	27 12	248	22 19	122
		27 2 ff.	106	31 8	201	23 14	128
LEVITICUS.		3. 25	351	28	33. 332	18. 19	68
1	120	28 f.	12	32 14	13	25 7	198
1-2	117			34-38	5.	18 2	171
1 14	120	NUMBERS.			10. 12. 13	28 4 ff.	117
2 4	121	1 10	175	33 46	14	4. 18. 51	27
4-6	121	3 24	275	52	179	39	166
12 f.	120	50	17	34 25	298	63	198
14 ff.	121	7 9	97			32 4	175
3 3 ff.	121	13 ff.	118	DEUTERONOMY.		8	166
5 7. 11	117	13. 86	351	2 11	5	10	209
15	351	9 20	33	32	12	23	57
6 15 f.	117	11 5	166	34	12	37	110
19	117	18		36	13	33 10	117
7 8	119. 124	2 Psj.	281	3 6	12	27	13
8. 15-19.		13 10	79	10	12. 253	34 7	190
31-34	117	16 14 2	76	11	187		
10	121	34 2	311	4 3	37	JOSHUA.	
15-19	118	17 3	75	16	58	1 4. 15	49
31 f.	118	18 12	120	43	13	5 1 6	350
8 15		21. 31	99	5 25	104	6 5	120
2 Psj.	280	19 5	119	6 11	17. 332	17-19	12
17	119	20 19	177	7 13	27. 117	8 1	12
10 1	126	21 2 f.	12	25	29	9 5. 14	120
11 16	108	19 f.	13	8 9	17	15	96
29	256	23	12	13 12	25	12 5	253
12 6. 8	117. 120	29	7 f.	17	117	23	38
13 2. 18.		30	8	14 9. 10 2	120	13 9	8
24 2	219	22 2	277	14	108	9. 16 f.	12
14 4	120	38	170	15 2	17	15-28	5. 10
21	117	41	13	8	119	14 7	11
16 3	7	23 5. 12.		20	226	15 19	20
12	126	16	170	17 1	29	34	72
19 6	118	24 17	359	3	165	58	175
27 f.	67	20	191	20	24	59	80
20 5	24	21 f. 2	220	18 3. 4	117	17 11	38

18 27	361	7 9	117	18 18	62	6	97
19 28	50	16	86	27	191	9 ⑥	108
38	80	8 11	183	20 1	362	24	68
46	38	20	77	19 ②	78	26	177
21 18	80	9 8	283	21 9	11	15 13	51
32	10	26	12	23 3	175	16 18	13
23 4	49	10 20 f.	69	20	11	21	27
24 11	50	13 6	237	38	274	23. 29	4
18	13	14 6	13	24 24	118	24	41
32	179	15 33	11			31 27. 54	
		16 6	362	1 KINGS.		33	25
JUDGES.		23	109	1 2. 4	100	34	53
3 3	37. 54	19 10	91	26	362	18 35	176
23 ②	309	20-24	8	33	16	19 13	49
4 6 ff.	299	20 5 f.	66	3 14	24	20 1	164
10	179	22	335	4 5. 7	289	1. 12. 16.	
11	229	21 10	122	7 ff.	166	33	178
15 f.	178	23 4	12	5 15	54	35	110
5 3	154	22	29	29	107	22	4
6	80. 179	24 20	99	32	19	34	178
22	168	25 24	84	6 29	22	52	9
26	169	27	179	38	32		
30	12	28 15	28	7 4 f.	153	2 KINGS.	
7 9	12	31 10	27	7	146	1 1	4. 9
8 21. 26	187			20	154	8	119
9 2	50	2 SAMUEL.		28 f.	119	3	5
5	176	1 6 119. 177		36	155	1	9
9. 13	180	26 206		37	22	4 4. 6. 14	
46. 49	237	2 18 91. 362		50	43	5	4. 9
10 1	11	5 11 54. 67		8 2	66	24-27	5. 9
15 18 ⑥	76	8 2 4		8	22	25	7. 13
16 16	136	3 ff. 164		16	37	4 22	170
17 5	36	11 1 77		46	8	23	66
18 10	119	12 18 35		9 7	198	5 24	13
20 17	11	22 17		11	54	6 13	10
		13 23 37		15	17	7 1	176
1 SAMUEL.		32 ff. 169		18	263	8 13	68
2 15 f.	121	14 26 43. 192		11 5	54	18	9
18	99	15 32 121		5. 33	27	9 7 ff.	9
36	121	16 11 217		7. 33	7	37	17
4 21	29	17 13 11		14 4	170	10 6 ff.	169

7	176	9	8	43 9	218	25 23	197
11	9	10 4	21	44 19	176	30 20	86
15. 16	178	23	98	45 4	98	31 27	126
11 2	169	32	121	46 1. 3	34	33 1	
18	46	11 1	165	47 11	17	⊗ Hex. 282	
12 10	17	14	14	48 4	97	15	86
15 29	178	14 9	29	13	22	35	305
16 7 178. 183		21	130	49 2 ℥	128	36 10	49
8	177	15 1. 4	12	8	138	22	184
10	178	2 ff. 5 ff. 9. 12		52 8	85	37 16 153. 337	
17	22	5 14. 248		53 2	36	38 14	22
17 12	245	16 6	35	54 8	120	42 18	169
18	8	7. 11. 12	7	56 5	47	46 15	202
24	12	8	177	57 2	34	47 3	178
29	100	17 10	175	58 8	12	48 1 ff. 5. 10. 12	
30	101	18 7	37	10	28	3 ff.	14
31	80	20 4	177	61 7		5	248
20 20	16	21 11	12	⊗ Hex. 282		9	120
21 7 51. 104		14	197	63 9 132. 304		18. 22	6
22 1	201	22 9. 11	16	65 10	38	19	13
12	362	15	53	66 23	86	21	12
14	256	23 11	350			22	14
23 4. 7	51	24 23	104	JEREMIAH.		23	10
5 82. 146		26 7	130	1 12	126	24	11
11 165. 337		13	168	5 22	209	30	35
17	147	14. 19	29	6 21	17	31. 35 f.	7
34	362	16	210	7 30	104	46	7
24 12	77	28 15. 18	120	8 1	34	51 39	8
25 8	53	25	176	10 7	126	51	105
28	178	29 1	11	9	75	52 19	43
		30 1	13	11 26. 166.			
ISAIAH.		15	62		184	EZEKIEL.	
1 13	66	24	117	13 19	179	1 1	177
3 18	187	32 14	13	14 3	129	11	191
5 2. 17	126	33 7	11	16 5 121. 122		5 1	67
28	178	36 2	16	18 20	10	8 3. 5	58
6 4	43	37 31	36	21 10	24	9 7	176
7 3	16	38 10	33	22 14 23. 146		10 3	32
8 6	16	12	153	19	11	12 20	176
14	176	40 19	76	23	36	16 55	177
9 8	179	20	121	23 5	86	17 6	95

13	49	9	36	ZACHARIAH.	50 13	168
20 40	115	3 15	184	8 23	23	35
23 14	171	5 26	196	12 3	51 19	59
24 6	210	6 6	4	11	21	117
25 4	36	7	121		52 7	189
9	5. 10	8 4	261	MALACHI.	55 3	191
27 9	19	5	66	3 24	59 11	8
13	69	14	11		61 8	189
28 17	11			PSALMS.	64 8	189
30 13	92	JONAH.		2 2	66 15	126
17	91	1 3	38	7	68 14	23
32 25	29	7. 12	266	7 18	21	6
33 22	190	3 5	129	8 6	26	70
30	170			8	69 4	97
34 8	294	MICAH.		9 3	72 19	297
36 11	177	3 12	13	11 3	73 12	85
35	176	6 7	168	12 8	28	201
40 2	96	16	9	15 1	74 17	166
16	191	7 4	33	3	75 7	49. 178
18	154	17	176	18 3. 44.	76 4	57
26	128			49	8	36
43 15. 16	11	NAHUM.		4	78 12. 43	213
21	74	2 4	9	11	48	57
44 20	67	3 6	11	33	50	130
30	203			46	81 4	66. 86
45 12	192	HABAKKUK.		19 7	85 5	85
17	198	2 13	29	12	88 11	30
48 21	105	3 2	110	21 5	89 2. 3. 38	8
		5	57	11	93 4	38
HOSEA.		10	9	22 3	96 8	99
2 13	66	11	71	25 2	101 5	166
6 9	354			14	103 4	96
9 13	121	ZEPHANIAH.		27 1	104 1. 2	63
12 2	97	1 11	350	28 8	107 30. 38	97
		2 9	13	33 1 6	113 2	297
JOEL.				37 3	116 1. 13. 17	22
4 14	98			41 3	13	7
		HAGGAI.		44 21	118 7	8
AMOS.		1 4	23	45 10	119 65	24
2 1	34	8	168	46 1	122	99
2	5. 11	9	78	47 10	131	184

123	29. 139	18 13	95	5 10. 12	183	9	340
128 3	85	16	36	7 14	259	13	219
136 18	35	19 23	218	17	33	15	339
26	45	20 8 X	203	8 17	266	16. 21	178
139 9 X	120	23	209	10 17	249	24	197
140 12	166	22 2	100	12 5	307	27	180
141 3	47	16	33			33	334
		30	29	ESTHER.		5 1	225
PROVERBS.		23 8	12	1 1	201	2	191.218
2 22	189	24 23	9	2 3. 9.		7	336
3 4	24	26 5	30	12 S	277	10	166.176
13	28	27 6	177	15	221	22	45
32	29	30 5	96	3 7	218	25	176
6 1	99	32 20	109	9 29	217	29	218
8 35	28	33 23	61			6 3	219.247
11 20	29	34 9	100	DANIEL.		4	76
13 21	99	38 32	82	1 10	39	9. 18	243
14 4	117	39 26	108	21	225	11	126.248
15 14	97			2 5.8.20	209	18	266
25	166	CANTICLE.		6	170	25	206
18 24	361	1 7	39	6. 9	197	7 12	189
21 9	354	10	128	8	22	17	78. 204
24	19	2 11	184	11	209.219	24	189
22 4	69	3 4	177	12	203	8 5	120
24 13	126	7 7	206	20	171.297	9 25	128
25 24	354	12	167	23	184	10 9	104
27 22	171	8 6	57	28	248.332	12 11	46
31 1	275			30	335	12	55
		RUTH.		35	12		
JOB.		2 16	203	37	205	EZRA.	
1 9 X	275	4 5. 10	198	43	210	1 2	45. 74
3 23	33			44	204	2 48	250
6 19	197	LAMENTATIONS.		3 1	225	53	234
7 14	35	3 18	77	6	242	69	96
8 7. 11	85	45	25	8	206	3 7	170
9 4	106	5 21	86	10	338	4 5	295
32	203			12	170.210	10	12
15 2	209	QOHELETH.		23	191	10. 23	209
3	100	1 14	98	28	219	12	166
16 15	340	17	180	4 4	340	13	170.189
22	12. 110	2 6	13	5	35	18	335

21	210	6 2	167	24 15	341	14	129
22	39	10. 15	215	22	274	34 4	299
24	248	7 50	250	23	267	21	169
5 3	170	70-72	96	26 7	361	2 ESDRAS.	
3. 9	41	10 21	341	27 1	226	2 12	289
4	184	11 7	248	25	167	SIRACH.	
5	209	8	201	29	38	48 17	16. 17
8	193. 334	12 7	201	28 13	67	50 3	10
10	209	22	71	18	22	JUDITH.	
17	97. 206	47	216	29 7	96	4 8	354
6 1	206	13 15	34. 120	11	77	2 CHRONICLES.	
4	212. 334	16	337	29	225	1 MACCABEES.	
9	45	25	25	3 5 ff.	155	1 11	47
11	189. 243	1 CHRONICLES.		7	22	5 25	216
7 16	339	1 15	89	4 20	67	26 ff.	13
17	209	30	197	5 9	22	43	269
18	97	2 40	62. 81	8 4	263	8 20	354
23	39	3 22	245	9 18	96	9 35	216
8 27	96	4 35	362	13 11	67	10 29	338
35	120	5 16	12	15 8	74	11 35	338
36	347	24	19	16	51	12 3. 6	354
10 4. 12	97	6 9	20	16 14	34	13 14 f.	357
27	283	7 2	92	17 16	108	28	214
28	291	6	299	20 10	169	14 47	354
NEHEMIAH.		8 11	202	24	128	15 1. 2	354
2 1	218	11 ff. 91.	350	21 11	7	6. 27	353
7. 9	347	26	147	24 4. 12	74	16 14	357
14	16	9 13	67	6. 9	115	2 MACCABEES.	
3 4	197	27	97	11	39	5 8	216
7	347	40	215	12	67	6 2	46
10	245	11 31	248	26 10	17	12 26	269
15. 16	16	15 13	62	27 3	13	13 11	109
17 f.	46	20	70	28 7	289	ST. MATTHEW.	
20	291	16 29	99	29 14	19	6 1	197
27	13	18 3	166	35	7	9 9	333
31	75	20 8	26	30 3	62	10 3	145
4 11	34	21 25	118	32 2 ff.	16		
15	12	31	180	30	16. 17		
5 4	39	22 13	118. 124	33 7. 15	58		
15	118	14	67				

29	336	7 46 ☉	336	14 2 ☉	227	13 43. 50	298
20 3 ☉	55	12 6	336	18 10	239	15 22	283
24 3 ☉	279	14 28 ☉	212	19 41	242	28 11-13	257
26 7 ☉	336	19 8	333	21 12.		2 CORINTHIANS.	
		22 30	168	15 ☉	194	11 32	215
ST. LUKE.		ST. JOHN.		ACTS.		APOCALYPSE.	
2 44	271						
3 1 f.	84	2 15 ☉	339	1 23	268	12 5	222
12 f.	333	5 4 ☉	335	2 7	29	15 6 ☉	76
31	275	9 7	15	10 2. 22	298	22 15	68

INDEX VI

GENERAL

Abias 253	Amathous 61	Aramaic, Bibl. 12. 26.
Abydos (Asia M.) 193	Amma 131	166. 175. 184.
(Egypt) 90	Ana 345	218 ff. 264. 334
Accounts, daily 212	'Anath 80 f.	&c.
Accus. sign 22. 170.	Anatum 80. 133	of Egypt 185. 200
279	Antigonus (the Ma-	N. Arabia 196 ff.
Aelia Capitolana 359	ced.) 250	Nabataea 215
Aesculapius 36. 38	(Mattathias) 355 f.	Nêrab & Bab.
Afel forms 189. 199	Antioch 292	185
Agbar 190	Antiochus iv 350	Old 5. 26 &c.
'Agli-bôl 269. 301 f.	xii 250	of Palmyra 264 f.
Ahab 4. 9	Antony 254	in Pers. Emp. 193.
Ahaziah 9	Aphrodite 21. 27. 270	200. 343. 347
Alexander the Gt. 47.	Apis 202	of Zenjirli 184 f.
346. 350	Apollo 57. 76. 89	Archers, Palm. 312
Jannaeus 354	Apposition 22. 118.	Ares 7. 296. 344
Severus 279	124. 337	Aretas, <i>see</i> Harethath
Zebina 353	'Aqiba, Rabbi 359	Arethusa 343
Allât 158. 222. 253	Ar 11	Ariel 11
Al-'Uzza 222	A'ra 238 f. 253. 255	Arnon 4 f.
Alphabet, old Gk. 52.	Arabia 197. 215 f. 261	'Aro'er 13
193	Arabic 5. 185. 215.	Arsinoë 51. 79
Altiburus 145	264	Artaxerxes iii 351

- As 336
 Ashērah 50 f.
 Ashqelon 27. 269 f.
 'Ashtart 21. 27 f. 37 f.
 128. 131 f. 270
 Asia Min., Gk. in-
 scri. 223
 Assarius 336
 Assyrian:—
 abkallu 296
 Agbaru 190
 anāku 6
 aširtu 50 f.
 Ašratum 51
 ašru 50
 asumitu 197
 Atar-samaim 270
 Azrijāu 164
 Bilit ša Gubla 20
 Budu-ilu 41
 Dad-'idri 164
 dannitu 244
 Dūdu 11
 Du'ru 38
 ērēšu 70
 ešra 175
 garparuda 360
 harimtu 68
 hazānu 71
 Hirummu 54
 Iau-bi'di 164
 igaru 129
 Ilu 361
 Ilu-bi'di 164
 ittanabriḫ 184
 Jaudi 164
 kabāru 48
 kakkubu Šalmu 106
 kalāmu 184
 kalbu-šarri 68
 kamāru 187
 Kemoš-nadab 7
 kibratu 49. 178
 kimahḫu 237
 Kummuḫ 179
 ḫadištu 68
 Ḳarti-ḫadast 53
 Ḳauš-malaka 219.
 234
 Ḳidraai 215
 mana ša šarri 192
 mannu 168
 manzaltu 82
 Marduk-zir-bāni
 187
 mātu 167
 mutu 167
 Nabaaiti 215
 Nabu-šar-iddin 288
 Nabu-šizibanni 197
 nishu 235
 paḫāti 178
 pulug(g)u 46
 rakiḫ narkabti 165
 rēmēnu taiāru 301
 ša 187
 sakānu 100
 šalamanu 299
 Šalm-mušiziḫ 197
 šar kiššati 296
 sattuku 198
 še 176
 šimtu 198
 sinibu 176
 Sin-zir-ban 187
 Šulmanu 43
 šunūti 36
 supur 193
 zabālu 71
 zukini 53
 'Athar-'atheh 269 f.
 Athene 81. 222. 348 f.
 Athenians in Cyprus,
 347 f.
 Athirat 51
 'Attārūs 10
 Augustus 262. 290 f.
 Aurelian 291 ff.
 Aurelius 279
 Auspices 120
 'Az-ba'al 347. 350
 Azizus 296
 Ba'al-ḫammān 50.
 104. 132 f. 154
 shamem 45 f. 295
 of Harran 182
 Lebanon 53 f.
 Sidon 37. 99
 Tarsus 343 ff.
 Tyre 21
 Ba'alath of Gebal 20 f.
 Ba'al-milk i & ii 347 f.
 Ba'al-ram 74
 Ban, the 12
 Barbarus 339
 Barbers, temple- 67
 Bar-rekub 182
 Bast 69. 91
 Beasts, taxed 337 f.
 Bel 101. 248. 269.
 297
 Berber 139. 145
 Berytus, coins of, 46.
 350
 Bilit 20
 Bittir 359
 Bod-'ashtart 41
 Boethos, family of 341
 Bôl 274. 280. 301 f.
 Bosporus, Gk. inscri.
 298
 Bostra 239

- Bostra, era of 261 f.
 coins of 219
 Bowls, bronze 52
 Breeders, sheep- 14
 Brokers 61

 Caesars, the three 262
 Camels 335. 338
 Canaan 349 f.
 Caracalla 262
 Caravan 258. 263.
 271 ff.
 god of 304
 Carthage 115. 131-
 136. 140. 352
 constitution of 44.
 115 f. 129
 in Cyprus 53
 people of 134
 Cave 131. 308
 Ceres 128
 Chabrias 348
 Chalkous 349 f. 352
 Charax 271 f.
 Chariot 73. 165. 178
 Chief-priest 101. 129
 Cilicia 194
 coins of 343-347
 Cippus, *see* Pillar
 Cirta 137 f. 149
 Claudius 252
 Cleopatra 86 f.
 Client 41. 134
 Coelestis 27. 133. 157
 Coinage, copper 339
 right of 343. 353
 Coins, re-struck 359
 see Berytus, Bostra,
 Cilicia, &c.
 Colleagues 116. 145
 Colonia 263. 279

 Colonnades at Pal-
 myra 275
 Consular 264. 287.
 290
 Coptos, Tariff of 332 f.
 337
 Corrector 291
 Cos, Gk. inscr. 41.
 125
 Cross 300
 Crown, golden 98
 Cuniculus 16
 Curses 135 f. 223
 Customs 264. 332 f.
 335
 Cyprus 53-57. 59.
 61. 78 f. 81. 85 ff.
 89. 347-349
 Cyrenaic, Legion iii
 285
 Cyrene 148

 Damascus 215 f. 251.
 253
 coins of 215
 Darics 96. 155
 Datames 344 f.
 Date, threefold 84.
 Decemvirs 130
 Deification of kings
 78. 81. 85 f. 224.
 244
 Deity, complex 49.
 60 f. 104. 154
 unnamed 21. 49.
 218. 239. 297
 Demeter 59. 128. 131
 Demonius 349
 Demonstr. pron. 26
 Denarius 283. 336
 Derceto 270

 Deus aeternus 296
 Didrachms 357
 Dionysos 218 f. 305
 Division of words 5
 Dogs 67 f.
 D'om 44. 94
 Dor 38
 Dots 5. 62
 Doves 120
 Drachmae 96. 283
 Dreams 203
 Dual ending 10. 12 f.
 Dumêr 249
 Dûshara 21. 218 f.
 239. 245. 305

 Edessa 107. 199. 296.
 307
 Egypt, Phoenicians in
 27. 90 f.
 Aramaean in 200 f.
 209
 under Palmyrenes
 290 f.
 Persian expedition
 against 343 f.
 Egyptian Aram., *see*
 Aramaic
 funeral scenes 200.
 205
 measures 212 f.
 names 91. 197.
 200-213
 symbols 351. 362
 wine 213
 El 165. 361
 Elath 135. 158
 El-Hejaz 214. 219
 El-Hejra 214. 222.
 236. 258
 El-Mer 244

- El-Ölâ 8. 214. 258
 El-pa'al 350
 El-Qanawât 245
 Elul 215
 Eparchy 261
 Erotimus 216
 Eshmun 36 f.
 Eshmun-azar 27. 32 f.
 38
 Eshmun Merre 109
 Ethanim 66. 89
 Ethiopic 13. 29. 36.
 109. 117 f. 243
 Et-Tayyibe, inscr. of
 187. 296. 312
 Exedra 309 f.

 Female descent 299
 Fem. ending=emph.
 st. 235
 Fem. sing in Phoen. 25
 Figs 126
 Fine 198. 223. 229
 Fir-cones 340
 Fowl, domestic 120
 Freed-man, -woman
 134. 249 f. 298.
 338
 and husband 250
 Funeral rites 93. 201.
 206

 Gad-Tyche 245. 269
 Gallienus 286 ff. 290
 Garden-tombs 242 f.
 Gaulus 105. 107
 Gebal 19. 350. 352
 coins of 21
 dialect of 25
 Gerjin 163. 183
 Germanicus 339
- Geta 262
 Gihon 16
 Grave 34. 149. 198.
 221. 307, *see*
 Tomb, Pillar
 Greek inscr. imitated
 95
 Gold-plating 76
 Guest 63. 68. 305
 Gurgum 178 f.

 Hadad 164. 360
 Hadrian 263. 279.
 358 f.
 Hafel, *see* Afel
 Hair-offering 53 f.
 Hairan, Sept. 264.
 285.
 Hammân 50. 104
 Hammon 48. 50
 Harethath iii 216.
 253
 iv 215. 246 &c.
 Harpocrates 204. 362
 Harran 187 f.
 Hasmonaeen coins
 44. 352 ff.
 Hathor 21. 28. 154
 Hauran 222. 252 f.
 Hauronân 14
 Hawwath 135
 Hebrew 5. 16. 185.
 341 f. 352 f.
 Heliopolis 91
 Herakles 74. 102.
 347 f.
 Hermes 100
 Herod the Gt. 245.
 254. 356
 Antipas 215. 246 f.
 Agrippa 252
- Herodes 286
 Hezekiah 16
 Hezir 341
 Hierapolis 270
 Hifil in Phoen. 58
 High-priest 354
 Himilco 131
 Hiram 53 f.
 Hiyyar 78. 129
 Holocaust 117
 Homş 281. 292
 Honorary inscr.
 (Palm.) 266
 Hôshe'a 362
 Huldu 246. 256
 Hyrcanus i 353 f.
 ii 254

 Idalion 56. 349
 Ilu 361
 Impf. with waw conv.
 5. 39. 119
 with 5 169. 171
 Imprecations 24. 33.
 135. 169. 191
 Imtân 255
 Incense 126
 Infin. absol. 5. 29. 191
 with 5 121. 126.
 169
 Interpreter 61
 Ishtar 12. 27 f.
 Isis 21. 28. 68
 Isle of Hawks 108

 Jeroboam i 4
 Jerusalem, water-sup-
 ply of 16
 siege of 357. 358 f.
 Jewish and Phoen.
 sacrifices 117

- Jewish colony at Palmyra 278.298.300
 inscrr. 341 f.
 coins 352 ff.
 Jol 149
 Joppa 38
 Judge 44. 100
 Judices 116
 Jugurtha 149
 Julian calendar 250
 Julius Philip 281
 Jupiter Dolichenus
 296
 Capitolanus 359

 Kanatha 245
 Kanephoros 78 f. 85
 Karhu 7
 Kefr Bir'im 342
 Kemosh 6 f.
 Kemosh-nadab 7
 Kerak 7. 14
 Kilix 338
 Kimon 344. 347
 King of kings 201.
 205. 290. 264
 Kinsman, legal 226
 Kition 56. 347 f. 352
 era of 78
 Koihak 213

 Lambaesis, Lat. inscr.
 of 16
 Laodicea 46
 of Libanus 349 f.
 Larnax Lapēthos 80.
 85. 349
 Latin inscrr. with Pun.
 109, NPun. 141.
 158, Palm. 250.
 268. 312

 pr. nn. 145. 155 f.
 (NPun.). 279. 283.
 285. 291 (Palm.)
 words in Palm. 265
 Lead 135 f.
 Lebanon 53 f.
 (Carth.) 128
 Letters, forms of
 Moabite 5
 Hebrew 16
 Jewish 341 f.
 coins 353
 Phoen. 102 f. 105.
 111. 360
 Punic 137
 Neo-Punic 140. 145
 Old Aram. 163.
 361
 Arabian Aram. 196.
 199
 Egypt. Aram. 205 f.
 Aram. coins 344
 Sinaitic 258
 Liḥyan dialect 219.
 232
 Limassol 53
 Lion-weights 192
 Local ending 10
 Luḥith 248
 Luli 54
 Lycia, Gk. inscrr. 223
 Lycurgos 305

 Maccabees 216. 353.
 357
 Macedonian calendar
 250. 267
 Macherus 248
 Majuma 122
 Maktar 142. 145.
 152 f.

 Malak-bel 268 f. 301
 Male descent 299
 Māliku i 254. 257
 ii 239. 246. 253
 Malta 102 f. 107
 Manât 219
 Mancipia veterana
 336
 Manna 311
 Mar 65
 Marseilles 115
 Marzeah 94. 121 f.
 303
 Maṣṣēbah 60. 62. 64
 Massinissa 138. 149
 Massylii 138
 Ma'sûb 48
 Mazaios 42. 346 f.
 Medeba 8 f. 247 f.
 Meḥir 201
 Melqarth 74. 84. 102.
 347 f. 361
 Member 41. 259, *see*
 Client
 Mesgida 238
 Mesha' 4. 6. 9 f.
 Metropolis 350
 Micipsa 140. 149
 Milk d. 49
 Milk-offering 121
 Milkath 135
 Milk-yathon 59. 74.
 348
 Mina 192
 Minaean 8. 45. 223
 Miskar 42. 154
 Mizrah 121. 145 f.
 153. 155
 Moab, Moabite 4 ff.
 Monotheism 45.
 296 ff.

- Moon-god 182 (Ba'al
 Harran). 187
 (Sin). 301 ('Agli-
 bôl), *see* Sahar,
 Sin.
 goddess 28 ('Ash-
 tart). 222 (Allât?)
 Mosaic of Medeba 122
 Mound (Ophel), the
 13

 Nabataean 215 f. 258.
 304
 kings 215 f. 251
 coins 215 f. 221.
 223. 246
 trade 257. 258
 Name of Ba'al 37 f.
 Nazirite vow 305
 Nebo 4. 12. 288
 Negative in Phoen. 33
 Neith 146
 Neo-Punic 140
 Nêrab 185 ff.
 Nergal 101
 New-moon 63. 66
 Nikal 188
 Nimroud, bowls 52
 seals 360
 Ningal 188
 Numerals 43 f. 55.
 110. 119. 175 f.
 250. 261. 275. 356
 Numidia 138 f. 140.
 149. 155
 Nusku 188

 'Obedath 239. 244 f.
 Octo-drachm 351
 Odainath 263 f. 285 f.
 290

 Offerings, list of 125
 Oil 121. 336
 'Omri 4. 9
 Ormuzd 345
 Osiris 90. 92. 103.
 200. 203
 Ostraka 203 f.

 Pa'aloth 69
 Palm-trees 198
 Palma, Corn. 216
 Palmyra 263 f. 289.
 294. 332. 337
 Palmyrene 264 f. 306 f.
 Panammu 163. 183
 Paopi 210
 Papyrus 203. 209. 213
 Parthians 263. 285
 Passive in Aram. 334
 Patronus 289
 Payments to priests
 118
 Perf. with waw conv.
 118 f.
 in imprecations 218
 Persephone 128. 131
 Persian 193. 200. 209.
 289. 298. 347. 351
 coinage 343
 Petra 215. 218. 242.
 244. 250
 Pharnabazus 343 f.
 Phoenicia, language
 19. 21. 23-25. 39 f.
 79. 97. 108. 117.
 126. 141 &c.
 religion 20 f. 27 f.
 36 f. 41. 45 f. 49 f.
 56 f. 59. 63. 67 f.
 74. 76. 80. 89. 99.
 104. 109. 117 f.

 127. 131 ff. 135.
 154, *see* Ashtart
 &c.
 government 27. 38.
 42. 44. 47
 colonies 95. 100 f.
 103. 107 f.
 and Cyprus, *see*
 Cyprus
 and Carthage, *see*
 Carthage, Punic
 commerce 70 f. 95.
 351
 money-standard 44
 coins 347-352
 seals 361
 and Persia 19. 347 f.
 349. 350. 351
 and Egypt 21. 23.
 27. 42. 64. 90 f.
 154. 351
 and Ptolemies 38.
 56. 78 f. 81. 85 ff.
 351
 and Seleucids 27.
 47. 81. 349. 350.
 352
 Pillar 60. 62. 98. 103 f.
 108. 299, *see* Maṣ-
 ṣēbah
 Piraeus 95
 Plur. in *ī* 165 f., *in*
 183. 185, *ī* (impf.)
 166. 185. 189. 203
 Pompey 216
 Poor, the 117. 121
 Portae 138
 Portico 23. 48. 98. 243
 Poseidon 84
 Praxippos 81. 84
 Procurator 72. 288 f.

- Pron. 3 sing. 24
 demonstr. 26
 after relat. 78
 Ptah 23
 Ptolemy i 81
 ii 38. 47. 78. 351
 vii (vi) 86 f.
 ix (vii) 86 f.
 Publicani 333
 Pulvinar 199
 Pumi-yathon 55 f. 349
 Punic, *see* Carthage,
 Cirta
 colonies in N. Africa
 137 ff. 140. 145.
 149
 Puteoli 257
 Pygmalion 55 f.

 Qaishah 219
 Qaryatên 307 f.
 Qeriyioth 11
 Qir-ḥareseth 7
 Qiryathân 10
 Qn'm 148
 Qos 234
 QRHH 7
 QRL 163
 Qurân 39. 72 f. 219.
 222

 Rab 42. 129. 273
 Rabel 239. 246. 250 f.
 255
 Raḥām 276
 Rammānu 145. 164
 Ras 264. 285
 Refl. stems in Aram.
 334
 Rekub-el 165
 Relat. in Phoen. 20. 108
 Aram. 164

 Reshef 56 f. 361
 Revolt, First 356 ff.
 Second 358 ff.
 Rhea 131
 Rock, the 175
 Rom. 1 (Palm. inscr.)
 301 f.
 2 (Palm. inscr.) 268
 Romans 216. 242 f.
 250. 263 f.
 Rome and Carthage
 115 f. 128. 131.
 133. 138. 140.
 145. 149. 153.
 157
 Palmyra 290 f. 292 f.
 332. 338 f. 341
 Rosetta Stone 23
 Ruḍâ 233. 273

 Sabaeen 21. 23. 28.
 33. 45. 102 f. 107.
 126. 164. 168.
 218. 220. 222 f.
 299
 Sacrificer 107. 146
 Sacrifices 117. 125
 for the dead 168
 Ṣafâ inscr. 11. 45. 199.
 304
 Sahar 187
 Ṣaḥwet el-Ḥidr 242
 Sakun 100
 Salambo 106
 Ṣalḥad 253
 Ṣalm 106. 196. 199
 Salt-tax 338
 Sam'al 179. 182. 185
 Sardinia 110
 Sasom 62
 Seals 360 ff.

 Ṣed 91
 Ṣed-tanith 132
 Sela' 223
 Seleucid era 47. 250.
 267
 Seleucus Nicator 47.
 349 f.
 Senator 264. 285
 Septimius 285. 288.
 291
 Ḥairan 264
 Severus 262
 Serapis 103. 202
 Shalamians 220
 Shalman 43
 Shamash 104. 165.
 187. 269. 299
 Shara 218
 Sharon 12. 41
 She'a-alqûm 255.
 304 f.
 Sheḥ Barakât inscr.
 222
 Shekel, sacred 351
 First Revolt 357
 Shuqailat 246
 Sicily, temple of
 Demeter 131
 Sidon 27. 33. 54. 91.
 99
 era of 95
 Sidonians 54
 colony of 95
 coins of 350. 352
 Ṣidqi-milk 349
 Siloam 15. 17
 Simon Macc. 353
 Bar-kokba 359
 Sin 182. 187 f.
 Sinaitic 258
 pr. nn. 259

- Skin of sacrifices 124
merchandise 336.
340
- Slaves 134. 335 f. 362
- South Shields inscr.
249 f.
- Spasinou Charax 272
- Square character 205.
341. 353
- Stater 343 ff.
- Statilius 339
- Stratēgos 247 f. 288.
332
- Straton 41. 352
- Subjunctive with ف
217
- Suffete 44. 110. 115 f.
129 f. 145
- Suffix 3 sing. m.
(Phoen.) 8. 41 f.
64. 94. 110. 133.
158
f. 58. 79. 146
3 plur. (Phoen.) 39 f.
3 sing. m. (Aram.)
185. 209
3 plur. (Aram.)
184 f. 203. 209.
221. 253
- Sulci 158
- Sun-god 91 (Ra). 106
(Ṣalm). 199 (Monimos). 219. 222
(Dûshara?). 280.
299 (Yarḥi-bôl).
268. 297. 299
(Malak-bel). 269.
297 (Bel), *see* Shamash.
goddess 222 (Al-lât?)
- Symposia 121 f. 288.
303
- Tabellae devotionis
135
- Tabnith 27
- Talent 88. 193
- Tamassos 56. 58. 89.
349
- Tanith 37. 128. 131 ff.
- Tardamu 344 f.
- Tariff, Sacrificial 115.
123 f.
Coptos 332 f. 337
Palm. 306
Zarai 332. 337
- Tarsus 343 ff.
- Taxes 333
- Tebeth 221
- Têma 197
- Tetradrachm 357
- Thank-offering 118.
- Thiasus, *see* Marzeah
- Throne 221 f.
- Thugga 138 f.
- Tiglath-pileser 54.
178 f.
- Tomb (Phoen.) 27 f.
34. 60
(Nab.) 221. 223.
237. 241 ff.
(Palm.) 306
of St. James 341 f.
- Trachonitis 245. 252
- Tunis 132. 140
- Tyre 44. 54. 74
era of 47
coins of 44. 351 f.
357 f.
- Umm-el-'Awâmîd 45
- Umm-er-Reṣaṣ 247
- Underworld, gods of
135
- Uraeus 23
- Velarii 67
- Venus 21. 27
- Virgin's Spring 15 ff.
- Vologesias 271
- Votive tablets, Carth.
132
- Wahab-allath 287.
290 f. 292
- Water-offering 206
- Waw conv. in Phoen.
118 f.
- Weights 192 f.
- Wells 72. 242 f. 337
- Wild animals sacrificed 117. 119
- Wine 213
prohibited 305
- Women 221. 229. 237.
335. 337
- Wool 336. 338
- Worod, Sept. 286 ff.
289
- Xerxes 200 f.
- Ya'di 163 f. 183. 185
- Ya'el 106 f.
- Yahaṣ 12
- Yahweh 4. 6 f.
- Yarḥi-bôl 280
- Zabbai 291 f.
- Zabdâ 291
- Zarai, tariff of 332. 337
- Zenjirli 52 f. 163.
175 f. 182. 184 f.
- Zenobia 263. 286 f.
290 ff.

APPENDIX

I

The Phoenician Inscriptions of Bostan esh-Shêh, Sidon.

THESE inscriptions, which repeat the same text six or seven times with slight variations, were found in 1900 and 1901 at a short distance to the N. of Şaida, near the Nahr el-Auwali. They are written upon the inner faces of blocks of stone which formed part of the inclosure or foundation of the temple of Eshmun; being built into the masonry, like the inscribed bricks in Assyrian buildings, they were not intended to be exposed to view. The most complete text, repeated with slight changes on the same block, is that published by Macridy-Bey and Père Lagrange in *RB* (1902) 498–526, with a facsimile. A text practically identical and almost as complete has been published, with two plates, by Berger, *Mém. sur les inscr. de fondation du temple d'Esmoun à Sidon*, 1901, from one of the stones now in the Louvre, which also possesses the fragment of another of the series (*Rép. nos.* 287. 288). The inscriptions are discussed at length by Clermont-Ganneau in *Rec. v* § 41, who has done much to clear up the difficulties which they present. The following text is based upon that of Berger:—

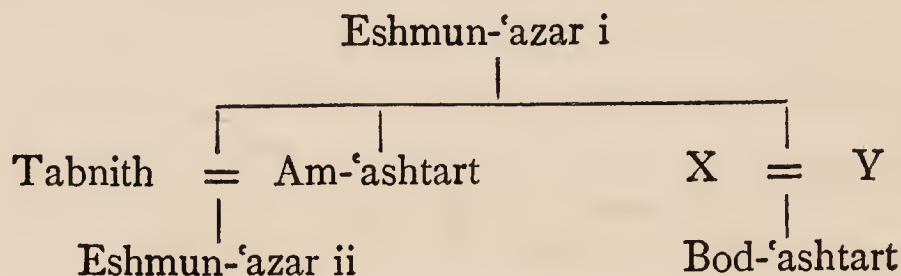
- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| מלך בדעשתרת מלך צדנם בן בן | 1 |
| מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם בצ | 2 |
| דן ים שמם רמם ארץ רשפם צד | 3 |
| ן משל אשבן וצדן שר אית [כל?] | 4 |
| הבת ז בן לאלי לאשמן שר קד | 5 |
| ש | 6 |

King Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, grandson ² of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians, (reigning) in Sidon ³ by the sea, Shamim Ramim, the land of Reshafim, Sidon ⁴ of Mashal, 'šBN, and Sidon on the plain—the whole (?) ⁵ of this temple built to his god, Eshmun, prince of Qadesh. ⁶

This text must be carefully compared with 4 and 5; the writing is of the same general character and period.

L. 1. מלך ברעשתרת See 6; Bod-'ashtart was the successor of Eshmun-'azar ii (5). בן בן The father is not mentioned because he never was king; contrast 5 13 f.

L. 2. אשמנעור i.e. Eshmun-'azar i. Both Bod-'ashtart and Eshmun-'azar ii were grandsons of this king, the former being the son of a younger brother or sister of Tabnith (4). The genealogy will thus be as follows:—



בצרן The prep. denotes that Bod-'ashtart claimed sovereignty *in* or *over* (cf. 5 9) Sidon; so Torrey *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.* xxiii 156-173 (with facsimile). The interpretation of the following words is difficult; but Torrey and Cl.-Gan. are prob. right in regarding them as the names of various places round about Sidon. The places are enumerated ἀσυνδέτως (cf. 149 B 15), with 1 before the last in the list, as sometimes (though not usually) in Hebrew, e.g. Gen. 5 32. 13 2. 14 1 &c.; Gesenius, p. 509 n.

L. 3. צדן ים *Sidon of the sea*, the maritime Sidon, as distinguished from צדן שר 1. 4. שמם רמם Lit. *high heavens*. The words suggest the Σαμσηροῦμος or Ὑψοῦράνιος of the cosmogony of Sanchuniathon (Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566); so Lagrange. The expression recalls the שמם אדרם in 5 16 f.; and although 'High-heavens,' 'Glorious-heavens,' do not seem very obvious names for terrestrial localities, yet such they probably were (Cl.-Gan.). In both cases this explanation suits the context. Cl.-Gan. suggests that שמם אדרם was the name of the place where the tomb of Eshmun-'azar ii was found, S. of the Nahr el-Kamle, at a distance from the ancestral burying-place; this may have been the special domain of Am-'ashtart, the queen-mother and priestess of 'Ashtart (5 14 f.). ארץ רשפם For the god Reshef see 12 3 n.; like בעל he was the tutelary of several cities, and thus the plural of his name would come into use. In Phoen. the plur. of בעל is found in בעל ימם 20 B 4 n., but not in the manner common in the O.T. The only other divine names found in the plur. in Phoen. are אלנם (p. 24, cf. 61 12 &c.) and אלם (p. 99).

L. 4. **צדן משל** *Sidon-Mashal* or *S. of Mashal*. One of the texts (Lagrange A) reads **במשל**. Cf. the O.T. place-names **מִשָּׁל** 1 Chr. 6 59. **מִשָּׁאֵל** Josh. 19 26. 21 30, and the modern Arab. names derived from **مشل**. **אשבן** might be divided and translated *who built*; but the context requires another place here. In the genealogies Gen. 36 26. 1 Chr. 1 41 **אִישָׁבֶן** is the name of an Edomite chief. **וצדן שר** The waw is read by Lagrange; Berger gives **מ**, but Cl.-Gan., after an examination of the original, decides in favour of **ו**. The word **שר** (Lagrange, Berger with **שר** ?) is prob. to be taken as = **שדה** *field* (5 19. 29 9), here in the sense of *country* or *plain*, the *inland* as distinguished from the *maritime* Sidon, l. 2 f.; the term is used by Ezekiel in connexion with Tyre, **בנותיה אשר בשדה** 26 6. At the end of the line Cl.-Gan. proposes **כל** instead of **של** (Berger); this improves the sentence.

L. 5. **הבת ז בן** Cf. 5 15 ff.; but this temple is not to be identified with the one founded by Eshmun-‘azar ii, which perhaps was at **שמם**; at any rate, the temple built by Bod-‘ashtart stood outside the present Sidon, near the Nahr el-Auwali. **לאלי** Cf. **לאלי לאשמן** **שר קדש** 24 1 f. in the inscr. of Bod-‘ashtart; also 6 5 **לעשתרת** Either *holy prince* or *prince of Qadesh* (Cl.-Gan.); hence we must certainly restore **שר קדש לאשמן** in 5 17 (see p. 37). In the latter case, **קדש** is further defined by **ען ידלל בהר** i.e. ‘Qadesh of the well of Yidlal in the mountain,’ prob. Lebanon. Cl.-Gan. suggests with much probability that both Eshmun-‘azar ii and Bod-‘ashtart brought the worship of Eshmun from an ancient, venerated shrine, Qadesh, into their new temples at Sidon.

The date of this Sidonian dynasty has been much disputed. Lagrange would assign it to the Persian period and the time of Xerxes; but against this is the title **ארן מלכם** 5 18, which belongs to the Ptolemaic, not the Persian, kings; see p. 38. Cl.-Gan. suggests ingeniously that Eshmun-‘azar i is none other than the Abdalonymus of the classical historians, who was placed on the throne of his ancestors, under romantic circumstances, by Alexander the Great after the occupation of Sidon in 332 B.C. The story is told by Diod. Sic. xvii 47, but wrongly referred to Tyre. With the change of his fortunes the king may have changed his name, as was frequently done. It is probable, in any case, that the date proposed on p. 27 is substantially correct; and the epigraphical evidence agrees with this. On the other hand, this inscr. shows that Bod-‘ashtart is not to be identified with Straton i 374–362 B.C., as is suggested, with hesitation, on p. 41.

II

Aramaic Papyrus from Elephantina. MS. Aram. c. 1 (P)
in the Bodleian Library.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, I am allowed to reprint the text of this papyrus which has been published with a translation, notes, and facsimile by Mr. A. E. Cowley, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in the May number of the Society's *Proceedings* (vol. xxv Parts 4 and 5, pp. 202 ff., 1903). The papyrus was purchased by Prof. Sayce at Elephantina, and brought by him to the Bodleian Library in 1901. It arrived in three small rolls; these have been ingeniously pieced together, and now form a leaf $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, which contains the longest and most continuous text of the kind hitherto published. The following is Mr. Cowley's text and translation:—

- | | |
|--|----|
| ר בר יתמא ל . . . נתנת לי כסף | 1 |
| פ בני פתח כסף שזו לו וירבה עלי כסף חלרן וו | 2 |
| לכסף שזו לירחא עד יום זי אשלמנהי ל[ך] ותהוה מרבית | 3 |
| כסף חלרן ווו . . . לירח א וירחא זי לא אנתן לך בה | 4 |
| מרבית יהוה ראש וירבה ואשלמ[נה] לך ירח בירח | 5 |
| מן פרסי זי יתנון לי מן אוצרא ותכתב לי נבו על כל | 6 |
| כסף ומרבי זי אהוה משלם לך והן לא שלמת לך כל | 7 |
| כסף ומרביתה עד ירח תחות שנת . . ווו ווו יעקף כסף | 8 |
| ומרביתה זי ישתאר עלי ויהוה רבה עלי ירח לירח | 9 |
| עד יום זי אשלמנהי לך | 10 |
| שהדיא | 11 |
| עקבן בר שמשנורי | 12 |
| קצרי בר יההדרי | 13 |
| מחסיה בר ידניה | 14 |
| מלכיה בר זכריה | 15 |
| כתב ספרא גמריה בר אחיו על פם שהדיא זי על ספרא זנה | 16 |

[This is the agreement between X and Y] bar Yathma. You have given me the sum of ²..... PTH the sum of ŠZ for himself (?), for which interest shall be due from me at the rate of 2 HLR ³ per ŠZ per month, till the day on which I repay it to you. The interest of your loan (to me) shall be ... HLR per month. Any month in which I fail to give you ⁵ interest, it is to be (added to the) principal, and to bear interest. I agree to pay it to you month by month ⁶ out of my pay which they give me from the treasury, and you shall give me a written receipt (?) for all ⁷ money and interest which I pay to you. If I fail to repay to you the whole of ⁸ the principal, with the interest thereon, by the month of Thoth in the year [? 1]6, I am to be held liable for double (?) the principal ⁹ and interest outstanding, and to continue to pay interest (on it) month by month ¹⁰ till the day when I repay it to you. ¹¹ Witnesses:—¹² ‘Uqban b. Shemesh-nuri. ¹³ Qoşri b. Yah-hadari. ¹⁴ Maḥaseiah b. Yadoniah. ¹⁵ Malkiah b. Zekariah. ¹⁶ The document was written by Gemariah b. Aḥio in the presence of the witnesses who(se names) are appended hereunto.

The language and writing exhibit the usual characteristics of Egyptian Aramaic (pp. 185. 200). The interest of the text lies in the fact that it is a Jewish document of early date; the witnesses and the writer bear Jewish names. These Jews were evidently engaged in business as bankers or money-lenders. They write in Aramaic, probably because it was the official language of the Persian empire. The date of the document may be placed in the Persian period, certainly not later than 300 B.C., and probably 150 years earlier (cf. 72. 76), as Mr. Cowley is inclined to believe. The legal form resembles that of the agreements written in cuneiform with Aram. seals attached, CIS ii 64–66, belonging to the 6th–5th cents. B.C.; no. 66 is dated 450 B.C. We have, then, a very early piece of evidence for a settlement of Jews in Upper Egypt; indeed, after the allusion of Jeremiah to the Jews ‘dwelling in the land of Pathros,’ i.e. Upper Egypt (44 i. 15; Schürer *Gesch.*³ iii 19 ff.), this is the earliest contemporary reference. And this document does not stand alone. Mr. Cowley is publishing in the next number of the *PSBA* 6 ostraka,

5 of which come from Elephantina and belong to the same period, and refer to the same names, probably also to the same persons, as the papyrus.

L. 1. . . . ל Mr. Cowley conjectures לאמר as on Ostrakon 1.

L. 2. פני . . . פני Perhaps פני 1. 3, reading certain; probably the name for a sum of money. Mr. Cowley compares the Babyl. *sošs*=60 shekels=1 maneh; Prof. Sayce thinks it is a Persian word. חלרן or חלרן Perhaps=Babyl. *halluru*, a coin used in reckoning the amount of interest in cuneiform contracts (see Sayce ap. Cowley).

L. 3. מרבית *interest*; cf. Lev. 25 37; תרבית Lev. 25 36. Eze. 18 8. For ancient ideas and legislation on the subject of interest see Driver, *Deut.* 266 f.

L. 4. The numeral may have been 6 or 8. After לירה the stroke somewhat like a † is prob. a mark of punctuation.

L. 5. ראש *principal*; cf. the usage in Lev. 5 24 ושלם אתו בראשו and Talm. B. *Sanhedr.* 3 b ממון שאינו משתלם בראש 'money which is not paid as capital.' ירה בירה Cf. the idiom ביום in B Aram. Ezr. 6 9 and late Hebr. Ezr. 3 4. 1 Chr. 12 23 &c.

L. 6. פרסי In the Mishnah פרס is frequent in the sense of *salary, income*. מן אוצרה The debtor was apparently in a government office. תכתב נבו after תכתב must mean a document, Mr. Cowley suggests 'receipt' and a Persian derivation.

L. 7. מרבי here without the final ת (ll. 3. 5), from a ל' verb, is strictly the fem. of מרבה Barth *Nominalb.* § 248.

L. 8. תחות The first Egyptian month, Aug. 29–Sept. 27; Copt. Thōouth, Gk. Θώθ. In the space after שנת must have stood the symbol for 10 or 20; analogy suggests that the reference is to the years of a king's reign. יעקף The root عقف=bend, curve, so with עלי l. 9 shall return upon me, i.e. shall be required of me. Mr. Cowley suggests shall be doubled against me; 'if the debt was not paid, or if any interest was outstanding, the debtor was to pay interest on double the accumulated sum at the rate previously settled' (l. 2).

L. 12. עקב Cf. the O. T. יעקב. שמשנורי Not a Jewish name; cf. the Palm. נורבל (p. 307), עתנורי (p. 303), שמשגורם (p. 298).

L. 13. יההררי i. e. *Yah is my glory*; if the reading is right the form is unusual; cf. אֱלֵעֲזָרִי *El is my strength* 1 Chr. 12 5 and יוֹכָבֶד in PC (Gray *Hebr. Pr. N.* 156).

L. 14. מחסיה Cf. מַחֲסִיָּה Jer. 32 12. 51 59. ידניה Cf. O. T.
דנאל.

L. 15. זכריה . . מלכיה Both common in O. T.

L. 16. For גמריה cf. 2 Sam. 6 3. 4, Gray l. c. 36, Driver *Sam.* 204.

ADDENDA

Page 36, line 14 below, *add* see Appendix I.

Page 123, line 3 above, *add* Plate III.

Page 147, line 1 above, *add* Plate IV.

Page 186, line 1 above, *add* Plate V.

Page 189, line 6 below, *add* Plate VI.

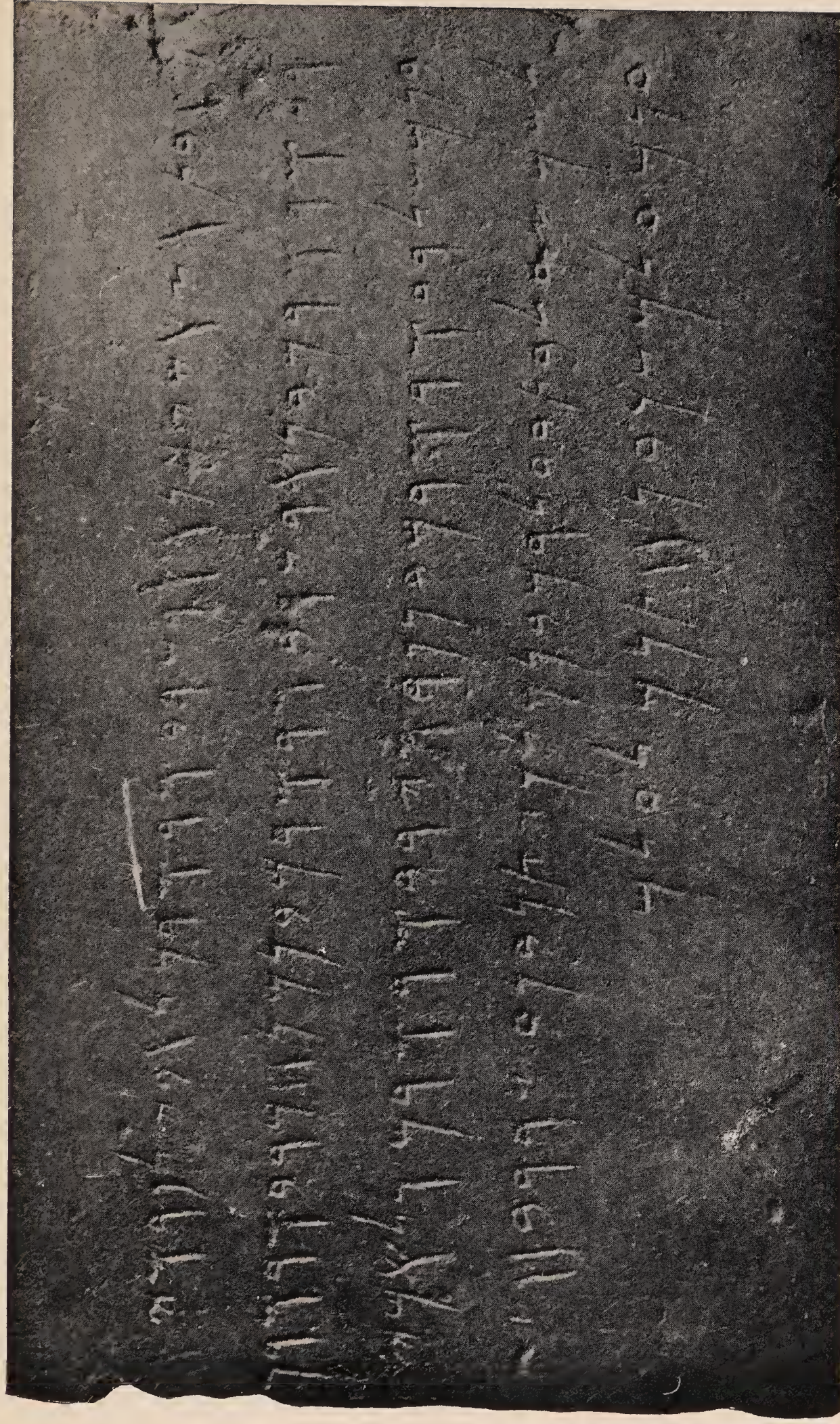
Page 344, line 9 above, חֵלֶךְ Cf. the Assy. *Hilakku* = Cilicia.

In Eze. 27 11 Halévy proposes to read חֵלֶץ *Cilicia*
for חֵלֶךְ.

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Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical form of a European language, possibly German or Dutch. The text is written on a dark, textured background, possibly parchment or a dark cloth. The script is dense and fills most of the page. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a historical form of a European language, possibly German or Dutch. The text is dense and fills most of the page. The script is dense and fills most of the page.

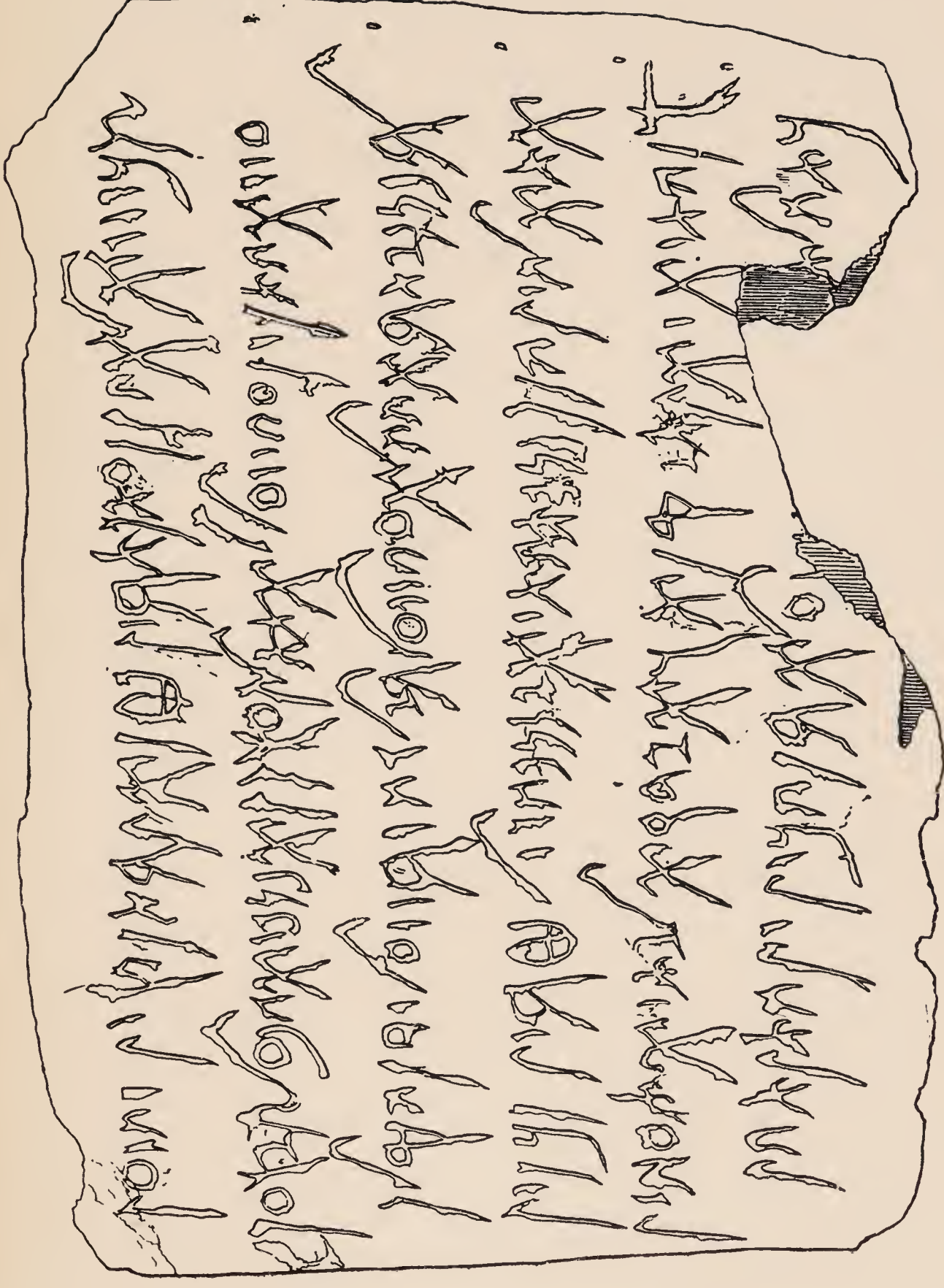
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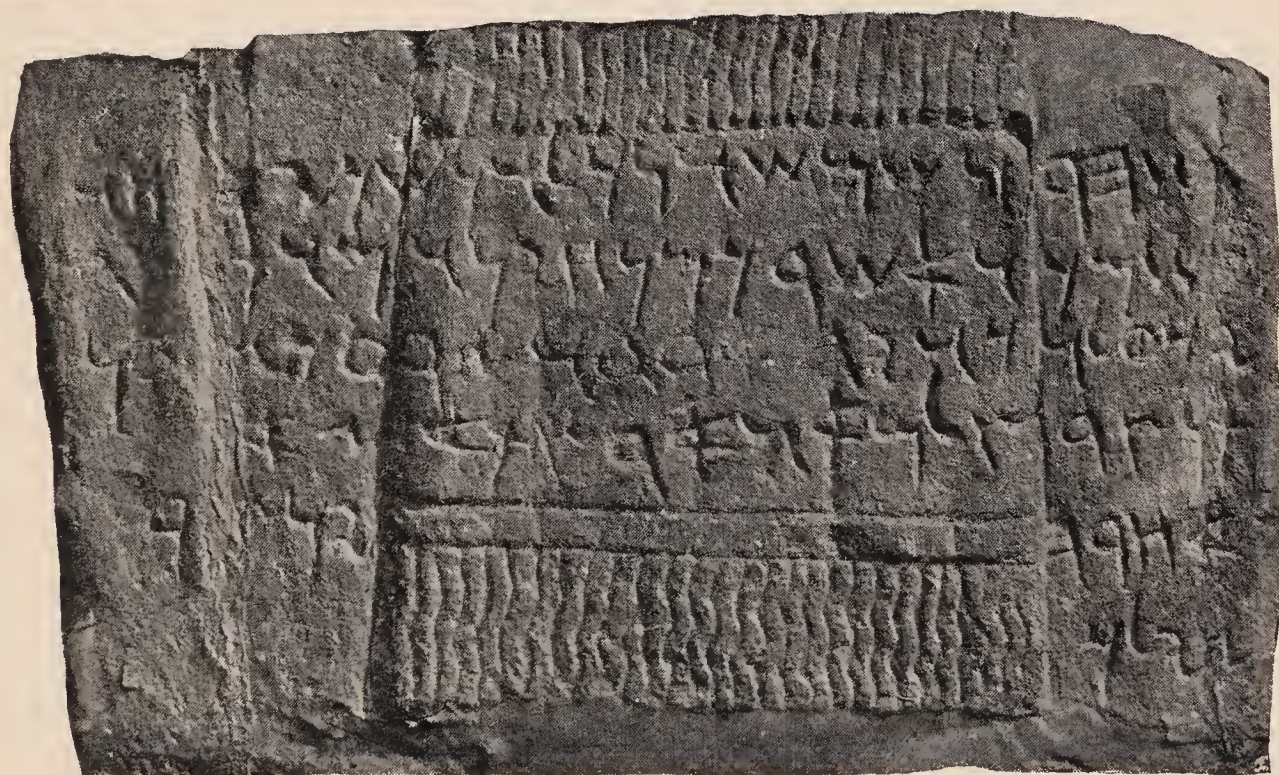
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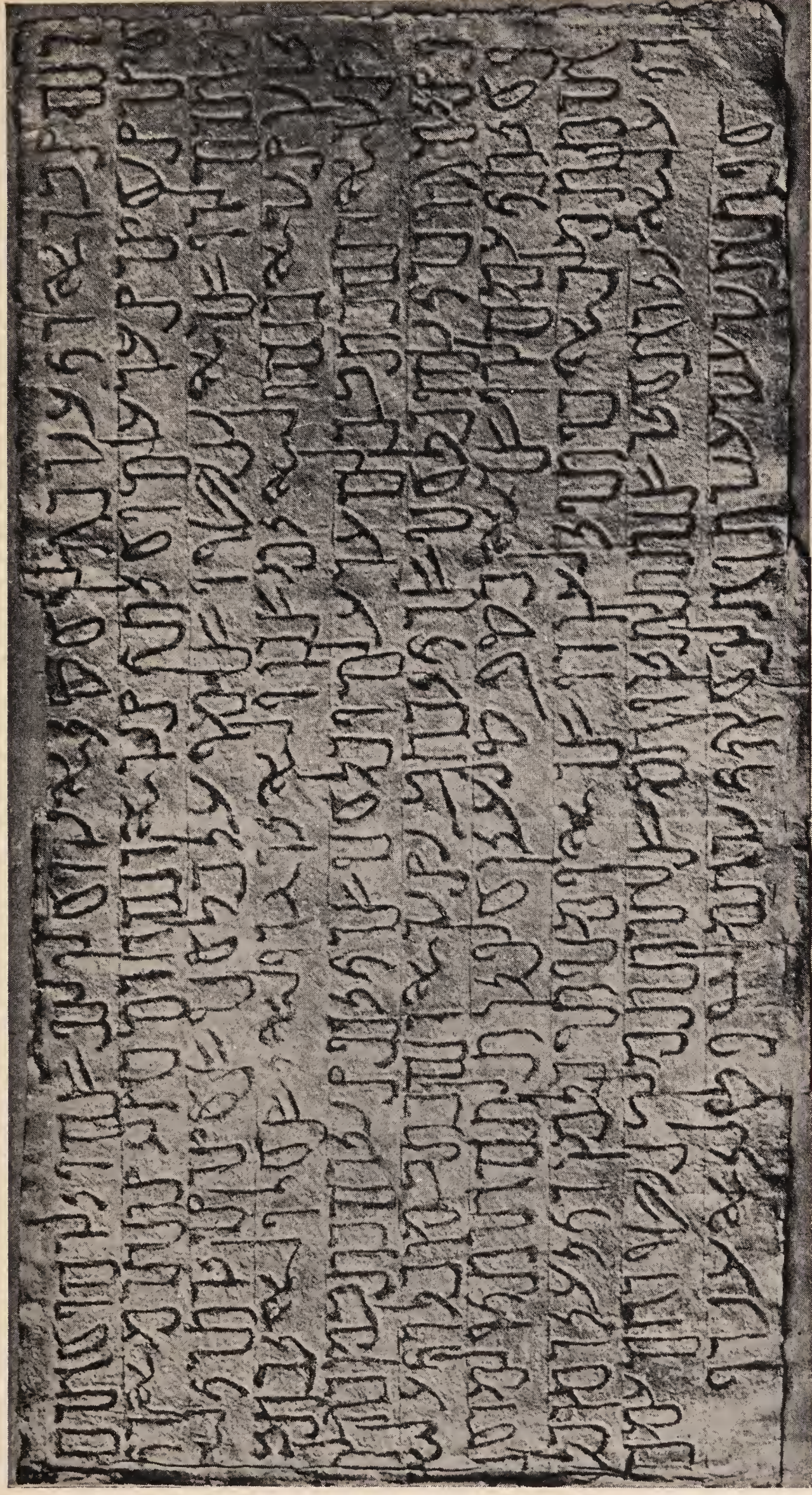
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ARAMAIC

Nérab. No. 65



[illegible]

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B



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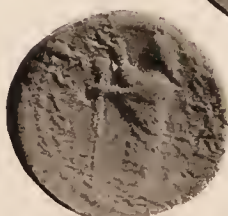
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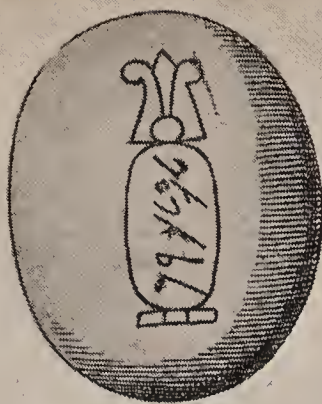


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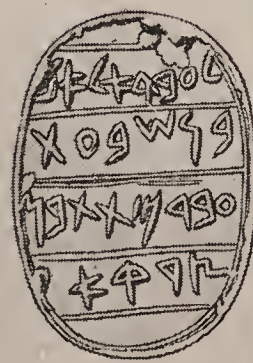
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6



7



8

PHOENICIAN

	Moab. St. 1	Siloam 2	Baal-Lab. 11	Sidon 4.5	Umm-el- Awamid 9	Cyprus 12-30	Greece 31-35	Malta 38	Marseilles 42	Carthage 43-50	Thugga 52	Constantine 54 51 etc.	Neo-Punic 53-60
א	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 ⁶⁰
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ARAMAIC

	N Syria		Asia Minor		Arabia	Egypt			
	Zenjerli 61-63	Nerab 64-65	Abdus 67	Cilicia 68	Teima 69-70	Memphis 71	Memphis 72	Carpenter 75	Papyri 76-77
א	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂 𐤃 𐤄	𐤅 𐤆	𐤇 𐤈 𐤉	𐤊 𐤋	𐤌 𐤍	𐤎 𐤏	𐤐
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פ	𐧐	𐧑	𐧒	𐧓	𐧔 𐧕	𐧖	𐧗	𐧘 𐧙	𐧚
צ	𐧛	𐧜	𐧝	𐧞	𐧟 𐧠			𐧡	𐧢
ק	𐧣 𐧤 𐧥	𐧦	𐧧	𐧨	𐧩 𐧪	𐧫	𐧬 𐧭	𐧮 𐧯	𐧰
ר	𐧱	𐧲	𐧳	𐧴	𐧵 𐧶	𐧷 𐧸	𐧹	𐧺	𐧻
ש	𐧼	𐧽	𐧾	𐧿	𐨀 𐨁	𐨂 𐨃		𐨄	𐨅
ת	𐨆 𐨇	𐨈	𐨉	𐨊	𐨋 𐨌	𐨍	𐨎 𐨏 𐨐	𐨑	𐨒

NABATAEAN

PALMYRENE

	Hejra 79-94	Petra 95	Hauran 97-100	Hauran 99	Sinaitic 103-109	140	Tariff 147	130 131	144
א	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 fin. 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 ¹⁰³ 𐤁 𐤂	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀 𐤁
ב	𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 fin. 𐤉 𐤊	𐤆 𐤇	𐤆 𐤇	𐤆 𐤇	𐤆 𐤇 fin. 𐤈	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆
ג	𐤌 𐤍	𐤌 𐤍	𐤌		𐤌 𐤍 𐤎	𐤌	𐤌		𐤌
ד	𐤏 𐤐	𐤏	𐤏 𐤐	𐤏 𐤐	𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒	𐤏	𐤏	𐤏	𐤏
ה	𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 fin. 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕 ¹⁰⁹ 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕
ו	𐤛 𐤜	𐤛	𐤛 𐤜	𐤛 𐤜	𐤛 𐤜 𐤝	𐤛 𐤜	𐤛	𐤛	𐤛 𐤜
ז	𐤞	𐤞			𐤞		𐤞	𐤞	
ח	𐤡 𐤢 𐤣	𐤡		𐤡 𐤢	𐤡 𐤢 𐤣	𐤡	𐤡	𐤡	𐤡
ט	𐤥	𐤥 𐤦		𐤥	𐤥 𐤦 𐤧		𐤥	𐤥	
י	𐤨 𐤩 fin. 𐤪 𐤫 𐤬	𐤨	𐤨 𐤩	𐤨	𐤨 𐤩 𐤪 fin. 𐤫 𐤬	𐤨 𐤩	𐤨	𐤨	𐤨 𐤩
כ	𐤭 𐤮 𐤯 fin. 𐤰 𐤱 𐤲	𐤭	𐤭 𐤮	𐤭 𐤮	𐤭 𐤮 ¹⁰⁷ 𐤯 𐤰 𐤱 𐤲	𐤭	𐤭	𐤭	𐤭
ל	𐤳 𐤴 fin. 𐤵 𐤶	𐤳 𐤴	𐤳	𐤳 𐤴	𐤳 𐤴	𐤳	𐤳	𐤳	𐤳
ם	𐤷 𐤸 𐤹 fin. 𐤺 𐤻 𐤼	𐤷 𐤸	𐤷 𐤸	𐤷 𐤸	𐤷 𐤸 𐤹	𐤷	𐤷	𐤷	𐤷
נ	𐤽 𐤾 fin. 𐤿	𐤽 𐤾	𐤽	𐤽	𐤽 𐤾	𐤽 𐤾	𐤽 𐤾	𐤽 𐤾	𐤽 𐤾 𐤿
ס	𐥀 𐥁	𐥀			𐥀 ¹⁰⁹ 𐥁		𐥀	𐥀	𐥀
ע	𐥃 𐥄	𐥃	𐥃 𐥄	𐥃 𐥄	𐥃 𐥄	𐥃	𐥃		𐥃
פ	𐥇 𐥈 fin. 𐥉	𐥇	𐥇		𐥇 𐥈		𐥇	𐥇	
צ	𐥋	𐥋 fin. 𐥌	𐥋	𐥋	𐥋 𐥌		𐥋	𐥋	
ק	𐥏	𐥏	𐥏	𐥏	𐥏 𐥑	𐥏	𐥏	𐥏	𐥏
ר	𐥒 𐥓	𐥒	𐥒	𐥒	𐥒 𐥓	𐥒	𐥒	𐥒	𐥒
ש	𐥕 𐥖	𐥕 fin. 𐥗	𐥕 𐥖	𐥕	𐥕 𐥖	𐥕	𐥕	𐥕	𐥕 𐥖
ת	𐥙 𐥚	𐥙	𐥙 𐥚	𐥙 𐥚	𐥙 𐥚	𐥙	𐥙	𐥙	𐥙 𐥚

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